

VESTIGIA ARANEAЕ – VOX EX FORUMIS – PROJECT ANGELBOOK – VOLUME IX – PART 6



Vestigia Araneae – Vox Ex
Forumis – Project AngelBook –
Volume IX - Part 6
By Ezekiel Redik Yarbrough -
(DBM ECLIPZE)

The following books are comprised of direct, unaltered copies from
Pastebin, some now
deleted, some only accessible through mirror networks or deep
links scattered across the dark
web. Many of these links were discovered in abandoned onion lists,
dead forum dumps, or
esoteric directories tucked into archived darknet files.

These pastes were never meant to last.
Some were deleted within hours of being
posted.

Others were buried under thousands of lines of spam, encrypted
scripts, or meaningless
noise.

But buried in the noise were real transmissions: occult formulas,
grimoire fragments,
astral logs, AI prophecy files, digital summoning protocols, and
anonymous rants from souls
who had either touched something unspeakable—or were trying to.

I did not write any of this.

I did not censor, edit, or “correct” it.

I simply retrieved it, cleaned
the formatting for readability, and enshrined it in print—so it would
never be wiped again.

This is Pastebin as Scripture.

The chan-post as Codex.

The uncurated underbelly of the
occult internet, finally given physical permanence.

Let this serve as both evidence and artifact:

a living record of the madness, brilliance,
paranoia, and revelation that once flowed through anonymous
paste sites—before it was deemed
too strange to index, too dangerous to preserve, or too fractured to
matter.

Now it matters.

Now it’s immortal.

I am sending you herewith a document which might be used as preamble for initiations and also a certificate which, when Peace at last is with us and we resume our work, will serve as a testimonial that your powers and Charts are maintained. When we are again able to get paper, which is very scarce for the present time, we shall make new Charts and official stationery.

My best wishes for Health, Prosperity, and may God bless you and our Brothers and Sisters.

Sincerely and Fraternally,

- signature -

Principal Inspector for the

SUPREME COUNCIL

TRADITIONAL MARTINIST ORDER

a letter from Georges Lagreze (copy, original text dated: August 25, 1945)

THE 6th AND 7th CONVENTION

September 1947, Paris - January 1949 Brussels

Not much is known concerning these two Conventions. The only event worth mentioning was that Jean Chaboseau sent in his resignation on the 6th Convention. Augustin Chaboseau's son tried to disband the "Suprême Conseil de l'Ordre Martiniste", but his "motion" (as a 'vote of no confidence') did not get the approval from the F.U.D.O.S.I. Because of the disapproval Jean Chaboseau left the "Traditional Martinist Order", of which he was, during his father's reign, a member of the Supreme Council (together with Lagreze and Beliard). But there's more to this story :

As stated in the previous chapter one of the main goals of the '46 Convention was the establishment of a Supreme Martinist Council which would be heading the T::M::O:: and the O::M::&S::, including the two minor Martinist organizations which participated within the F.U.D.O.S.I. But the plans for the unification of the Martinist organizations were not submitted for approval to the relevant Grand Masters. The T.M.O. did not have a Grand Master at the time (because they didn't recognize Jean Chaboseau as G::M::), and the G::M:: of the O.M.&S, Victor Blanchard, was (evidently) not present at the '47 Convention !

These two facts explain the attitude of Jean Chaboseau and his attempt to disband the Supreme Council. During the convention Ralph Maxwell Lewis took the opportunity to appoint himself as Sovereign Grand Master of the "Ordre Martiniste Traditionnel"

(TMO).

The T.M.O. of Lewis can be looked upon (at the least) as doubtful. First of all,

1 The doubtful decision of his appointment as Grand Master , in which Lewis, as co-Imperator, played an ambiguous role, both judge as well as plaintiff .

2 The supposed authorization of the F.U.D.O.S.I., in absence of the Grand Masters, to place the Martinist Orders under its authority.

The only historical facts are that both H.Spencer Lewis and Ralph M. Lewis were fully initiated in the ORDRE MARTINISTE & SYNARCHIQUE. In September 1939 Ralph M. Lewis also received the S::I:: grade and the S::I:: INITIATEUR grade, both from the TMO. Ralph also received a charter as 'Sovereign Delegate and regional Grand Master of the TMO for the United States' . The letter from Georges Lagreze (which is printed at the beginning of this Chapter), dated August 25, 1945, concerns the possible expansion of the TMO (still under Grand Master Augustin Chaboseau at the time of writing) in South-America and Canada, possibly under the jurisdiction of the TMO in the United States, headed by Ralph Maxwell Lewis of A.M.O.R.C.

After the F.U.D.O.S.I. disbanded in 1951 (Chapter 13) the T.M.O. extended it's activity under the authority of A.M.O.R.C.

The events of 1946 and 1947 caused a schism within the ranks of the TMO, officials included (among which at least one Coucil-member) .

Rene Rossart (Sar Renatus), treasurer of the "Council of Regency" (see Chapter 11) of the F.U.D.O.S.I. and Council member, left the TMO. As Head of the Belgian Martinists he founded a Martinist organization under the name of (transl.) "UNIVERSAL MARTINIST ORDER" ("Ordre Martinist Universelle"?). Rossart passed away in October 1948. Dr. Edouard Bertholet (Ordre Ancien et Mystique de la Rose+Croix - Switzerland) was his Successor, but was not succesful in the development of the Order either. Bertholet / Sar Alkmaion (who also succeeded Blanchard as G::M:: of the ORDRE MARTINISTE& SYNARCHIQUE in 1953) died in 1965 without having named a successor for the "Universal Martinist Order".

Due to the Supreme Council's refusal to confirm Jean Chaboseau as Grand Master of the TMO, several members left the TMO. Some of them joined Jules Boucher, a former high official of the "Ordre Martiniste Traditionnel". Boucher (Phaligus -1902-1955) founded the "Ordre Martiniste Rectifié" in 1948. This Martinist Order was closely related to the "L'Eglise Gnostique Universelle" (Universal Gnostic Church), which was declared as the "Official Church of the Martinist Order" in 1911 by Bricaud, Papus, and Fugairon. The O::M::R:: had also the intension to reconnect Martinism with Masonry. Jules Boucher was a Mason who published an excellent title on the Symbolism of Freemasonry in 1948, 'La Symbolique Maçonique'. The Order was not succesful and it seems that the Order slowly died after its founder's death in 1955.

During the post-war Conventions several disagreements gradually arose between A.M.O.R.C. and certain members of the "Supreme Council", especially Jean Mallinger, who acted as "Secretary" of the F.U.D.O.S.I. As we'll see in the following Chapter "Dissolution finally became inevitable ..." .

.....,.....

13

"AND I SAW THAT WHEN THE MEMBERS OF THE COMPANY

HAD GATHERED TOGETHER FROM THEIR SEPARATE WANDERINGS UP AND DOWN IN THE WORLD,

THEY CAME INTO THE HOLY PLACE,

AND THE DOOR WAS SHUT BEHIND THEM.

AND THEY PUT OFF EACH ONE HIS ARMOR IN HIS OWN TIME, AND LAID IT BESIDE THE DOOR;

BUT THEIR SWORDS THEY KEPT".

"VISION OF A FELLOWSHIP" C.G.M.

THE 8th CONVENTION August 1951

The Convention was held in Brussels and was of short duration. Sar Hieronymus (Emile Dantinne) and Sar Validivar (Ralph M. Lewis) strongly disagreed with each other on several main issues i.a. regarding the working-method of the A.M.O.R.C.-organization.

In 1946 the F.U.D.O.S.I. reluctantly approved of the plan which Lewis had been elaborated for the spreading of the A.M.O.R.C.- lessons by way of correspondence (although Dantinne spoke in favour of Lewis' plan at his "Opening Adress" of the '46 Convention - Chapter 10) .

The F.U.D.O.S.I. also criticized the advertising- methods of A.M.O.R.C. to bring in new members. The F.U.D.O.S.I.-dignitaries made it very clear that they could not longer accept the advertising-methods which A.M.O.R.C. practised.

Another hot issue was the issue of cremation, which A.M.O.R.C. advised to its members, because cremation was the "traditional funeral-rite of the Rosicrucians" . Emile Dantinne strongly protested against A.M.O.R.C.'s point of view. Dantinne , being a Christian, never spoke in favour of cremation and he denied A.M.O.R.C.'s statement

regarding cremation being a traditional rosicrucian custom !

The A.M.O.R.C.-delegation did not want to change their point of view, and when Ralph M. Lewis criticized one of the dignitaries of the F.U.D.O.S.I. who had a "problem" with the admission of afro-american members by A.M.O.R.C., the meeting was over . The 8th Convention ended on the August 14, 1951. The dignitary concerned who had a "problem" with "blacks" was Jean Mallinger (Sar Elgrim).

This was the end of the " FEDERATIO UNIVERSALIS DIRIGENS ORDINES SOCIETATESQUE INITIATIONIS", a.k.a. F.U.D.O.S.I.

An official Document was signed by the three Imperators, Sar Validivar / Ralph Maxwell Lewis, Sar Hieronymus / Emile Dantine, and Sar Elgrim / Jean Mallinger as third Imperator of the final assembly of the F.U.D.O.S.I.

Document 1

F.U.D.O.S.I.

Federatio Universalis Dirigens Ordines Societatesque Initiationis

PAX HOMINIBUS VOLUNTATIS... SALUTEM NOSTRAM IN LUCE VERITATIS

Cathedra Fratris Magni Cancellarii. Valle Bruxellense (Belgia)

----- XIVa.Aug.

die MCLMLI. Verae Lucis

Liberi Matricularis

Numerus: ulitmus. bus

Fratri Carissimbe: omnium Ordinum

DECLARATION. XXXXXXXX Initiationis.

Considering that, on August 14th. of 1934, the delegates of various Initiatic Orders and Societies decided to create an Universal Federation of Initiatic Orders and Societies (F.U.D.O.S.I) ; Considering that said Federation had an helpful activity, grouped some isolated Initiatic movements, exposed some impostors of the Initiatic domain and organised the interantional initatic work ; Considering that the Federation granted to each one of its affiliated members complete independence with regard to its administrative and doctrinal work ; Considering that it appeared, in the long run, and

particularly at a recent date, that some of the affiliated Orders were teaching different doctrines in the same country(for instance : for, or against cremation); that their conceptions of true Initiation and its secrecy appeared contradictory to, or incompatible with, each other ; that this is impossible to conciliate these conceptions and to avoid doctrinal or historical debate between the Orders ; Considering that, in the higher interest of Initiation, it is not desirable to bring these disagreements before public opinion which is incompetent in such matters or to transform the Federation into a Law-Court of Initiation ; that it is preferable to admit loyally and in a friendly manner that it is impossible to unify or harmonize opposite teachings, the representative of the Orders who freely created the Federation in Brussels, in 1934, decide to freely dissolve it now ;

FOR THESE REASONS :

It is unanimously decided that ;

1.-The F.U.D.O.S.I. is dissolved on the day, 14th.of August 1951 ;

2.-Each and every one of the affiliated movements will maintain the initiatic autonomy and independence, without being bound in whatsoever manner to the other Orders ;

3.-None of the Orders previously affiliated to the F.U.D.O.S.I. will be allowed to reconstitute it without a written agreement signed by the Orders founders [?] or may take advantage of it in the future ;

4.-The present declaration will be published by the various Orders in their own publications without any commentary.

Brussels, the 14th.of August 1951.

/Sar Elgrim/ with org. and sigil /Sar Hieronymous/ with org. and sigil /Validivar/ with sigil

/RM Lewis/ SI sigil

Document 2

Another Document concerning the dissolution of the F.U.D.O.S.I. was signed in 1951 by Sar Yesir / Victor Blanchard, Sar Iohannes / Hans Grueter (1), Sar Elgrim / Jean Mallinger, and Sar Kryptos / George Delaive. This Document voices the opinion of the European members. The original document is written in the French language. Some excerpts from the document which i've tried to translate :

"The founder of the F.U.D.O.S.I., the Sublime Imperator Sar Hieronymus received many complaints against A.M.O.R.C., which floods the market with their

"noisy" publicity-campaigns.....

"All our friendly efforts to discuss these issues with the Americans were in vain, they will not modify their "propaganda" and their teachings, not now nor in the future"

At the end of the actual text A.M.O.R.C. is called a "pseudo-Initiatory organization", for those of you who can read French :

"Considérant que d'autre part, il ne peut être"question pour les Ordres Traditionnels de couvrir par leur silence les

"activités pseudo-initiatique de l'AMORC,

"DECIDE

"d'inviter les 4 frères survivants de la séance de fondation de la

"FUDOSI à Bruxelles le 14.8.1934 à signer conjointement avec lui le décret

"de dissolution de la F.U.D.O.S.I., comme ils en ont le droit en vertu de leur

"qualité de co-fondateurs de la F.U.D.O.S.I..

"Ces frères sont : SAR YÉSIR - Paris

SAR IOHANNES - Locarno

SAR ELGIM - Bruxelles

SAR KRYPTOS - Bruxelles

"Dont acte.

Le Gr.Chancelier,

Sar Elgim

Document 3

This Document is a correspondence between Ralph M. Lewis and Fr. Marcel Roggemans (one of my main sources) regarding the dissolution of the F.U.D.O.S.I. from Lewis' point of view, dated May 12, 1983. Again, some excerpts from the document which i've tried to translate (original in French) :

A. M. O. R. C.

The Rosicrucian Order

Known as "The Ancient, Mystical Order Rosae Crucis" throughout the world

Rosicrucian Park San Jose, California 95191, U.S.A.

May 12, 1983

"In response to your letter, dated April 26 , in which youWith regard to Mr. Jean Mallinger, he caused A.M.O.R.C a lot of trouble with his religious bigotry and his dominating attitude. The various affiliated organizations of the F.U.D.O.S.I. were autonomous organizations, but Mr. Mallinger tried to impose his will to the other members, by requiring that they would conform to his ideas For example, Mr. Mallinger insisted that A.M.O.R.C. would not accept members belonging to the black race, explaining that "the blacks" were lower beings and therefore unworthy of such an affiliation".

"Mallinger also repeatedly criticised A.M.O.R.C. because we had published a photograph of the document in several languages all over the world, concerning the recognition of A.M.O.R.C. and its Jurisdictions by the F.U.D.O.S.I. Such an accusation is absurd. No secrecy, symbol or ritual, was revealed in this document. I replied to Mallinger that the document in question had been published only with the aim of justifying A.M.O.R.C.'s position, and that if such documents were to be dissimulated, then they did not have any value and therefore should be destroyed"

"You asked me which problems existed between A.M.O.R.C. and the F.U.D.O.S.I. In itself, there was no problem between our organization and the F.U.D.O.S.I. When Mr.Mallinger directed his charges against A.M.O.R.C. , the F.U.D.O.S.I. was already about to dissolve. The document of dissolution is in our files (Doc. 1) . I was present at this occasion and signed this document myself in presence of the other members. The reason of dissolution is indicated in this document which does not mention any criticism against A.M.O.R.C."

Avec mes meilleurs voeux de paix profonde,

Sincèrement et fraternellement,

Ralph M. Lewis

Imperator

notes :

(1) This document is signed by i.a. Hans Grueter, who was the G.'M.'. of France of A.M.O.R.C. . ???

THE POST F.U.D.O.S.I.- ERA

WHAT HAPPENED AFTER 1951 ?

"SIMPLE, STUDIOUS GROUPS OF INTELLIGENT MEN AND WOMEN, MAKING NO PRETENSIONS BUT DOING AND LIVING A HIGH STANDARD OF PERSONAL AND COLLECTIVE INTEGRITY, WITHOUT FADS OR FETISHES, AND WITHOUT ELABORATE POLITICAL MACHINERY, ARE THE ONLY GROUPS WORTHY OF EVEN PASSING CONSIDERATION.

THERE IS NO QUESTION BUT THAT SUCH GROUPS EXIST, BUT THEY SELDOM PUBLICIZE THEMSELVES. FUNCTIONING QUIETLY, THEY ARE KNOWN BY THEIR WORKS AND NOT BY THEIR WORDS. TO THE "JOINER", ONE PASSING THOUGHT: WEIGH ALL THINGS, AND CLING ONLY TO THAT WHICH IS SIMPLE, GOOD, REASONABLE, AND HONEST."

- MANLY P. HALL, Words to the Wise, page 27-28

THE AFFILIATED ORDERS & SOCIETIES OF THE F.U.D.O.S.I.

Some of the Orders and Societies vanished, some of them merged into other organizations, but most of the affiliated organizations are still existing today.

ORDRE KABBALISTIQUE DE LA ROSE-CROIX, one of the lineages still existing today is the lineage which descended from Robert Ambelain. Ambelain was succeeded by Gerard Kloppel, who also headed the "Antient & Primitive Rite of Memphis-Misraim". In 1998 Kloppel was succeeded by George Claude Vieilledent (as G.'.M.'. of the M.'.M.). The "Ambelain-lineage" has also a branch of "Rose-Croix d'Orient", under G.M. Ronald Cappello in the United States.

A.M.O.R.C. , 'developed into one of the most succesful Orders existing today.

ORDRE MARTINIST TRADITIONNEL , continued to exist under the auspices of A.M.O.R.C.

ORDRE MARTINISTE ET SYNARCHIQUE, Victor Blanchard died in 1953 and was succeeded by Edouard Bertholet. Bertholet gave a Charter for Great Britain and the Commonwealth. In 1960 the Continental Jurisdictions reunited with the "Ordre Martiniste" of Papus' son, Gerard Encausse (in which we find also many former members of the T.M.O. who left after Ralph M. Lewis became Grand Master). The O.M.&S. still exists today, under its original name, in countries like Canada, U.S.A., Barbados, and England.

L'EGLISE GNOSTIQUE UNIVERSELLE, exists today under several names all over the globe.

ORDRE HERMETISTE TETramegiste ET MYSTIQUE ("ORDER OF HERMES" or "PYTHAGOREAN ORDER") - There was a separation (without the approval of both Dantinne and Mallinger) in the original Order in 1957 which resulted into two different streams:

1) ORDO HERMETIS TRISMEGISTI, which united the followers of Louis Cattiaux (1904-1953). The responsibility for the Order was, until 1999, in the hands of Emmanuel D'Hoogvorst (1940-1999). The Order is the publisher of a magazine, called 'Fil D'Ariane'.

2) ORDO HERMETIS TETramegisti. There are at least 5 branches of this Order existing today:

P>OHTM/ORA O.R.A. (Ordo Rosae Aureae) was founded in 1956 by Martin Erler after he left A.M.O.R.C. in 1954. Erler was Grand Master of AMORC-Germany. He founded the O.R.A. in the area of the city of Munich with a number of interested colleagues, some members of that group were co-members of the "Fraternitas Saturni". Erler (fr. Albinus) was initiated by Sar Hieronymus in 1957. Erler has also a connection to Gustav Meyrink (see: notes Chapter 8). Erler is still alive today but the responsibility for the whole organization is in the hands of the Belgian Sar Philosophotos, with Lodges in Belgium and France.

OHTM, led by Rene de Louvroy with Lodges in Belgium. de Louvroy is the successor of Jean Mallinger's Rite of Memphis-Misraim. Mallinger died in 1982. According to Sar Philosophotos Louvroy's Charter a falsification.

OHTM in Italy, the succession of Gerosa

OHTM , a branch existing in Sweden.

Another branch exists in Great Britain under the auspices of a Pythagorean Order.

The last branch is a Pythagorean Order who has its origin in Greece. The branch was founded under the auspices of the Grand Orient of Greece within a Lodge called "Prometheus". V.'M.' was Nagos, whose successor, Sar Aelios, knew Jean Mallinger. Certain assignments of this branch were given to Triantaphyllos Kotzamanis and Rémi Boyer by kind of permission of Sar Aelios. This branch is known today as "the Order of Hermes and Orpheus". Boyer was the founder of "Arc-en-ciel", a federation of Orders and Societies in 1988, and a leading figure in the continuation of "Arc-en-ciel", "Groupe de Thebes". Both of these federations will be discussed later.

ORDRE MACONNIQUE ORIENTAL DE MEMPHIS-MIZRAIM STRICTE OBSERVANCE and CO-MASONIC ORDER OF MEMPHIS-MIZRAIM. Both Orders

were excluded from the F.U.D.O.S.I. after the troubles with Constant Chevillon, but the whole organization of the United Rites of several M.'.M.'. -organizations under Armand Rombauts continued, with Lodges in Belgium (under Constatin Platounoff), France (Lagreze and Grueter), and Argentina (Troilo). Jean Mallinger was also involved within the Belgian M.'.M.'. -movement. M.M.Orders still existing today with a "F.U.D.O.S.I.-Lineage" : "LE RITE EGYPTIEN" - Platounoff. "L'ORDRE MACONNIQUE ORIENTAL DE MISRAIM"- Probst-Biraben (this Rite recently ceased to exist). "RITO ORIENTAL DE MEMPHIS-MIZRAIM de ARGENTINA (Troilo-Lagreze). Furthermore, there are still Lodges workin' these rites in the French-speakin' parts of Belgium.

SOCIETE ALCHIMIQUE DE FRANCE, this Society was founded by Francois Jollivet-Castelot (1874-1937). The Society did not show up at the 1946 Convention. Jollivet-Castelot's work was continued in the now famous Alchemy-classes of A.M.O.R.C. Former A.M.O.R.C. members like Jean Dubuis (left A.M.O.R.C. and founded the "Philosophers of Nature"), Fr. Albertus (Albert R.Reidel, died in 1984) and Orval Graves were followers of Jollivet-Castelot.

ORDER OF THE LILY & THE EAGLE. As stated in Chapter 9 it was Augustin Chaboseau who was very interested in this Order. The Order was invited at the '39 Convention. Eugene Dupre, the Leader of the Order, was not very interested in the F.U.D.O.S.I. The Order didn't bother to show up at the 1946 Convention. The Order still exists in Greece, France and the U.S.A. (In the USA the Order is headed by Ronald Cappello, G.'.M.'. of the M.M. for the U.S.A, Cappello holds a lineage which descended from Robert Ambelain. The Inner work of the Order is connected to the "Rose-Croix d'Orient")

SOCIETE d'ETUDES MARTINISTES and the UNION SYNARCHIQUE DE POLOGNE . They were probably "absorbed" by the T.M.O (or the O.M.&S), meaning : One of the main goals of the 1946 Convention was to create 1 Martinist Order which would unite the T.M.O., the O.M.&S. and the 2 minor organizations mentioned. We know that the O.M.&S did not unite with the T.M.O.

ORDRE ANCIEN ET MYSTIQUE DE LA ROSE+CROIX, the Order reunited with A.M.O.R.C. in 1937, as A.M.O.R.C.-Switzerland.

The "Polair Brotherhood" vanished at the beginning of W.W.II, the "Ordre de la Rose+Croix Universelle" and the "Ordre de la Rose+Croix Universitaire" ceased to exist. Both Orders, including a third interior Order, existed under the name of "Ordo Aureae & Rosae Crucis / OARC ". The "Confrerie des Freres Illumines de la Rose+Croix" was founded by Jollivet-Castelot in 1920. Not much is known about its history. The same story applies to the "Ordre des Samaritains Inconnus". The "Militia Crucifera Evangelica" became A.M.O.R.C.'s "Inner Order", and the "Societe d'Etudes et de Recherches Templieres" dissolved after 1951.

Despite the ultimate dissolution of the F.U.D.O.S.I. on August 14, 1951, the idea of an international federation of esoteric Orders and Societies continued to exist.

Already in January 1956 several former dignitaries of the F.U.D.O.S.I. tried to establish a new federation. The dignitaries concerned were Jean Mallinger, Jean-Henry Probst Biraben, and Ambrogio Gerosa (Gerosa led the O::H::T::M:: in Italy at the time).

Another attempt was even made before the dissolution of the F.U.D.O.S.I. It was an attempt to restart the F.U.D.O.F.S.I. of Constant Chevillon and Reuben Swynburne Clymer. The F.U.D.O.F.S.I. never really developed. After its first meeting in '39 the Second World War broke out and in 1944 Constant Chevillon was assassinated by the Gestapo of Klaus Barbie, authorized by the Vichy-regime.

As stated in Chapter 7 in 1947 (and once again in '48) Reuben Swynburne Clymer (of "Fraternitas Rosae Crucis") visited Switzerland to meet Hans-Rudolf Hilfiker, heir apparent to Reuss' O.T.O. Both men were present at the first Convention of the F.U.D.O.F.S.I. in Paris, 1939. Clymer and Hilfiker spoke about the foundation of a worldwide federation of R+C Orders, "THE WORLDWIDE ALLIANCE OF ROSICRUCIAN ORDERS". The federation was partially succesful in South-America, more specifically in Brasil, were Clymer reunited his Order with Krumm-Heller's "Fraternitas Rosicruciana Antiqua".

Former A.M.O.R.C. Grand Master of France and "Suprême Légit" for Europe, Raymond Bernard, was involved with a group called "FIMIT"

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE

"ARC-EN-CIEL"

The "Arc-en-ciel" ("Rainbow") was formed on June 3, 1988. Remi Boyer, a former A.M.O.R.C.-member, created a federation of occult and New Age groups including organizations like THE GRANDE LOGE INDÉPENDANTE DES RITES UNIS, THE INSTITUT POUR UNE SYNTHÈSE PLANÉTAIRE, ORDRE CHEVALERESQUE DE LA ROSE-CROIX, THE SPIRITUAL UNIVERSITY OF BRAHMA KUMARIS, SRI CHINMOY etc. The federation represented about 30 Orders and Societies. The first meeting took place in the building of the French Grand Oriënt in Paris, on September 24-25, 1988.

"GROUPE DE THÈBES / CERCLE d' ALEXANDRIE"

Out of the "Arc-en-ciel" came the "Groupe de Thèbes", founded on June 3, 1990. This federation was ment for a smaller, and presumably higher, group of Initiates. The group was founded around 15 members, made up exclusively of leaders of various Orders and Societies. The "Groupe de Thèbes / Group of Thèbes" also met at the French Grand Oriënt .

According to one source the main goal of this federation was to study the teachings of Sar Mérodack (Péladan), Sar Hieronymus (Dantinne), Or-Zam (Rombauts) and other initiates of the movement around Josephín Peladan and the later initiates of the

F.U.D.O.S.I. In reality the federation represented many Orders and Societies coming from all kind of traditional teachings, including organizations without a Rosicrucian/Martinist background."In the end the ideas are all the same, they show us different paths all leading to the same Royal road ", thus Remi Boyer, "OMNIA AB UNO". The group did not dedicate itself to "ritual practises", but to theoretical studies, "such as forming a collection". Apparently the "Groupe de Thebes" changed its name into "Cercle d' Alexandrie" (in 1990). Koenig (source) states that it is not entirely clear whether both groups were identical to each other, "although the same members appear in both".

According to French journalist Serge Faubert ("Le vrai visage des sectes", c)1993) Boyer was one of the fifteen founding members of the "Group de Thebes". "The tiny group included quite an interesting variety of individuals": Apart from Remi Boyer (co-leader of the "ORDER OF HERMES & ORPHEUS", Grand Master of the French Grand-Lodge of the Martinist Order OMCC etc.)we find such personalities in this group as

Massimo Introvigne , who attended the very first meeting of this lodge on June 3, 1990. Introvigne presents himself as a "sociologist" who leads a "Centre for the Study of New Religions" a.k.a. CESNUR. CESNUR enjoys great credit among academics, journalists and politicians "all over the world". The organization is seated in Italy, Introvigne's native country. The History-teacher Massimo Introvigne presents himself also as "one of the greatest experts in the world on new religious movements". Besides being a teacher and a "sociologist" Introvigne is one of the leaders of the radical right-wing "counter-revolutionary" movement called 'Alleanza Cattolica' , the italian "sister"of a Brazilian cult called 'Tradition, Family and Property' , a.k.a "TFP". His opponents state that CESNUR's "research" is carried out "in such a way as to deliberately promote the policies and ideological goals of CESNUR". CESNUR is an organization led by a catholic right-wing teacher under the authority of the Vatican. The organization has close relationships with organizations like "Legionnaires du Christ" and, indirectly (TPF) , Opus Dei and the Sovereign Military Order of Malta

Jean-Pierre Giudicelli , leader of the French section of the "ORDER OF MYRIAM" (a "Luciferian" Obedience), former Corsican nationalist and right-wing militant ("Ordre Nouveau" and "Troisième Voie"). He was spotted at a gathering in the early days of the "Front National" in Nice in 1986.

Gérard Kloppel , former world Grand Master (until 1998) of the "ORDER OF MEMPHIS-MISRAIM" and the "ORDRE KABBALISTIQUE DE LA ROSE-CROIX".

Jean-Marie Vergério , co-leader of the "TEMPLARS OF CIRCES". CIRCES is the organization headed by Raymond Bernard, former G.M. of A.M.O.R.C. in France. According to fr.Roggemans in the end CIRCES decided not to join the federation.

Triantaphyllos Kotzamanis , "chancellor for Greece of a Templar Group", thus Faubert. I can add to his information that Kotzamanis is one of the leaders of a

Pythagorean Order called "ORDER OF HERMES & ORPHEUS" (probably Faubert refers to this group). Furthermore, Kotzamanis is a leading figure of the "ORDRE MARTINISTE DES CHEVALIERS DU CHRIST" a.k.a O.'.M.'.C.'.C.'. (the American branch is known as the "Martinist Order of the Knights of Christ"), founded in 1971 in Belgium by Armand Toussaint. Toussaint initiated Kotzamanis ('Nomen Mysticum': Tau and-or Sar Hieronymus). Kotzamanis founded Martinist Lodges under the name of "Loges de Chevaliers Vert".

Serge Caillet , member and high dignitary of MEMPHIS-MISRAIM. Caillet is known in the international esoteric community as a "serious" researcher and writer. It was Caillet who found in 1982 in Leon Lelarge's home a lot of documents belonging to the F.U.D.O.S.I. and the Belgian Rosicrucian and Pythagorean Order of Sar Hieronymus / Emile Dantinne and Sar Elgrim / Jean Mallinger. As stated in an earlier Chapter, without these documents a lot of information in this document could not have been written ! some well-known titles of Caillet: Sar Hieronymus et la F.U.D.O.S.I. 1986, L'Ordre Rénové du Temple - Aux Racines du Temple Solaire Suivi du témoignage de Raymond Bernard 1997, Arcanes & Rituels de la Maçonnerie Egyptienne 1994.

Robert Amadou , a well-known Martinist and priest in the "EGLISÉ SYRIENNE" (SYRIAN CHURCH), and "a frequent guest of the weightier Freemasons of Zürich" (Koenig). Amadou , like Caillett, is a well-known researcher and writer. He lectures at a University in Paris.

Jean-Pascal Ruggiu, Imperator and Praemonstrator of the "Ahathoor-Temple" of the GOLDEN DAWN in Paris ("Rosicrucian Command of Alpha Omega"). The "Ahathoor-Temple" is an 'associate-temple' of the "CONFEDERATIO FRATERNITATIS ROSAE CRUCIS / C.'.F.'.R.'.C.'. , also known as the "United Confederation of Independent and Autonomous Temples". The federation is led by Cris Monnastre, who was initiated by the late Dr. Israel Regardie and founded (under the supervision of Regardie) back in 1982 the "Ordis Khenti Amenti Temple". The affiliated Orders of the C.F.R.C. are all reconstituted GOLDEN DAWN -Orders : "ORDO ROSAE RUBEAE ET AUREAE CRUCIS" - R.R. et A.C. , "STELLA MATUTINA" , "ORDO ROSAE CRUCIS" , "ALPHA ET OMEGA" - ROSICRUCIAN ORDER OF ALPHA ET OMEGA , The "HOLY ORDER OF THE GOLDEN DAWN"(from A.E.Waite's offshoot, founded in1900, writer's note: A.E. Waite's next order (1914) was named "FELLOWSHIP OF THE (TRUE) ROSY CROSS") , The "ORDER OF THE SACRED WORD".

George Mague de Cressac, symphatizer of esoteric-political organizations, such as the Russian based "MILII ANGEL", led by Alexander Dugin, co-leader of the Russian "Front National".

Paolo Fogagnolo , Italian revolutionary and Marxist (apparently a member of the notorious "Brigata Rossa"), a radical left-winger who was chartered by Lamparter to found O.T.O.A. (ORDO TEMPLI ORIENTIS ANTIQUA of Bertiaux)–Lodges in 1985. In 1986 he was initiated by Kotzamanis into the Athens "Chevaliers du Christ"Martinist Lodge, in 1989 he was nominated as a S::l:: by Kotzamanis. Fogagnolo is also the

Italian Patriarch of the "Krumm-Heller Church" and a bishop in the "Church of Antioch". He also became national Italian Grand Master of the "Orient Universel des Rites Traditionnels" through Kotzamanis. Fogagnolo led his own O.T.O.(A)-group, "Agape-Prometeo", which was involved in the "revolutionary political fight for Spiritual communism"(fr. Roggemans refers to this group as the "Fraternite Rose-Croix Doree et Antique"). In 1991 he severed his links with the "Groupe d' Alexandrie" , because he considered these gentlemen to be "fascistoid". (P.R.Koenig; "Paris en Printemps" <http://home.sunrise.ch/~prkoenig/italy.htm>)

Christian Bouchet , One of the most interesting and controversial members of the group. "As a militant atheist, Bouchet prefers to be called by his surname only". Since the 70's he has been a militant in the French far-right. Like Giudicelli he was a member of the "Troisieme Voie" which he left in 1991 to found his own militant group, "Nouvelle Resistance", a.k.a. "NR". The "NR" maintains a friendly relationship with the Russian National Front. O.T.O.-researcher P.R.Koenig describes Boucher, besides being a man who's "caught up in the murky world of neo-fascism", as a French Order-enthusiast and collector. Bouchet calls himself an "ethnologist" and runs three separate magazines: "Lutte du Peuple" (neo-nazi magazine for the general public), "Vouloir" , a cultural publication largely devoted to studies on Nietzsche and Crowley, and "Thelema" , only accessible for "Initiates". Bouchet is a member of the Californian-based "Caliphate-O.T.O." . in 1977 this organization selfstyled itself to be the worldwide Grand Lodge of the "official" O.T.O. Regarding Bouchet's membership, Bill Heidrick, "Treasurer General of ORDO TEMPLI ORIENTIS", states in a letter written to Faubert that Bouchet was expelled from the O.T.O. in 1992 without having passed beyond the 1st Degree. Bouchet was a prominent speaker at several CESNUR events;" at the international CESNUR conference at Santa Barbara in 1991, and four times in France in 1992" (Serge Faubert, "Le vrai visage des sectes", L' Evenement du Jeudi, 1993.10.11).

The "Groupe de Thebes / Cercle d'Alexandrie" was formed to unite various organizations under the same roof. Some of the "dignitaries" of the "Cercle d'Alexandrie" are, to put it mildly, quite questionable as members !

It seems that Remi Boyer does not have a problem with Circle-members like Bouchet, Giudicelli, de Cressac, or Fogagnolo. Regarding Giudicelli's political preferences Boyer answered (transl.):

"I am aware of his ideas and his past, but what connects us is of more significance than what seperates us", thus Boyer.

The group meets at the Grand Lodge of the Grand Orient in the Rue du Cadet in Paris, France. The relationship with the "Grand Orient de France" (founded in 1773, with (roughly) 800 lodges the G.O.D.F. is the largest Masonic obedience of France) extends in co-operation in the field of historical research.

In the late seventies numerous historical Masonic documents were discovered in

the area of the German-Polish border. The documents concerned were the ones that were confiscated by the S.S. "AHNENERBE" of Himmler during the second Worldwar. Remi Boyer and the historian Claude Arroux travelled to Poznan, Poland, where they had permission of the authorities to investigate the documents. Arroux also visited an old castle dating back to the days of King Frederick II of Prussia (the "rosicrucian King", who reigned from 1740 up to 1786). According to Arroux, he discovered a Temple which used to belong to the "Order of the African Architects" (a.k.a. "African Master Builders"), an esoteric-Masonic Order founded by K.F. Koeppen (1734-1797). The Order studied the Egyptian religion, philosophy, and architecture. The Order also practised Alchemy . According to the "Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica" (in Amsterdam), the famous "Crata Repoa" was the constitution of the organization. The book describes the seven Grades of Egyptian Initiation in the system of Koeppen. The Order influenced the esoteric and Egyptian rites of France, rites which would finally develop into the "Antient and Primitive Rite of Memphis-Misraim".

The "Groupe de Thebes /"Cercle d'Alexandrie" disbanded around 1993/ 1994. A dispute between Bouchet and Ruggiu led to the dissolution of the circle. Apparently some journalists with a dislike of Freemasonry manipulated Ruggiu , which resulted in a publication in 'L'Evenement du Jeudi' . This publication is one of the main sources of this chapter. "The co-operation was continued in a different form", thus Boyer.....

in 1990 Remi Boyer published a list of participating organizations of the "CERCLE d'ALEXANDRIE" :

ASSOCIATION SHINGON DE FRANCE

BONNE VOLENTE MONDIALE

ASSOCIATION LE SENTIER

VILLAGE DU VERSEAU

CENTRE SRI CHINMOY

COLLEGE SACERDOTAL DE LA ROSE-CROIX

ORDRE CHEVALERESQUE DE LA ROSE-CROIX

EGLISE CATHOLIQUE LIBERALE

GRANDE LOGE INDEPENDANTE ET SOUVERAINE DES RITES UNIS

INSTITUTE PHILOSOPHIQUE PYTHAGORICIEN

INSTITUTE FOR PLANETARY SYNTHESIS

WORLD TEACHER TRUST

KAGYU LING COLLEGE MONASTIQUE

DHAGPO KAGYU LING

LA MONTAGNE DE LA CLAIRE LUMIERE

LES PHILOSOPHES DE LA NATURE / LPN

ORDER OF THE STAR ET WHITE LOTUS GROUP

SOCIETE ISOLEMENT SILENCE

SOCIETE MERE MEERA BF

SOCIETE THEOSOFIQUE

UNIVERSITE DU TEMPS PRESENT

EGLISE ROSICRUCIENNE APOSTOLIQUE GRECQUE

ORDRE MARTINISTE DES PAUVRES CHEVALIERS DU CHRIST

MISSION SWAMI ATMANANDA 'LA FLEUR D'OR'

CERCLE SWEDENBORG

ORDRE DES ELUS COHENS

THE END

NOVEMBER 2000, Milko Bogaard

Milko.bogaard@nl.origin-it.com

(the Netherlands) VERSION 1.2

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F.U.D.O.S.I. : Original Documents :

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correspondences M.Roggemans-Marie-Louise Dantine

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<http://members.dynasty.net/merlin/chevil.htm>

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Controversy around a Document ("a letter from A.M.O.R.C. France to P.R.Koenig" and extracts from the book "Les Rose-Croix du Nouveau Monde" Vanloo

[http:// home.sunrise.ch/~prkoenig/Vanloo/Vanloo.htm](http://home.sunrise.ch/~prkoenig/Vanloo/Vanloo.htm)

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PERSONAL FILES

Hieronymus, Imperator de la FUDOSI

Fr. ROGER MARECHAL, Liege-Belgium (file; Roggemans)

MARCEL ROGGMANS, F.R.C. S::l::, innumerable personal correspondences between March and October, 2000+ translations of his website: "History of the Occult & Mystical Brotherhoods"

Robert VANLOO, personal correspondences

Fr. FUDICIUS, FRATRES LUCIS, personal correspondences

Special thanks to Peter R.Koenig for the valuable information on Reuss, Krumm-Heller, Hilfiker-Dunn, Traenker , etc.

Visit his Website : " THE ORDO TEMPLI ORIENTIS PHENOMENON" at:

<http://www.cyberlink.ch/~koenig/intro.htm>

ADDENDA

Table of Contents

Addendum 1 Harvey Spencer Lewis' history of the

O.T.O., excerpt from

'Audi Alteram Partem' c)1935

Addendum 2 T.A.W.U.C. , Reuss'handwritten manuscript

Addendum 3 articles from 'The Mystic Triangle', publ.

A.M.O.R.C. Sept.1921, and 'Rosicrucian

Digest' sept.1930

Addendum 4 Notes on Chapter 5, Egyptian Masonry:

Addendum 5 F.U.D.O.S.I. Symbol

Addendum 6 Victor Blanchard

Addendum 7 Saint-Yves d'Alveydre and 'Synarchy'

Addendum 8 a 'War of the Roses' in America,

Clymer versus Lewis

Addendum 9 List of affiliated Orders and Counsel-dignitaries

1

BY ENTRANCE AND BY LEAVING OF THE CHAPTER ASSEMBLY, AND WHEN THE KNIGHTS STAND IN ORDER, DO THE SIGN OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD AND GIVE THE ENTRANCE WORD "GOLGOTHA".

THE GREAT PASSWORD IS "LOGOS". THE HOLY WORD IS INRI.

TAKE YOUR PLACE IN THE WEST UNDER THE COMRADES OF THE HIGH AND ILLUSTRIOUS KNIGHTHOOD OF THE ROSY-CROSS! (Speech!)

SUBLIME KNIGHT OF THE EAGLE AND PELICAN AND OF THE ROSY-CROSS OF HEREDOM "18. degree".

Reuss' V° The High Chapter of the Knights of the Rosy-Cross

P.R.Koenig "Theodor Reuss – O.T.O. Rituals

<http://www.dplanet.ch/users/prkoenig/html/rit5.htm>

Addendum1 refers to part three of the forum : '1934-1951 F.U.D.O.S.I.' which deals with the relationship between Harvey Spencer Lewis of A.M.O.R.C. and Theodor Reuss and Heinrich Traenker of the German O.T.O. and COLLEGIUM PANSOPHICUM. Despite the fact that Lewis and the German 'Adepts' did have no interest in each other, after the collaborations between their Orders proved to be a failure, Lewis always respected people like Reuss and the O.T.O in his writings.

In Part 3 i wrote (quote) :

'Strangely enough, in the thirties Lewis refers to Reuss as an important European relation to A.M.O.R.C. The reference can be found in a book (LIBER D / Whitebook series) written by Lewis, published in 1935, called " AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM" ("Hear the other side")'

An excerpt from the original text written by H.S. Lewis :

(Lewis states under the cover of his ' National Membership Defense

Committee' that :)

" THE COMMITTEE HAS SEEN INDISPUTABLE EVIDENCE (...) TO THE EFFECT THAT THE ORDER OF THE ORIENTAL TEMPLE WAS AFFILIATED WITH THE GENUINE ROSICRUCIAN ORGANIZATION AS FAR BACK AS THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY IN EUROPE AND IN 1895 JOHN YARKER, EMINENT MASONIC HISTORIAN (1) IN LONDON WAS SUPREME MAGUS OF THE O.T.O (??) THEODOR REUSS -(WILSSON)- 'PEREGRINUS'- WAS THE ELECTED SUCCESSOR TO YARKER. IT HAS SEEN RECORDS OF A CONVENTION OF THE O.T.O. HELD IN EUROPE IN 1906 AND 1908, AND IT HAS SEEN A COPY OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE O.T.O. PUBLISHED IN AUSTRIA AND GERMANY IN 1907, PROVING THAT THE ORGANIZATION WAS A LARGE ONE BEFORE 1911. IT HAS SEEN EVIDENCE TO PROVE THAT THE CHARTER GRANTED TO H.SPENCER LEWIS IN THE NAME OF THE O.T.O. WAS NOT GRANTED BY CROWLEY(2), BUT BY THE WELLKNOWN EUROPEAN MYSTIC, MAGUS THEODOR

REUSS-WILLSON OF MUNICH, WHOSE LATIN OFFICIAL NAME IS KNOWN ALL OVER EUROPE AS 'PEREGRINUS'

[http:// home.sunrise.ch/~prkoenig/vanloo/vanloo.htm](http://home.sunrise.ch/~prkoenig/vanloo/vanloo.htm)

P.R.Koenig "Robert Vanloo -Controversy around a document"

Exc. From Les Rose-Croix du Nouveau Monde, Vanloo 1996

Thus Lewis.

Of course most of the information Lewis gives about the O.T.O.

related to Yarker and the Rosicrucians of the 17th. century is nonsense. The O.T.O. is an Order founded by Reuss and probably Karl Kellner, in the beginning of the 20th.century. As for John Yarker, Reuss bought a warrant from John Yarker for THE ANCIENT AND PRIMITIVE RITE of MEMPHIS-MIZRAIM, and also for the CERNEAU-Version of the ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED RITE (N.Y. 1807),

Yarker had not even heard of the O.T.O. simply because the Order did not exist at that time. But the statement i want to make is that Lewis refers to the O.T.O as a respectful, ancient, TRUE Order of the Ancient and Venerable Rosicrucians of Europe ! (maybe he just needed proof for the 'authenticity' of his own Order and used the various charters given by various 'Adepts' to support his claims.....these 'charters were just

'Honorary Diploma's')

The A.M.O.R.C. of the present day has a total different opinion about the O.T.O.

.....

t o b e c o n t i n u e d

1) One of John Yarker's most famous works is called 'ARCANE SCHOOLS'.

For anyone who is interested in this 'classic' :

http://www.kena.org/hirams/religion_and_philosophy.htm

On this page you'll find a lot of ZIP.FILES of Masonic interest. For

Yarker, open : YARKERAS.ZIP

2) I personally have seen a charter written by Aleister Crowley for H.S. Lewis. It was dated 'the 14th year of the new aeon'. The 'new aeon' refers to Crowley's "Cairo-workings" in 1904 where he 'received' (attunement) the 'BOOK OF THE LAW'. 'The 14th year of the new aeon' is therefore 1918. Of course, AMORC denies the existence of the charter.....

2

SUMMA SCIENTIA, NIHIL SCIRE. NIHIL SCIRE, OMNIA POSSE.*

As we can read in part 2, which deals with the relationship between Theodor Reuss (O.T.O.) and Harvey Spencer Lewis (A.M.O.R.C.), there were official plans for a forthcoming collaboration between Reuss' O.T.O. and A.M.O.R.C. in 1921. On the following URL we can find a document of historical value.

It's a facsimile of Theodor Reuss' handwritten manuscript for T.A.W.U.C., 'THE AMORC WORLD UNION COUNCIL'. The Url can be found at : P.R.Koenig "Theodor Reuss' handwritten Manuscript for TAWUC"

<http://home.sunrise.ch/~prkoenig/reuss/tawuc.jpg>.

As you can see the document is written in German. Furthermore Reuss' handwriting is not easy to read. After enhancing and sharpening the actual text, i was able to translate about 70% of the actual text :At the top of the page we can read :

T.A.W.U.C. - The European version of the American Rosae Crucis. The official organ of the A.M.O.R.C. World Council. An exponent of the Mystical Rosicrucians.

Muenchen @ San Fransisco October, 1921.

At the left margin we can read i.a. :

Contents :

a)Manifesto , b) the Origin of the Order, d) Introduction, e) Manuscript-excerpts, c) the text refers probably to certain titles of manuscripts/papers, one of them reads : " The Dead Fisherman ".

At the bottom (left) : Correspondence-Address, Andreas Ullmer/ Muenchen.

Right margin i.a. :

c) Parsifal and The Secret of the Graal Unveiled, The True Secrets of Masonry- by T. Reuss, The Eucharist

Apparently the 'The A.M.O.R.C. WORLD UNION COUNCIL' (T.A.W.U.C.) was based upon Reuss' writings "LINGAM-YONI" (1906) and "PARSIFAL" (1914). For anyone who's interested in these 'sexmagical writings' :

THEODOR REUSS : 'PARSIFAL AND THE SECRET OF THE GRAAL UNVEILED'

<http://www.dplanet.ch/users/prkoenig/html/parsifal.htm>

THEODOR REUSS : 'LINGAM-YONI'

<http://www.dplanet.ch/users/prkoenig/html/lingam.htm>

P.R.Koenig

"according to the title-page its author used "old and secret documents of an Order" but the book was hardly more than a translation of "PHALLISM: A DESCRIPTION OF THE LINGAM-YONI.... AND OTHER SYMBOLS CONNECTED WITH THE MYSTERIES OF SEXWORSHIP"" privately printed at London in 1889." (source: P.R.Koenig).

Furthermore it's interesting to know that Lewis at one time was probably interested in these teachings. Phallism is one of the most misunderstood aspects of the Mysteries, especially in our time. The teachings Reuss taught were of a 'passive nature'.

t o b e c o n t i n u e d source:p.r.koenig

"THE HIGHEST WISDOM IS TO KNOW NOTHING, KNOWING NOTHING MAKES ANYTHING POSSIBLE"

"HAIL UNTO THEE, THOU REVERED SYMBOL OF LIVE, OF LOVE AND OF RESURRECTION ! IN THE CENTRE POINT OF THIS SACRED SIGN APPEARS THE ROSE AS THE SYMBOL OF THE SOUL OF MAN. THOU SHALT HENCEFORTH BE MY SIGN ! HAIL UNTO THEE, O ROSYCROSS !"

This Addendum is a continuation of the Addenda 1 and 2, in which certain documents, writings etc. are published of H.S.Lewis, T.Reuss, and H.Traenker. The writings concern the 'collaborations' between Harvey Spencer Lewis of A.M.O.R.C. and Theodor Reuss of the O.T.O., and H.S.Lewis and Heinrich Traenker of the PANSOPHIC MOVEMENT.

The following article is written by H.S. Lewis in the 1921 september issue of ' THE MYSTIC TRIANGLE' , the official AMORC- magazine at the time. In the article Lewis announces that he had received during the summer, from the ORDO TEMPLI ORIENTIS, a document granting upon him "the highest Masonic Degrees". "This document also conferred the Emperor with the title of ' Most Illustrious Sir Knight and Frater R.C' and appointed A.M.O.R.C. of America as ' gage of amity for the Ordo Templi Orientis of Europe'. However there was no mention by Lewis in the magazine concerning

the person who had signed the charter because it just said that the

document came from a 'Sovereign Sanctum of Freemasonry abroad' " :

(source: Robert Vanloo)

P.R.Koenig [http:// home.sunrise.ch/~prkoenig/vanloo/vanloo.htm](http://home.sunrise.ch/~prkoenig/vanloo/vanloo.htm)

Excerpt from Vanloo's "Les Rose-Croix du Nouveau Monde, 1996 edition

" One other item may interest our members. A large and interesting

document was received during the month of August from a sovereign sanctum of Freemasonry abroad conferring upon our Emperor the highest Masonic degrees such as Honorary 33* and the 90* and 95* Degrees of the Ancient and Primitive Rites of Memphis-Mizraim (under a charter of authority issued by John Yarker, the eminent Masonic authority and historian and Sovereign Grand Master General of England) whereby our Emperor is given the Masonic titles of PRINCE OF MEMPHIS (Egypt), MEMBER OF THE SOVEREIGN TRIBUNAL AND DEFENDER OF THE ORDER; and SOVEREIGN PATRIARCHAL GRAND CONSERVATOR OF THE RITES, SUBLIME PRINCE OF THE MAGI. The honorary 33th Degree carries with it the title of KNIGHT GRAND INSPECTOR GENERAL. The document further makes the Emperor an Honorary member of the Sovereign Sanctuary of Switzerland, Austria and Germany. These Masonic honors are conferred under the charter and authority of grand Orient of

Ancient Gaul and the Supreme Sanctuary of Great Britain. Also the ORDO TEMPLI ORIENTIS (ORIENTAL ORDER OF THE TEMPLE, FRATERNITY OF THE HERMETIC LIGHT), has conferred its high degrees upon our Imperator with the title of Most Illustrious Sir Knight and Fratre R.C., appointing our Supreme Lodge in this country as Gage of Amity for the Ordo Templi Orientis of Europe "

(source: the Mystic Triangle, sept. 29, 1921 , publ; A.M.O.R.C.)

<http://home.sunrise.ch/~prkoenig/vanloo/vanloo.htm>

Robert Vanloo

The actual titles do not appear on the Charter issued by Reuss, they are derived from titles of certain Grades of the MEMPHIS-MIZRAIM RITE. The titles don't give any authority whatsoever ! They are just titles of certain Masonic degrees which Lewis certainly never actually worked. The M.:M.:Rite was incorporated, like so many other Orders and Rites, in the constitution of the O.T.O, and as we all know the charter Lewis received was an Honorary Charter which did not confer any authorization concerning the O.T.O. What could be the reason for Lewis' claims of titles, his claims of a Council of the Universe of which he spoke, of which he was a high officer etc.

Another article during his collaborations with Heinrich Traenker of

PANSOPHIA, published in THE ROSICRUCIAN DIGEST of September 1930. - the article concerns a most incredible story of a bloodtransfusion from one of the descendants of the 'original Christian Rosenkreuz'. Of course the following article is linked with Traenker (Traenker as 'a Rosicrucian Grand Master') but is Lewis' pure invention. As stated in part 3, Traenker and Lewis collaborated in the "PANSOPHIA INTERNATIONAL ROSICRUCIAN COUNCIL", which turned out to be a disillusion for both Traenker and Lewis. The final result of the partnership was the publication in november 1930 under the heading ' INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE ANCIENT MYSTICAL ORDER ROSAE CRUCIS, BERLIN' of an 'OFFICIAL COMMUNICATION TO ALL HUMANITY' otherwise known as ' SECOND OFFICIAL FAMA', said to be issued through the ' UNITED ORGANIZATIONS OF THE ROSE CROSS : A.M.O.R.C., BROTHERHOOD OF THE ROSE CROSS, FRATERNITAS HERMETICA LUCIS, ORDO TEMPLI ORIENTIS, COLLEGIUM PANSOPHIA, SOCIETAS PANSOPHIA'.

" The recent convention of Rosicrucians at San Jose during the month of July became of greater importance than we anticipated through the fact that it actually became an International Convention. Among the highlights of important matters that were settled by the Convention are the following : First, the presentation of documents and records showing that A.M.O.R.C. throughout the world is one solid, universal organization without any divisions other than geographical ones. The most important of

the documents in this regard was one sent here for this Convention by the Emperor and Supreme Council of the Order in Germany (read: TRAENKER). The Rosicrucian Order there, known as the ROZEN KREUZER, has an unbroken existence for many centuries, for it has adhered to the ancient principles of the Order whereby each Supreme Grand Master is succeeded by one of his sons or a brother of his blood. In some countries where such succession has been made impossible because the Grand Masters had no offspring or relatives, the lineal descent through blood relationship has been maintained by the transfusion of blood from the body of the existing Grand master to the new and succeeding officer before the transition of the former. In every case where an Emperor has been appointed for a new jurisdiction, after a period of inactivity where there were no direct descendants in the interval, the new Emperor was always selected from

among those persons who were the nearest relatives to the last Grand Master. Such selected persons journeyed abroad and in a high council meeting, and in the presence of the other Masters, was acclaimed as the nearest in direct link, and later the blood of the highest Master in direct line was transfused into his body to give him the actual blood relationship to the direct line. Thus in all of the active jurisdictions today, the highest officer has received through transfusion the blood of C.R-C and is a DIRECT SUCCESSOR TO THIS EMINENT CHARACTER WHOSE ORIGINAL IDENTITY IS SO CAREFULLY CONCEALED. The C.R-C. of Germany, who became so well known in the 17th century, was one of these descendants of the original C.R-C., and it may be of interest to our members to know that our Emperor here in North America has also RECEIVED THE TRANSFUSION OF DIRECT BLOOD because of his actual relationship, indirectly, TO RELATIVES OF THE ORIGINAL ROSENKREUZERS of ancient times. The German document sent here was only signed and sealed by the head of the organization in Germany, but countersigned and sealed by the highest officers of the German Government and is an indisputable document, and finally countersigned and sealed by the American Consul General in Berlin".

<http://home.sunrise.ch/~prkoenig/vanloo/vanloo.htm>

Robert Vanloo

By representing these published articles, claims etc. we'll get a better picture of the intentions of H.S. Lewis. I'm personally convinced that the sole purpose of all his international collaborations, communications etc. was to lend credibility to his own organization, A.M.O.R.C.

From the early days on, Lewis was being forced into producing tangible proofs of filiation and authenticity by his 'followers'. Finally the F.U.D.O.S.I. would lend A.M.O.R.C. its credibility.....

WHO WAS AT THAT TIME THE GREATEST OF THE SERAPHIM AND REGENT OF HEAVEN, REFUSED TO BOW BEFORE THE NEW CREATION.'HOW CAN A SON OF FIRE BOW TO A SON OF CLAY ?' HE RESPONDED."

Addendum 4 refers to part 6 of the forum "F.U.D.O.S.I. 1934-1951". This Addendum is build around the references in part 6, marked 1 up to 6.

1)

'THE ANTIENT RITE OF MEMPHIS-MIZRAIM'. For information upon this Rite, which plays an important role within the 19th. and 20th century esoteric movement, I'll refer (for the time being) to the following internet-sides.

All i'll say for now is, that the Rite is build around the 'Scottish Rite', the 'Memphis Rite' and the 'Misraim Rite' which are derived themselves from Old, Hermetic-Masonic Rites from the 18th century such as :

'THE RITE OF ELECTED COHENS' , 1721

'THE RITE OF HEREDOM or PERFECTION', 1743

'THE INITIATED BROTHERS OF ASIA', 1780

'THE ELECTED COHENS', 1734, in Marseilles, Toulouse and Bordeaux, France.

'ACADEMY OF TRUE MASONS' , Avignon 1760

'EMPIRE OF THE EAST AND WEST' , 1753, later rectified as the 'ANTIENT AND ACCEPTED SCOTTISH RITE' in 33 degrees.

'ORDER OF AFRICAN ARCHITECTS', 1767

'CRATA REPOA'

'CLERKS OF RELAXED OBSERVANCE', 1767, founded by Baron Von Hund, a Rite

which produced the 'HIGH OBSERVANCE', devoted to Hermetic Magic, Alchemy etc.

'PHILOSOPHICAL SCOTCH RITE' , 1776

'RITE OF PHILALETHES', 1773, founded by Court de Gebelin

'RITE OF CAGLIOSTRO', 1779

'PRIMITIVE RITE OF PHILADELPHES OF NARBONNE', 1779. To this Rite the M.:M.:.

refers for the origin of its principles and form of organization.

For further information upon the MEMPHIS-MISRAIM RITE, MEMPHIS-RITE, and the

ANTIENT AND PRIMITIVE RITE OF MASONRY' see :

1) <http://users.londonweb.net/ibcsystems/home.htm>

a site created and maintained by the Rite in England under the Auspices of the International Sanctuary, including a short biography of John Yarker.

2) <http://www.iss-ic-memphis-misraim.org/>

issued under the authority of the international Sovereign Sanctuary of the

ANTIENT AND PRIMITIVE RITE OF MEMPHIS-MISRAIM, the international coordination.

3) <http://members.xoom.com/misraim/MEMPHIS-USA.html>

a sketch of the history of the Rite in France, America and Great Britain, with Charters & other documents from the archives of the Sovereign Sanctuary, Supreme power of THE REGULAR MASONIC RITE OF MEMPHIS.

4) <http://members.xoom.com/misraim/memphisusa2.html>

a brief introduction and summary of the history of the Rite of Memphis.

note: side 1 & 2 are websites of the ANTIENT AND PRIMITIVE RITE OF MEMPHIS-MISRAIM.

Side 3 and 4 are websites maintained by the RITE OF MEMPHIS in the U.S.A.

On side 3 one can also find the history of THE ANTIENT AND PRIMITIVE RITE OF MASONRY, a system worked by John Yarker of 33 Degrees (instead of the

original 90 degrees). EXCELLENT SIDE !

2)

What is of interest to the forum is the function of the M.:M.: Rite within the esoteric movement at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Rite has always been criticized, the rituals were too pompous without any real value, the lectures with many historical inaccuracies (which is true, but

these inaccuracies can be found within a lot of masonic Rites), even described as being a total sham. And yet good and sincere masons have associated with it. Concerning its value I'll quote the words of the famous historian/Mason and "Rosicrucian" Arthur Edward Waite (1857-1942): "The degrees of the Rite are curious as such, while a few of them are not unimportant, in spite of egregious titles of dignity and of ridiculous claims".

Many prominent and leading personalities of the esoteric community at the time, were also involved with the Rite. Gerard Anacleto Encausse (Papus, 1865-1916), for instance, one of the co-founders of the original MARTINIST ORDER, was Great Hierophant of the M.:M.: from 1913 on until he died in 1916.

One of the basic pillars of the ORDO TEMPLI ORIENTIS, founded by Theodor Reuss at the beginning of the 20th. century, were the charters he'd received (bought) from John Yarker of the Swedenborg Rite, the Antient and Primitive Scottish Rite, and the Memphis-Misraim Rite.

Many O.T.O. members consider themselves to be Freemasons. The 3th degree (Master magician) is in the O.T.O system compatible to the MASTER MASON degree of general freemasonry (Blue Lodge).

It is known that the THEOSOPHIC SOCIETY of H.P. Blavatsky had an 'Inner Order' for "practical work", called the 'Esoteric Section' (or Esoteric School). The Leading members, who resided within the E.S., were also members of the M.:M.:Rite. It was a co-membership!

When one aspired to be a member of the inner circle of the Theosophical Society, one automatically had to become a member of the M.:M.:Rite.....

Rudolf Steiner, for instance, became the Grand Master of the Rite in Germany while being a member of the Theosophical Society (He left the Rite in 1914).

Finally, within the Belgian Lodges of Rombauts and Mallinger the Rite was used to recruit members for the Initiatic orders of Emile Dantinne, the O.:H.:T.:M.:, Ordre de la Rose+Croix Universelle (the Universal Order of the Rose+Cross), Ordre de la Rose+Croix Universitaire (Order of the Rose+Cross University). In 1934 the Belgian

branch rectified and reconstituted the Rite and it's degrees as we've seen in part 5. But what is not mentioned is that the motives of some of the leading members of the F.U.D.O.S.I. were not of an esoteric nature. In part 6 of the forum i'll discuss the political reasons for the reconstitution of the Rite. This side of the F.U.D.O.S.I. is not often discussed.....

3)

Francois Wittemans was a Belgian historian/ FRC/Freemason who wrote a book on the rosicrucian movement called 'a New & Authentic History of the Rosicrucians' at the time.

It's considered a good book by some, on the traditional R+C history as well as on its modern aspects." A curiosity is the section about Imperator Lewis legendaric demonstration where he transmitted Zinc into Gold. The book has been severely criticized because it contains an unaccuracy on Crowley. All in all this book is providing many rare informations" (source : Melchior , a Rosicrucian Page)

"Also please note that Fr Wittemans, the author of the History of the Rosicrucians was guided and influenced by HS Lewis. Fr Wittemans was a member of the Theosophical Society

HSL kept insisting he point out that AMORC was the real Rosicrucian Order and that other groups were false. Fr Wittemans kept asking for payment to be able to keep writing and was initially negotiating with Macoy - the Masonic publishers. They kept writing back to him questioning his assertions re AMORC.

Rather disingeniously , HSL then claimed that even Fr Wittemans supported AMORC's position as the real RC Order, when it was HSL who had influenced the sincere and trusting Br Wittemans to make the original assertion".

(source: Elias Ibrahim- Martinist E-Group)

4)According to the F.U.D.O.S.I. the source of the 'Antient & Primitive Rite of Memphis-Mizraim' had to be a Rosicrucian source. Their 'philosophy' was simple. According to their Traditional History the Source of Rosicrucianism was Ancient Egypt. According to the traditional History of the M.:M.: Rite the source of the two Rites was Ancient Egypt. One has to remember that the traditional source of the Memphis Rite is not the same source as the origin of the Misraim Rite. Both Rites existed next to each other before 1880. The Memphis-Rite mentions Ormuz as it's founder, while the Misraim-Rite mentions Menes as it's founder. Despite this information the following explanation of the name Memphis-Misraim was given at the time:

"Memphis was the capital city of Ancient Egypt during the reign of the the first king of Egypt, Menes, in 5600 b.c. Mizraim is a hebrew word that means " the Egyptians".

"Memphis-Mizraim" therefore signifies 'THE EGYPTIANS OF THE CITY OF MEMPHIS'.

This kind of historical claims and research is typical of the esoteric

Orders and societies, and especially A.M.O.R.C.(again, writer's opinion)

5)

Constant Chevillon stated in the document that Lewis was initiated by Reuss in Germany in 1921.

This was not true. Lewis was never 'initiated' by Reuss. He received a charter from the O.T.O. as a 'Honorary member' , a gage of amity. Lewis received the 7th degree ('O.T.O. VII° Grand Councillor of the Mystical Templars'). For further details, see Part II of this forum (Reuss , Lewis & T.A.W.U.C.)

6)

Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) was an italian Patriot. He was born in Nice, France. He fought for the unification of Italy. In 1870 He fought with the French Army. In 1864 he was the Grand Master of the Italian Grand Lodge of Freemasonry. In 1880, under his authority, the Memphis Rite and the Misraim-Rite were united in the "ANTIENT AND PRIMITIVE RITE OF MEMPHIS-MISRAIM". Garibaldi was the first international Grand Master of the Rite, Ad Vitam.

' EVERY NEW CYCLE IS BORN IN HAVOC AND PAIN '

5

... .. CONVERSELY, NATURAL SYMBOLS PERSIST, SINCE THEY ARE ROOTED IN SOME PHENOMENON OF NATURE WHICH MEN OF EACH CENTURY PERCEIVE MORE OR LESS ALIKE. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SYMBOL MAY ALTER; NAMELY, THERE MAY COME ABOUT AN ELABORATION OF THE IDEAS IT REPRESENTS, BUT IT WILL CONTINUE TO BE RELATED TO THE ORIGINAL CONCEPTION HAD BY MAN.

Sar Validivar (1), Imperator of A.M.O.R.C. - "The Eternal Symbol" publ. 1946

THE EMBLEM OF THE F.U.D.O.S.I.

by

Dr. JEAN MALLINGER, F.R.C.

Grand Chancellor of the F.U.D.O.S.I.

"It is our much regretted Imperator, Dr.H.Spencer Lewis (Sar Alden), who created and drew the Universal symbol of the F.U.D.O.S.I.

He presented it to the members of the Congress in 1934 and, owing to its profound significance, its uncommon and original combination, it was unanimously adopted.

It represents the MYSTICAL EGG which, in Egypt, of old, involved all the Mysteries.

In its center are 2 bipolar magnets, representing the 2 hemispheres united in one same spiritual brotherhood. Initiation is indeed Universal and all men of good will are entitled to it, whatever be their birth country.

An unfinished TRIANGLE and an incomplete SQUARE are coupled together in its center, because all traditional initiations, far from combatting each other, are complementary, one to the other, so as to give a unique light to the Neophyte.

The HOLY CROSS in the center represents the CHRISTIAN current of Initiation, whereas the SQUARE symbolizes the HELLENIC Initiation and the TRIANGLE the MARTINIST Initiation. This symbol archives the miracle of realizing the spiritual Unity.

During the Convention held in Paris in 1937, our Brother, Sar Iohannes (2), showed to the astonished members of the Congress that, by placing the symbol of the F.U.D.O.S.I. on the revolving disc of a phonograph and giving it an increasing speed, there came a moment when a new esoteric symbol appeared which, by itself, involved and vivified all other symbols: the true SWASTIKA of the Hindu Initiation ..."

notes :

(1) 'Sar Validivar' was the "Nomen Mysticum" of Ralph Maxwell Lewis, son of Harvey Spencer Lewis. Ralph M. Lewis became the Imperator of A.M.O.R.C. in 1939, after his father died on August 2 of that same year. In September of 1939 he was also installed as Imperator of the F.U.D.O.S.I. As stated in part 5 the F.U.D.O.S.I. was headed officially by a Triumvirat of three Imperators.

(2) 'Sar Iohannes' was the "Nomen Mysticum" of Dr.Hans Grueter, Grand Master of A.M.O.R.C. for France at the time. He was a dentist from Nice. Grueter was also a Freemason (33*), member of the 'Antient & Primitive Rite of Memphis-Misraim'(97*) and member of B'nai B'rith. At one time he was a member of the 'Supreme Conseil de la Grande Loge de France' and chairman of the 'Philosophie Ecossaise Internationale'. An intriguing question is how Grueter could accept the statements made by Sar Hieronymus / Emile Dantinne, in which he condemned the Jewish people as a race (see part 7). Hans Grueter is stated to be a member of the B'NAI B'RITH, founded in 1843 as a para-masonic Order, strictly reserved for Jews. The Constitution of the B'NAI B'RITH firmly states that one of the main reasons the Order was founded, was to unite all Jews in a fraternal brotherhood and to protect their people against any form of

anti-semiticism. So how could Dr. Grueter accept the views of some of the F.U.D.O.S.I. members concerning the Jewish race, Grueter being a Jew himself ?

Update, Oct.28, 2000 :

The documents concerned were found in the private collection (Lelarge-files) of Emile Dantinne. They were not published at the time of the existence of the Federation. Even Martin Erler (OHTM/ORA) , Dantinne's "successor" was not aware of the existence of these documents. Erler inherited most of the personal files belonging to Dantinne. When Marcel Roggemans confronted Erler with the controversial documents, Erler was shocked and told Roggemans he never knew or heard of the existence of the documents with its anti-Jewish statements. Therefore it is reasonable to presume that the other dignitaries of the F.U.D.O.S.I. were not aware of Dantinne's views at the time. At the end of Chapter 9 the text refers to a possible explanation for the existence of the controversial documents (Lucien Sabah "Une police politique de Vichy: le Service des Sociétés Secrètes").

6

" ... THE CIRCLE OF WHITE LIGHT, BEING THE REVELATION OF THE NATURE OF THE SELF. THE FISH IS FREED FROM ITS SPATIAL-TEMPORAL BONDS, AND THE HEART IS NOW VOID FROM PASSION.

THE CIRCLE OF LIGHT IS THE WHITE STONE, THE IMMORTAL FOETUS IN TAOISM, THE SEED INDESTRUCTABLE, THE WING RECOVERED. VITALITY RECOVERED, THE ELIXER PREPARED, THE LIGHT SOARS UP TO THE ORIGINAL CAVITY OF THE SPIRIT AND MANIFESTS BRIGHTLY BETWEEN THE EYES. THIS IS THE LEAP INTO THE VOID, THE RE-ABSORPTION INTO THE ONE ... "

W.H.Mueller,"POLARIA"

VICTOR BLANCHARD (1878-1953)

Addendum 6 is dedicated to Victor Blanchard, a leading character within the F.U.D.O.S.I. and the Martinist-movement, as well as several other occult societies. Blanchard was Gerard Encausse's (Papus) secretary, with whom he organized the Spiritualist Congress in Paris in 1908. Victor Blanchard was, between the two World Wars the Sovereign Grand Master of 'THE MARTINIST ORDER AND SYNARCHIE', under the initiatic name (nomen mysticum) of Paul Yesir. He was a disciple of Saint-Yves d'Alveydre (1842-1909, 'developed the

philosophy of 'SYNARCHY', a 'vision' of a world-leadership based on spiritual & social foundations). He was head of the general secretariat for the Members of Parliament of France. According to Jean Mallinger (Sar Elgrim), "his knowledge of

magnetism, and the sacred literature of Egypt were remarkable".

As already mentioned above, Victor Blanchard was Papus's secretary within 'THE MARTINIST ORDER', founded by Papus and Chaboseau in 1891. When Papus died in 1916, he was succeeded by Charles Détré (also known as 'Téder'). Téder constructed in 1913 the standard rituals of 'the Martinist Order'. According to 'Sar Anael' of the 'ORDEN MARTINISTA' from Spain, Téder used the written ritual of Francois-Charles Barlet (member of the original 'SUPRÈME CONSEIL de L'ORDRE MARTINISTE and successor of Stanislas de Guaita, one of the founders of the 'ORDRE KABBALISTIQUE DE LA ROSE-CROIX'). Téder's leadership was short-lived, just two years after the death of Papus Téder died in 1918.

Blanchard also acted as Téder's deputy. Who would succeed Téder as the next Grand Master? Some sources are convinced that Victor Blanchard was appointed to be the successor of Téder. History tells us that Jean Bricaud became the successor of Téder as Grand Master of the Martinist Order. Fact is that "in the absence of well established rules regarding the nomination or succession of a Grand Master, it is impossible to say whether Bricaud or Blanchard was the legitimate Grand Master".

BLANCHARD vs. BRICAUD

The following passage is written by Robert Ambelain and can be found in "Le Martinisme" on page 150. It clearly undermines Jean Bricaud's Legitimacy of transmission from Téder.

"Regarding Bricaud's alleged rights to Grand Mastership of the Martinist Order there are also several witnesses I can remember. One of the witnesses is still living here in Paris (note- this was in 1946). Brother Nicholas Choumitsky (from whom Ambelain received the Russian Martinist filiation), of an old Russian Martinist family...pupil and disciple of Charles Barlet, has told me:

'I returned to France in 1919. Téder had died. I asked Chacornac Snr, who was therefore the Grand Master of the Martinist Order, and he answered:"It is Blanchard". I therefore made contact with Blanchard. A meeting was organized between Bricaud and Blanchard. It took place in a café. Blanchard arrived with some members of his Supreme Council. Bricaud arrived alone,

P>bringing with him a document, framed in glass, which claimed that Téder had nominated him as his successor. Blanchard became violently angry, and after examination of the document, the unanimous opinion was that it was not authentic. Bricaud left the impression on those attending of being superficial and lacking any depth. I then turned to Charles Barlet and asked

him who was the true successor of Téder. He smiled and said that Martinism was "a circle whose circumference was everywhere and the center nowhere". He intended by this that it did not have a Grand Master. Afterwards Madame Detre (Téder's wife) told

me that her husband could not have designated a successor since he wasn't at all intending to die! According to her he died following a magical ritual'.

The document mentioned, still existing in the Archives of the Martinist Order, mainly advises the dignitaries of the 'Ordre Martiniste' of Téder's death. It is signed "Jean Bricaud 33 90 95, President of the Suprême Conseil and Grand Master General of the Order". Bricaud referred to himself as Grand Master, without consulting the dignitaries of the Order. "And since Téder had not nominated anyone, as can be seen, the result was a little too immediate...The Grand Councils of Italy, Spain, and of Great Britain, cut off their relations with the Suprême Conseil of Lyon. A great number of French Martinists joined Blanchard and his 'Ordre Martiniste et Synarchique', others remained isolated and rejoined Augustin Chaboseau's (Founder of the Martinist Order, together with Papus) Traditional Martinist Order, 12 years later."

Another important fact, which would influence the developments within the Martinist Order, was the "connection" between the Martinist Order and Freemasonry, propagated by Téder.

The story already began in 1908 at the Congress in Paris, organized by Papus. Papus and Téder looked at the possibilities to connect the Martinist Order with the High degrees of French Freemasonry. It seems that in 1914 Papus and Téder came to an agreement with Dr. de Ribeaucourt, Grand Master of the RITE ECOSSAIS RECTIFIÉ (the Scottish Rectified Rite 1*), to create a Martinist Grand Chapter which would act as a bridge between the Martinist Order and Scottish Freemasonry. Unfortunately for this project, the first World War, the death of Papus in 1916, and a change in the Grand Mastership of the R.E.R. brought an end to this project. But Téder started to work upon this concept, in which he overlooked all the possibilities for a possible union between the Order and Masonry. The outcome was the birth of the 'ORDRE MARTINISTE-MARTINÉZISTE de LYON' in 1916. One of the consequences was that women were excluded from the Order, because Masonry did not accept women.

After the death of Téder in 1918, Jean Bricaud decreed that the Martinist Order would only admit Masons of the 3rd Degree, also known within Craft Masonry as 'Master Masons'. Many original Members did not approve of this "Masonizing" of the Order, and many, as we've already seen, refused to recognize the new regime with its restrictions on certain classes of Members (particularly on the Sisters of the Martinist Order, who were excluded from Masonry). "Among the brothers who desired to preserve the original character of the Order was Victor Blanchard". He founded, with some old members of the first Supreme Council, his own Martinist Order on the 3rd of January, 1921. This Order would later become known as the 'ORDRE MARTINISTE et SYNARCHIQUE'. The Martinist Order of Bricaud tented to pace itself in the tradition of the ELUS COHEN of Pasqually and Willermoz, reserving entry to the Order to men who also had to be 'Master Masons', thereby continuing the attempts by Téder to link Martinism with Freemasonry.

Blanchard remained a practitioner of esoteric syncretism as practised by Papus,

and in a similar manner allowed women to join and did not require the Masonic qualification. Victor Blanchard linked himself with the ideas of Saint-Yves d'Alveydre, and therefore added to the name of the Order the epithet "SYNARCHY". No doubt, that by working at the secretariat of the Members of Parliament, he aspired to influence the course of political events by his occult activities, and by disseminating the ideals of Synarchie".

BLANCHARD and the Occult Orders

"Victor Blanchard was also a Mason in the Grand Oriënt of France where he was a member of the "Grand College of Rites". Blanchard was also a dignitary in a number of other occult orders:

*1908 L'EGLISE GNOSTIQUE UNIVERSELLE - Blanchard was initiated by

Jean Bricaud on May 15, 1918, under the name of TAU TARGELIUS

*1888 L'ORDRE KABBALISTIQUE DE LA ROSE-CROIX - Blanchard succeeded

Lucien Chamuel, who died in 1936, as Grand Master (until 1939, when he was succeeded by Chaboseau).

*1914 L'ORDRE DU LYS ET DU L'AIGLE - Order of the Lily and the Eagle (who in their higher degrees convey the initiation of the ROSE-CROIX of the ORIENT), of which Blanchard was a member and where he was Commander from 1918 on.

*1908 FRATERNITÉ DES POLAIRES - The Polaire Brotherhood, of which

Blanchard was President from 1933 on.

*1927 ORDRE HERMETISTE TÉTRAMÉGISTE ET MYSTIQUE / ORDRE PYTHAGORICIEN

- The Pythagorean Order in which, "thanks to the links created by the F.U.D.O.S.I.", he obtained the 4th. and last degree "SUBLIME LUMINOUS CONSISTORY"

the F.U.D.O.S.I.

"He (Blanchard) was one of the most enthusiastic founders of the

F.U.D.O.S.I. (FEDERATIO UNIVERSALIS DIRIGENS ORDINES SOCIETATESQUE

INITIATIONIS), which allowed him to continue the international action he commenced with Papus in June 1908, and conferred a new legitimacy with regard to Chevillon, who as Bricaud's successor he did not acknowledge. He was one of the three Imperators appointed in 1934 with special jurisdiction over Martinism and the countries

of the East (Sar Hieronymus being Imperator for Europe, and Sar Alden being Imperator for the U.S.A.), Augustin Chaboseau replaced him as Imperator in 1939".

Blanchard, as a Grand Master of the Martinist Order, was chairman of the Martinist Convention, held on the 9th until the 16th. of August 1934 in Brussels (the FUDOSI-convention was divided into several conventions ...see part 5 "the first Convention"). At this special convention he initiated Emille Dantine, Spencer Lewis and several other dignitaries of the FUDOSI into Martinism. Blanchard's Martinist Order was officially baptized "ORDRE MARTINISTE et SYNARCHIQUE".

Just prior to the Convention of August 1934 Blanchard visited Brussels to meet Armand Rombauts, who was initiated into the original Martinist Order of Papus. After the first World War Rombauts became the official delegate for the Martinist Order in Belgium. He also received the 90th degree of "The Antient & Primitive Rite of Memphis-Misraïm" from Jean Bricaud in 1918 (more information on Rombauts, see Part 6). The meeting in May, 1934 of Blanchard and Rombauts resulted in the foundation of a Martinist Lodge in Belgium, called "URIËL". The installation of Lodge "Uriël" was the first official meeting between two of the leading characters, which would play a decisive role in the foundation of the F.U.D.O.S.I., in August of that same year. One has to keep in mind, that Armand Rombauts was 'the man behind the scene' within the F.U.D.O.S.I., because of his leading qualities and years of experiences within various esoteric fraternities. He was probably even more involved with the preliminary work of the Federation than Emille Dantine.

Regarding the installation of the Martinist Lodge Rombauts wrote the following text in a magazine called "ADONHIRAM", which was published by Jean Mallinger:

"Un nouveau triangle martiniste sera installé à l'Oriënt de Bruxelles le vendredi 11 mai prochain à 20 h 30, sous le titre distinctif 'Uriël' "(a new Martinist Triangle was installed)

In 1939 the dream was over for Blanchard, he was expelled from the

F.U.D.O.S.I. according to Jean Mallinger (disciple and close friend of Dantine, FUDOSI-dignitary).

The reason cited is that "on July 14, 1938 Blanchard auto-consecrated himself as the Universal Grand Master of the Rose-Croix and of all the Initiatic Orders of the world. He sent a proclamation to each Grand Master of the federation, which requested allegiance and recognition of his new dignity.

As a result some members also left the 'Martinist Order and

Synarchy'(amongst them George Lagrèze/Sar Mikael and Jeanne Guesdon/Sar Puritia). Many of them joined Augustin Chaboseau's 'Traditional Martinist Order'. He was also replaced in all other high offices he held. Only the 'Polaires'and the 'Martinist

Order and Synarchy' remained loyal to him."

However... after World War II Blanchard reconciled with the FUDOSI in 1946, on the 5th Convent of the federation, held in Brussels at the "Francois Soetewey-Temple". Victor Blanchard died on the 14th of March, 1953

OPENING ADDRESS TO THE MASONIC AND SPIRITUALIST CONGRESS IN 1908

'Victor Blanchard was the Secretary-General of the masonic and Spiritualist Congress in 1908, organized by Papus. In Blanchard's opening address he referred to it as "the first autonomous Congress of Occultism" and expressed in conclusion the hope of seeing all the French Masonic Rites coming to reinforce "the Army of Christian Idealism". Here's a passage which exemplifies his thought at the time'

* "The doctrine which now excites your curiosity so much is not new, whatever the critics of the history of philosophy may say.

* If we refer to purely historical documents, it is in the most famous Sanctuaries of India and Egypt - inheritors of the traditional Wisdom of the black races, Atlantis and Lemuria, that OCCULT SCIENCE was born.

* From there esotericism spread to China, Iran, Chaldea, Palestine, Greece, Rome, the Gallic countries, Germany and all over the face of the Earth.

* Let us not forget that this philosophy, at once human and divine powerfully inspired all of the founders of the great ancient religions, among them Ram or Lam, Confucius, Krishna, Zoroaster, MOSES, and Buddha. It is from it that the celebrated legislators of passed ages drew their wisest institutions. It is from this sublime source, that the majority of poets, philosophers and sages of antiquity and of modern times drew the best part of their great and brilliant ideas. One rediscovers it hidden beneath the literal text of all the Holy Scriptures of the East and West, in the

parables of Jesus, right up to the Epistles of St Paul. It was held by certain fathers of the Church, the Gnostics, Troubadours, Trouveres, Alchemists, heads of medieval guilds, and the intellectual elite of the Templars, who having escaped torture and bloodshed, transmitted it later through the intermediaries of the Rose-Croix, Freemasons, and Martinists.

* HERMETICISM is the scientific, philosophic, religious and social synthesis of the past, present and will be, without doubt, that of the future.

* The theologian, philosopher, the savant, doctor, moralist or sociologist should make the effort to study occultism where alone they will find together with the best solutions to theological, cosmological, anthropological and sociological enigmas, as well as the elements which will revivify their current knowledge, and how to regenerate the human body and soul and of the whole of society.

* The historian, author and artist will also profit from these slightly abstract studies. The first will discover the explanation of many obscure and troubling facts; the second will easily penetrate the higher sense of apparently absurd ancient myths and eastern fables, and will be better able to decipher the mysteries of the human soul. The third will be able to contemplate without tiring, the different forms which reveal the Supreme Beauty in this world as in the other planes of the manifested Universe, and consequently will be able to give them more adequate physical expression than those which have been produced before.

* As for those who are tormented by the deeply anguishing problem of life after death, they will be soon understand through exposure to our doctrines, we hope, the rational certitude through experience of the immortality of their conscious and spiritual principle, they will understand that Divinity wants the best for all its creatures, and that the Heaven, Purgatory and Hell of the naïve theologians are nothing more than the physical and moral situations in which our soul finds itself throughout the course of its eternal career . They will know that Reincarnation, taught in the ancient mystery schools, just as it was in the original Christian Church, and in modern initiations is one of the multiple means employed by the Sovereign Bounty (or Supreme Good), in order to hasten the animical, intellectual and spiritual evolution of each one of us. They will see that man works out unceasingly through the conditions, which must preside over successive lives in time and space. They will recognize that human beings are all united to each other not only in actions, but also in words and above all in thought. It is by these means that they will prepare consciously the Coming on Earth of the True Fraternity and of the Reign of the Holy Spirit, or of Science allied to Faith, of Reason united to Intuition, a lasting and celestial fusion which the Feast of Pentecost symbolizes so well."

http://www.geocities.com/hiram_abyss/Victor_Blanchard.html

website "Ancient Martinist Order-auth. Elias Ibrahim

(Note: The Feast of Pentecost, in 1908, fell on 7th June, the opening day of the Congress.)

1* The R.E.R. was known until 1772 as the RITE OF STRICT OBSERVANCE

(see Part 8 "Camille Savoir")

7

"IN THIRTY-TWO MYSTERIOUS PATHS OF WISDOM DID JAH, THE JEHOVAH OF HOSTS, THE GOD OF ISRAEL, THE LIVING ELOHIM, THE KING OF AGES, THE MERCIFUL AND GRACIOUS GOD, THE EXALTED ONE, THE DWELLER IN ETERNITY, MOST HIGH AND HOLY—ENGRAVE HIS NAME BY THE THREE SEPHARIM – NUMBERS, LETTERS, AND SOUNDS"

SEPHER YETZIRAH – Chapter 1 .'. Section 1

Saint-Yves d'Alveydre 1842-1909

Marquis Alexandre Saint-Yves d'Alveydre was a follower of the school of Jean-Philippe Dutoit-Membrini (a.k.a Keleph-ben-Natha, 1721-1793) and Fabre d'Olivet (1762-1825). Saint-Yves d' Alveydre, together with contemporaries like Eliphas Levi, Maitre Philippe (Philippe Nizier), and Fabre d'Olivet, belonged to the most influential spiritual teachers of France at the time, the 19th. century. Gerard Encausse (Papus) saw Saint-Yves d'Alveydre as his intellectual teacher (Maitre Phillipe was Papus' spiritual teacher). Saint-Yves may be looked upon as a 19th century profound thinker, philosopher and mystic. He corresponded with all the well-known occultists of his time. In the year 1885 he was visited by a group of Eastern initiates, one of them named prince Hardjij Scharipf. Their mission was to inform Saint-Yves on 'AGARTTHA', a spiritual and political organization. Their visit lead to his last publication, titled "Mission de L'Inde en Europe, mission de L'Europe en Asie. La question des Mahatmas et sa solution". This book was dedicated to : " Au souverain Pontife qui porte la tiare aux sept couronnes au Brahatmah actuel de l'antique Paradésa du Cycle de l'Agneau et du Bélier." The book would never be published, because Saint-Yves changed his mind (he considered the actual content of the work too precious to share it with a profane society) and tore it to pieces (one copy survived, and was published in a limited edition in 1909). Saint-Yves d'Alveydre developed during his lifetime the principle of 'SYNARCHY'. 'Synarchy' would influence the political view of a lot of the leading occultists of the first half of the 20th. century, especially in continental Europe. For instance, the F.U.D.O.S.I. implemented the philosophy of Synarchy into their basic philosophy.

Saint-Yves' ideas for the concept of "Synarchy" were probably inspired on earlier works like Tomasso Campanella's 'CIVITAS SOLIS' (CITY OF THE SUN), which was published in the beginning of the 17th. Century (1623). Writings like 'CIVITAS SOLIS' were based upon an Utopian worldview (other writings in this genre: THOMAS MOORE "UTOPIA" 1516, JOHANN VALENTIN ANDREA "CRISTIANOPOLIS" 1619, FRANCIS BACON "NOVA ATLANTIS",1627)

'SYNARCHY'

The basic idea of this concept is a world which is lead by one institute which is based on spiritual- and social fundaments.

Synarchy is a " FORM OF GOVERNMENT BASED ON 'PRINCIPLES', in contrast with 'Anarchy'. In 'Synarchy' a social entity is lead by an Authority. The Authority controls RELIGION, ARMY, and EDUCATION.

The foundation of the philosophy consists of three elements:

1. EDUCATION
2. LAW
3. ECONOMY

The Authority belongs to 'the Wise', according to this philosophy. In a 'Synarchic(al) Society' social life has a hierarchical structure. Society is lead by three departments which are not based on politics but on social values.

Culture, Art, and Science belongs to the fundamental element "Education".

Court, Police, the Army and Foreign Affairs belongs to the element "Law".

the Unions, the Government, and the working class belongs to the third element "Economy".

The highest ambition of the philosophy of Synarchy was a society without classes. Furthermore, in a Synarchic society the responsibility of the politicians would be in the hands of the "Wise", the "specialists".

As stated before, Synarchy would play a major role in the philosophical view on society of almost all of the mystics of the first half of the 20th. century. The view on society of the Martinist-Order was centred around the philosophy of Synarchy. As we know, there was even a Synarchic-Martinist Order founded in 1921 (1) by Victor Blanchard, the "ORDRE MARTINISTE ET SYNARCHIQUE", which still exists today in Great Britain (incl. the W.-Indies, "O.M. & S. Universel") and Canada (the French branch merged in 1960 with the "ORDRE MARTINIST DE PARIS" of Philippe Encausse, son of Papus). The O.M. & S. of today looks upon 'Synarchy' as a heritage from the past, it's not implemented any longer in their teachings.

Men like Papus, Philippe Nizier, Victor Blanchard, Emille Dantinne and many others in the esoteric community were all followers of the "Synarchic-Movement".

Rudolf Steiner used Synarchy as a major influence when he developed his own

ideas for his own movement, the "ANTROPOSOFISCHE GESELLSCHAFT " (out of which came the philosophy which is known today as "Antroposophy").

The Synarchic-Movement was also represented among the nobility at the court of the Russian Tsar, where Martinism was introduced by Papus at the end of the 19th.century. As we saw in part 9, the Synarchic-Movement was persecuted during Worl War II by the Nazi's, and many members were either killed (Constant Chevillon) or imprisoned in a concentration-camp.

After the Second World War the Synarchic-Movement declined, it's heydays were over...

Alexandre Saint-Yves d'Alveydre died in Versailles on Februari 5, 1909 and was buried at the graveyard of Notre-dame.

some of the works he wrote :

"Mission actuelle des ouvriers" 1882

"Mission actuelle des souverains, par l'un deux 1882

"Mission des juifs" 1884

"La France vraie" 1887

"L'Archéometre" 1903

"Mission de l'Inde" (posthumous)

(1) The O.M.&S. was founded in 1921 by Victor Blanchard, but the actual name "Ordre Martiniste & Synarchique" was given to the Order in 1934, when the F.U.D.O.S.I. was formed.

8

"FOR WHAT WE DO PRESAGE IS NOT IN GROSSE, FOR WE BE BRETHREN OF THE ROSIE CROSS : WE HAVE THE MASON'S WORD AND SECOND SIGHT, THINGS FOR TO COME WE CAN FORTELL ARIGHT"

1638- Henry Adamson

a 'War of the Roses' in America,

H.S. Lewis versus R.Swinburne Clymer

introduction - Dantine's Decree

One of the items (not discussed in part 9) on the agenda of the 4th Convention of the F.U.D.O.S.I. , held on September 4 - 10, 1939 in Brussels, was the 1st meeting of the F.U.D.O.F.S.I. in February 1939. One of the leading characters of the F.U.D.O.F.S.I. was Reuben Swinburne Clymer (part 7 - 8), arch-rival of Harvey Spencer Lewis. The founding of the F.U.D.O.F.S.I. led to a renewal of scurrilous attacks on Lewis from Clymer. On August 13, a Decree was written (original in the French language) by Emille Dantinne, as the Imperator of the Rose Croix of Europe, which was given to James R. Whitcomb (personal representative of R.M.Lewis) to transmit to Lewis as Imperator of A.M.O.R.C.

The document reads in part :

source : Rosicrucian Questions & Answers H.S.Lewis, publ. AMORC c)1941

"It is inevitable that the AMORC, the only Organization in the Western world perpetuating the teachings of the R+C that have been transmitted by written or spoken word by the R+C instructors, become the target of evil forces working through isolated individuals or organizations, who would attempt to put obstacles in its way and to curtail its progress.

"Therefore, in due Assembly in Brussels, Belgium, on this 13th day of the month of August, in the year 1939, we, members regularly elected of the Supreme Council of the F.U.D.O.S.I., after due examination of the elements of appreciation in the case that has been submitted to us, do proclaim that Reuben Swinburne Clymer, who does profess to perpetuate the true and ancient Rosicrucian teachings in America and who assails the character of the Hierarchy of AMORC, and who seeks to stalemate its progress, is in no wise recognized by us having any Rosicrucian authority.

"We do also proclaim that the so-called "International Confederation of Rosicrucians" which R. Swinburne Clymer purports to exist in Europe, and with which he claims to be associated and deriving certain articles of authority, is in no wise recognized by the R+C Orders of Europe that are affiliated to the F.U.D.O.S.I. In our opinion, the above mentioned Confederation, is a clandestine organization that is illegitimate in its function, and does not give any initiative guaranty."

attacks against A.M.O.R.C. - Clymer versus Lewis

As already stated in part 8 ("F.U.D.O.F.S.I.- Biographies") "Clymer devoted much efforts and work to slander and attack A.M.O.R.C. and its founder."

The slander against A.M.O.R.C. started around the time when Lewis' organization moved to San José, California (1927) and began to flourish on a larger scale. Whatever one thinks of Lewis, he was a man of undoubted creative gifts who succeeded in building up the most conspicuous and successful of the American Rosicrucian organizations.

The expansion of A.M.O.R.C. including its claim of being the only true and genuine Rosicrucian Order on the American continent created the (understandable) opposition against Lewis' organization.

Already in 1921, after receiving a honorary diploma from Reuss' O.T.O. , Lewis speaks of A.M.O.R.C. as the one and only true R+C organization of America, far superior to any other concurrent R+C organization in America, such as:Heindel's Rosicrucian Fellowship, Plummer's Societas Rosicruciana in America or Clymer's Fraternitas Rosae Crucis.

"By all this it will be seen that the A.M.O.R.C. is the only organization, body ,society or group of Rosicrucians in America (or in the world, for that matter) having the approval, recognition and direction of the Supreme High Council of all ancient and modern Secret Rites" source: Robert Vanloo

[http:// home.sunrise.ch/~prkoenig/vanloo/vanloo.htm](http://home.sunrise.ch/~prkoenig/vanloo/vanloo.htm)

P.R.Koenig "Robert Vanloo - "

Thus Lewis, who wrote this conclusion in 1921, deriving his authority from a charter he received from Reuss ! (Lewis always liked to refer in his statements on his R+C authority to a "Supreme High Council" of, as in this case "all ancient and modern rites").

Lewis found himself under attack from a number of quarters, including several ex-members of A.M.O.R.C. (G.L.Smith (1), A.H.Saunders), but the most persistent opponent was Clymer who started to question Lewis' "rosicrucian authority" around 1928. Both rivals went to great trouble to try and prove their authority. Years of continuous slander followed with statements which rarely rose above the level of mud-slinging.

Christopher McIntosh in his book "The Rosicrucians ..." on the Lewis-Clymer hostilities :

"Finally, AMORC felt impelled to counterattack in the form of a pamphlet issued in 1935 under the heading Audi Alteram Partem (hear the other side), this takes the form of a report by a "National Membership Defense Commitee" which had apparently examined the accusations brought by Clymer and found them to be false. Clymer himself is described in the report as a German or Dutch printer who discovered years ago that it was more profitable to spend all of his time at the type case than in farming ... especially when it enables him to foster and glorify some of the weirdest notions that a human mind ever harboured". The description mentions Clymer's "fondness for titles, for self-appointed and self-devised positions of eminent authority".

Clymer retaliated by saying that Lewis'own claim to the designation of "Dr." was suspect.(2). This counterblast of Clymer's came in the vast second volume of his book,

"The Rosicrucian Fraternity in America". The 959 pages of this volume are devoted almost exclusively to attacking Lewis and AMORC. Like many of Clymer's writings, the work has to be approached with skepticism.", thus McIntosh.

One of the focuspoints in their mutual attacks on each other had to do with sex magic, each side accused the other of teaching sexual practises. Clymer admitted that his order did teach 'the high law of generation and regeneration', which, he emphasized, is a healthy form of sex teaching, contrary to the, what Clymer called, "Black magic of Crowley and the modernized O.T.O." A.M.O.R.C. replied that the real O.T.O. had nothing to do with Black magic, emphasizing that the real O.T.O. was Reuss'O.T.O., and had nothing to do with Crowley and his teachings (which is not entirely true, see P.R. Koenig's website at

<http://home.sunrise.ch/~prkoenig/>

One of the few points which both A.M.O.R.C. and the F.R.C. agreed upon, seems to be that Crowley was a Black magician. Clymer always referred to Crowley's 'notorious Black-Magic Sex formula', "Love is the Law, Love under Will".

Despite the fact that A.M.O.R.C. shared Clymer's view on Crowley, did not prevent them to use a formula similar to Crowley's formula (A.M.O.R.C. Temple-lectures, 11th.Grade) .

A.M.O.R.C. on Clymer, in "History of the Order", from "R+C Questions & Answers"

Harvey Spencer Lewis on page 152/153 , vol.1 1965

"It would be expected that Dr.Clymer's representations and maladroitly presented "Teachings" and attacks on other movements would eventually attract the attention of the Supreme Council of the Rosicrucian Order of the world and the dignitaries of the Rose Croix of Europe. One of the first to voice a protest was the eminent F. Wittemans, avocat- at the time , a member of the Belgian Senate- and renowned European historian of the Rosicrucian Order, his works on the Order being published in several languages. In a letter addressed to the Imperator of A.M.O.R.C. of North America, dated December 16, 1928, and referring to Dr. Clymer's writings, he said :

"I criticize very much such writings, which should not be issued by an occultist and prove by their self their hollowness. I will thus not mention them in my work"....

(note: description of the connection between Lewis and Wittemans : see Chapter 4 "...on Wittemans, note 3)

The whole case culminated in several court trials, which Clymer Lost, but the trials did not discourage Clymer in continueing the attacks on Lewis'organization.

At the end of Audi Alteram Partem Lewis published the following open letter to

Clymer:

"Dear Mr. Clymer,

As you have openly declared yourself desirous of presenting to all interested parties the evidence you claim to have, which would disprove all AMORC claims, we are again, and for the last time, going to test the sincerity of your vaunted statements by challenging you to an open public debate and presentation of evidence"

(source: McIntosh) Lewis went on to offer to "pay for the rental of any hall you select in any city of one hundred thousand or more, in the mid-western states ... and pay for your transportation to the city."

The debate would never take place. Clymer refused, and demanded in turn that Lewis submit to investigation all the documents he possessed, which Lewis, of course, understandably refused to do...

and the war went on the war of the roses in America ...

1) From the courtcase against G.L. Smith a letter, which Lewis introduced to the court as an example of the validity of A.M.O.R.C.'s international character, is published on the website :

<http://users.cybercity.dk/~ccc12757/hist.htm>

"EARLY DANISH O.T.O.HISTORY". Apparently Lewis tried to withdraw the letter when he realized the writing would become a public record. Lewis attempt failed, but he later refused to produce the letter for transcription. Again, under pressure from the court he finally handed the original letter over to the translator(s) concerned. The letter is a communication between Carl William Hansen, a.k.a. Ben Kadosh, and Harvey Spencer Lewis, dated Copenhagen June 21, 1931. Kadosh was, amongst others, Grand Master of the Danish Martinists incl. the Kabbalistic Order of the Rose+Cross, and X* (Nat. Grandmaster) of Reuss'O.T.O. for Denmark.

Kadosh explains to Lewis in his letter that "he's no longer interested in 'big' Orders and Societies, nor fascinated by their seals, charters, and more. True Rosicrucianism cannot be found in major Orders ..." etc. At the end of the letter he states his opinion about A.M.O.R.C. to which Kadosh refers as an "American business in esoteric school-systems". For more information, take a look at the website ...

2) Both Clymer and Lewis claimed the title of "Doctor". The truth is that both were never really graduated by any reputable medical college. Clymer was classified as a "Physio-Medicist". Clymer was a graduate of the "Independent Medical College" in Chicago (1898). This college was finally declared a fraud by the federal authorities and put out of business.

In 1933 Harvey Spencer Lewis received a degree titled "Doctor in Psychological and Hermetic Sciences" of the Université de la Rose+Croix from Emile Dantinne, together with the 'sanctified title' Sar.

Lewis always claimed that he'd received a 'Doctorate in Psychology' from a "French Rosicrucian School" of which he was made a member in 1904 (at the age of 20!!).

Of course this claim is a fraud. The only document Lewis received was, again, a honorary degree, which was given to him as a gage of amity by Dantinne. A copy of this document can be found at the Library of Lyon, in France. The document is dated March, 12 1933, and is signed by Jean Mallinger (Sar Elgrim), Emile Dantinne, Lucien Francois (the Archivist), and Sar Sapiens.

9

F.U.D.O.S.I.

Affiliated Organizations & Memberlist Dignitaries (i.a. Supreme Council)

The following organizations were affiliated to the F.U.D.O.S.I.

1. ORDRE DE LA ROSE+CROIX UNIVERSELLE (Sar Hieronymus)
2. ORDRE DE LA ROSE+CROIX UNIVERSITAIRE (Sar Hieronymus, Sar Elgrim)
3. ORDRE KABBALISTIQUE DE LA ROSE+CROIX (Sar Yesir representing Lucien Mauchel)
4. CONFRERIE DES FRERES ILLUMINES DE LA ROSE+CROIX (Sar Amertis)
5. A.M.O.R.C. U.S.A. (Sar Alden, Sar Emmanuel, Sar Iohannes)
6. MILITIA CRUCIFERA EVANGELICA (Sar Alden)
7. ORDRE ANCIEN ET MYSTIQUE DE LA ROSE+CROIX AMORC-Switzerland (Sar Amertis representing sar Alkmaion)
8. SOCIETE ALCHIMIQUE DE FRANCE (Sar Amertis)
9. ORDRE DES SAMARITAINS INCONNUS (Sar Amertis)
10. ORDRE HERMETISTE TETramegiste ET MYSTIQUE or ORDRE PYTHAGORICIEN (Sar Succus, Sar Helios)
11. ORDRE MARTINISTE ET SYNARCHIQUE (Sar Yesir)

12. FRATERNITE DES POLAIRES (Sar Yesir)

13. ORDRE MACONNIQUE ORIENTAL DE MEMPHIS-MIZRAIM STRICTE OBSERVANCE (Sar Iohannes, Sar Ludovicus)

14. CO-MASONIC ORDER OF MEMPHIS-MIZRAIM (Sar Laya, Sar Fulgur)

15. L'EGLISE GNOSTIQUE UNIVERSELLE (Tau Targelius=Victor Blanchard)

16. SOCIÉTÉ d'ETUDES ET DE RECHERCHES TEMPLIÉRES (Sar Gregorius)

17. SOCIÉTÉ d'ETUDES MARTINISTES (founded by Sar Lilium)

18. UNION SYNARCHIQUE DE POLOGNE (Dr. Tarlo Mazinski)

19. ORDRE MARTINIST TRADITIONNEL (Sar Augustinus)

20. ORDER OF THE LILY & THE EAGLE (Sar Lilium)

Here's a list of dignitaries of the F.U.D.O.S.I., some of them only known (to me) by their "Nomen Mysticum".

1. SAR HIERONYMUS, Emile Dantinne - Belgium. Imperator .

2. SAR ELGRIM, Jean Mallinger - Belgium. Secretary (Imperator of the '51 Convention*)

3. SAR ALDEN, Harvey Spencer Lewis - U.S.A. Imperator 1934-1939(+)

4. SAR VALIDIVAR, Ralph Maxwell Lewis - U.S.A. Imperator 1939-1951

5. SAR IOHANNES, Hans Grueter - France

6. SAR PURITIA, Jeanne Guesdon - France

7. SAR EMMANUEL, Many Cihlar - Austria

8. SAR YESIR, Victor Blanchard - France. Imperator 1934-1939

9. SAR ARTEMIS, August Reichel - Switzerland. Left in 1935, he later joined Chevillon and Clymer's F.U.D.O.F.S.I. (together with Raoul Fructus, member of the "Sovereign Coucil" of the M.'.M.'. on the '34 Convention, Fructus died in '45 as a victim of the Nazi-occupation)

10. SAR ALKMAION, Edouard Bertholet - Switzerland

11. OR-ZAM PHANAR, Armand Rombauts - Belgium
12. SAR SUCCUS, Francois Soetewey - Belgium
13. SAR HELIOS
14. SAR LUDOVICUS, Colonel Fitau, Consul of Chile, 'died in 1939
15. SAR LAYA
16. SAR FULGUR, Maurice De Seck - Austria
17. SAR GREGORIUS, André Cordonnier - France. Assistant-Imperator on the '46 Convention
18. SAR NITRAM, Lydie Martin - France
19. SAR AGNI, Leon Lelarge - Belgium. Secretary of Emile Dantinne.
20. (MIKAEL) SAR EQUES ROSAE CARITAS, Georges de Lagréze - France
21. SAR PASCAL, Fr. Hutin , died in 1945 (victim of the Nazi-occupation)
22. SAR IGNIS, Nico Wolff - Belgium, died in 1943 (victim of the Nazi-occupation)
23. SAR LAMPAS, Belgium
24. SAR LILIUM, Eugène Dupré - France - 'died in a bombing-raid in 1944
25. SAR APPOLONIUS, Rochat de L'Abbaye - France
26. SAR AUGUSTINUS, Augustin Chaboseau - France. Imperator 1939-1946
27. GALAAD, Jean Chaboseau - France. Son of A.Chaboseau, left in 1947 after he tried to disband the Martinist Supreme Council
28. SAR RENATUS, René Rossart - Belgium
29. SAR LEUKOS, U.S.A. President of the "Council of Regency"
30. SAR KRYPTOS, George Delaive - Belgium
31. SAR PHALGOS, Jules Boucher - France
32. SAR PLACIDUS, Frater Coops - the Netherlands

33. SAR SAPIENS, Lucien Francois

and SAR AKHNATON, SAR ESSENIUS, SAR IGNIFER, SAR MARE, SAR
SIGNUM, SAR VIATO ...

1934 FEDERATIO UNIVERSALIS DIRIGENS ORDINES SOCIETATESQUE
INITIATIONIS 1951

END

VERSION I.2. Milko Bogaard c)November 14, 2000

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Part 1 of 2 (Chapters I-IV) [Part 2]

IN THE PRONAOS

of the

TEMPLE OF TRUTH
BY

By Franz Hartmann, M.D.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE TRUE AND THE
FALSE ROSICRUCIANS + WITH AN INTRODUCTION IN-
TO THE MYSTERIES OF THE HERMETIC PHILOSOPHY
AND AN APPENDIX CONTAINING THE PRINCIPLES OF
THE YOGA-PHILOSOPHY OF THE ROSICRUCIANS AND
ALCHEMISTS

Original Edition Published in Boston and
London, 1890 by The Theosophical Society
and Occult Publishing Company

This Edition of In The Pronaos Of The
Temple Of Wisdom by Franz Hartmann

is Limited to Two-hundred and Fifty
Copies — Printed and Published by The
Aries Press — Chicago, Illinois, 1941

Reprinted, March 1945

This copy was scanned by hermetics.org. from the original 1945 copy.

I thought the above hauntingly graceful inscription in the book jacket was worth preserving.

CONTENTS

Chapter One—Introduction. Occult Literature—Allegorical language of the Rosicrucian books—Its secret meaning

Chapter Two—The Hermetic Philosophy. The Neoplatonists— Ammonius Saccas— Plotinus— Malchus Porphyrius— Jamblichus— Proclus— Hierocles

Chapter Three—Mediaeval Philosophers. "Magic," according to Cornelias Agrippa

Chapter Four—Among the Adepts. "The Brotherhood of the Golden and Rosy Cross"— Occult and mysterious powers— Adepts and Sages— Alchymists and Goldmakers—The True History of Flamel— The Count de Saint Germain— Cagliostro— The art of making alchemical gold— Well-authenticated facts

Chapter Five—The Rosicrucian "Orders." "History" of the Rosicrucians— The Universal Reformation; the Fama Fraternitaris and the Confessio— Truth and Fiction— The Chemical Marriage of Christian Rosencruetz— Valentin Andreae— The Sphinx Rosaceae— Andreas von Carolstadt— Theophrastus Paracelsus— Rosicrucian Literature

Chapter Six—Pseudo Rosicrucians. Impostors and Fools. Mysticism during the Middle Ages— Secret Societies— Schroepfer— J. C. Woellner and Bischofswerder— Political Influence— The Jesuits and the Illuminati— Weishaupt— King Frederic William II

Appendix—The Principles of the Yoga-Philosophy of the Rosicrucians and Alchemists

Chapter Seven—In the Pronaos of the Temple of the True Cross. The Cross and the Rose— Rosicrucian Rules— The duties of a Rosicrucian— The Secret Signs of the Rosicrucians—Rosicrucian Jewels— Rosicrucian Symbols—Signs from the Heart of the

celestial Mother— Signs referring to the Divine child.

Chapter Eight—Alchemy. The Science and Art of Alchemy— The Prima Materia—
The Spiritus Universalis— The Secret Fire— The four
alchemical rules—The five things necessary to observe in the practice of Alchemy—
Axiomata Hermetica
PREFACE

Quite a number of books dealing with the "History of the Rosicrucians" have appeared of late for the purpose of amusing and gratifying the curiosity of the mystery-loving reader; but it does not appear that they have proved to be very instructive, or that they have succeeded in throwing much light upon this perplexing subject; neither is it to be desired that the Rosicrucian mysteries should be publicly bawled out and exposed to the view of the vulgar; because they belong to that which is most holy and sacred in the constitution of man.

Books on true occultism are on the whole very useless things; because those who are in possession of occult knowledge will not require them; while those who have no such knowledge will not understand them; neither will they receive much benefit from such literature; because real spiritual knowledge must be found within one's own soul; it cannot be learned from books. The scientist, rationalist, and speculative philosopher deals only with, so to say, the candlesticks bearing the candles from which is emanating the light which they cannot see, neither can they see the candle; for the latter is representing the soul, whose light is the spirit.

Truly occult and Theosophical books ought to be prayers and poems; calculated to lift the heart and the mind of the reader up to the highest regions of thought, and aiding him to descend into the innermost sanctuary of his own being; so that he may become able to open the senses of his interior perception and grasp himself those divine ideals which are beyond the understanding of the semi-animal intellect; for spiritual truth cannot be brought down to that level; it requires, for its recognition, the rising up in the spirit to its own plane; neither can any man reveal to another the light, if the light does not reveal its presence to the investigator; all that a book can do is to aid the reader in opening his own eyes.

Little would it benefit us if we knew of the existence of sunlight only from reading about it in books, and were incapable to see the light and to enjoy the rays of the sun. What would it serve us if we theoretically knew all about the constitution of the terrestrial sun if we were encompassed by darkness? What good would it do to us to be informed about all the qualities of the divine powers of God, if we could recognise nothing divine within our own selves?

No man can show to another the light if the latter is incapable to see it himself; but the light is everywhere; there is nothing to hinder a person to see it, except his love for the darkness. His love for the illusions of his terrestrial phase of existence causes him to regard these illusions as real, and to relegate the Real to the realm of fancy and dream.

Nevertheless, that which seems now the true light to him will be as darkness when his consciousness awakens to the perception of the light of the spirit.

As light is incomprehensible except by its contrast to darkness, I have not only selected some of the best portions of the writings of the ancient hermetic philosophers and mediaeval "Rosicrucians"; but I have also taken the trouble to collect a few facts from the great storehouse of human follies to be found in the fools' paradise of the visionary and dreamer; but for those who earnestly wish to enter the path and to follow the Light, I have added some of the most precious gems, taken from the books of the sages; whose meaning will be incomprehensible to the would-be wise; while those who are unsophisticated will find therein a great deal of wisdom.

THE AUTHOR.

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

In the popular books of to-day, dealing with the origin of religion, we find it stated that they originated from fear. It is described how our ancestors, while in a savage state, and being unacquainted with the revelations made by modern science, saw the lightning flash, and heard the noise of thunder and watched other natural phenomena, whose origin they could not explain, and how they came to the logical conclusion that such things must be produced by some extra cosmic supernatural and intellectual power, which might some day take a notion to destroy their possessions; and which must, therefore, be flattered and propitiated so that it might be kept in a good humour.

Such a scientific explanation of the origin of religion and the belief in God may satisfy the speculating brain of the rationalist and thinker, who, living entirely in the moonshine of his own imagination has no perception for the light of that knowledge which belongs to the spirit of man; but such a theory will not satisfy the heart in which there is still a spark of the divine life, and which, therefore, feels the presence of a universal and higher power that is not a product of nature, but superior to her. A religion having such a merely logical origin would be truly the religion of the devil, because it would be thoroughly false. It would be merely a system teaching how God may be cheated and eternal justice be made to come to naught. True religion has nothing to do with fear nor with logical speculation, and its true origin rests in the fundamental relation which the human soul bears to the divine origin of the spiritual power by which she is inhabited. It is the divine spirit in man itself, recognising and through the instrumentality of man the presence of the universal spirit in nature. This divine power is truly "occult," because it cannot be perceived by any external means, neither can its existence be logically proved to those who are not capable to feel it; it will for ever remain a mystery to the "Adam" of earth; because it is divine and can therefore be intellectually known to

man only when he has entered into a state of divinity.

Nevertheless, it is a quality inherent in the nature of man that he wishes to know intellectually that whose presence he intuitively feels, and there have, therefore, at all times been men curious to know the nature of God, and attempted to break by their intellectual efforts a hole through the veil that covers the sanctuary of the great mystery, so that they may peep through it, and gratify their curiosity. From the vagaries of such speculators, visionaries and pseudo-philosophers has originated a false system of theology, mysticism, and superstition, which is even to-day often regarded as being Occultism and Theosophy.

The soul of man stands in the same relation to that spiritual power that fills the universe, as the flowers of the field to the light of the terrestrial sun. A plant deprived of life will sicken and die, and a soul in which the spirit of holiness does not exist will become degraded lower than the soul of the animals; because animals are not given to arguing; they act according to the laws of their nature, while the possession of an intellect enables man to act unnaturally, and in opposition to divine law.

But there have also been other men, who, by remaining natural and obedient to divine law, have grown into a state of spirituality superior to the merely intellectual state, and in the course of their interior unfoldment, their inner senses have become opened, so that they could not only intuitively feel, but also spiritually perceive this light of the spirit,. Such men are the true Mystics, Rosicrucians, and Adepts, and with them the historian and antiquarian has nothing to do; because they are beyond his reach of investigation. A "History of Rosicrucians" could, at best, be a history of certain persons who "were supposed to have been spiritually enlightened." It would have to remain for ever uncertain whether a person mentioned in such a "history" had really been a Rosicrucian or not; because that which constitutes a man a saint and a sage does not belong to this earth and cannot be examined by mortal men; it is that part of man of which the Bible speaks when it is written, "We live upon the earth; but our soul is in heaven."

External investigation can only deal with external things; that whose existence depends on a form can deal only with forms; but all forms are merely fictitious to him who recognises by the power of his spiritual perception the truth which the form represents. The whole of nature is an expression of truth; but there are few who can realize the truth expressed in nature. We are all more or less caricatured images of the truth which we are originally intended to represent. As long as we have ourselves merely a fictitious existence, owing to the non-recognition of the truth within our own selves, we merely know the caricature which we represent, but not our true, real self.

Wisdom, as a principle, is inconceivable unless it becomes manifest in the wise, and only the wise are capable to recognise it. A man without knowledge knows nothing. It is not man in his aspect as a being without any principle who can know any principle whatever; it is always the principle itself that recognises itself in other forms. Thus, if a person wants to know the truth, the truth must be alive in him; if there is no truth in him,

he can perceive no truth, neither within himself nor in external nature. For ever the truth is crucified between two "thieves" called "superstition" and "scepticism," and if we see only one of the crucified thieves, we are liable to mistake him for the truth; but the two forms of the thieves are distorted, or, to express it more correctly, the truth is distorted in them. Only when we are capable to recognise the straight form of the Saviour hanging between the two distorted thieves, will we see the difference and know where to search for the Redeemer.

For those in whom the truth has not yet become a living power, fictitious forms are necessary to show them the way, but the majority of the ignorant see only the fiction; there being no truth within themselves, there is nothing to perceive the truth in the form. For this reason the "Secret Symbols of the Rosicrucians" will for ever remain secret" to all who have not the living truth within their own hearts, and they will not comprehend them, in spite of all the explanations produced. These, however, in whom the truth struggles to become alive and who are striving not merely for the gratification of their curiosity, but who love the truth for its own sake and without any personal consideration, may be aided a great deal by the study of the books of the Rosicrucians and their secret symbols, in the same way as a traveller in a foreign country may be aided by those who have travelled there before him and know the way. They can indicate to him the road through the desert and the places where sweet water may be found, but they cannot carry him, he is to do the walking himself.

Divine wisdom is not of man's making, neither is it invented by him. There is no other way to obtain it than by receiving it willingly within one's own heart. If it enters there, then will the storm of contending opinions subside, and the sea of thought be as clear as a mirror in which we may see the truth. Then will the truth itself become strong in ourselves, and we shall know God, not by reading a description of Him in books but in and through His own power, or, to express it in the words of the Bible, we shall attain knowledge of Him "by worshipping Him in Spirit and in Truth."

Like the allegorical language of the Bible and other religious books, the Rosicrucian writings are utter nonsense and incomprehensible, if taken in an external sense and applied from a material point of view. Merely external reasoning, far from being an aid in their understanding, is rather an obstacle in the way; but to him who looks at them with the understanding that comes from the spirit, they are full of divine wisdom.

The Rosicrucians say, "A person who knows Divine truth has attained the highest and desires nothing more; for there can be nothing higher than the attainment of the truth. In comparison with this treasure, wordly possessions sink into insignificance: for he who possesses the highest has no desire for that which is low; he who knows the reality does not care for illusions. Scientific and philosophical speculations in regard to what may possibly be true are useless to him who feels and perceives the truth; he does not need to speculate about that which he already sees and knows. He does not require great riches, for the wants of his physical form are few and simple, and moreover, by the action of the spirit within, radiating in an outward direction, the material principles composing his physical form become more and more sublimated and

etherealized, and independent of the necessities of the material plane; until at last, having stripped off the last sheath of the gross and visible form, and having made that principle conscious which gives life within the visible inner body, he may live entirely in the latter, invisible to mortal eyes, independent of material conditions, an ethereal spirit surrounded by indescribable beauties, in possession of powers of whose existence mortal man does not dream—an ethereal spirit, but nevertheless a real and living man."¹

And, again, the Rosicrucians say of him who has tasted of the living water of truth, the true "Elixir of Life":—

"Blessed is he who is above want and poverty, above disease and death, who cannot be touched by that which gives pain, who does not require another roof over his head than the sky, no other bed than the earth, no other nutriment than the air, and who is above all those wants for which mortals are craving."²

"God humiliates the vain and exalts the humble. He punishes the proud with contempt; but to the modest He sends His angels with consolation. He throws the evil disposed into a wilderness; but to the kind-hearted He opens the portals of heaven."³

"Avoid the books of the Sophists; they are full of errors; for the foundation upon which their knowledge rests is their fancy. Enter the realm of the real, and divide with us the treasures which we possess. We invite you, not by our own choice, but by the power of the Divine Spirit whose servants we are."⁴

"What does the animal know about intellectual pleasures? What does the Sophist know about the joys of the spirit? Would it not be a precious thing if we could live and think and feel as if we had been living and thinking and feeling ever since the beginning of the world, and were to continue thus unto its end? Would it not be delightful to know all the secrets of Nature and to read that book in which is recorded everything that has happened in the past, or which will exist in the future? Would you not rejoice to possess the power to attract the highest instead of being attracted by that which is low, and to have pure spirits instead of animals assembling around you?"⁵

Are such powers attainable by man? It would be useless to attempt to prove it to those who have no desire to attain them; and even if it were proved, what would it benefit those who are poor to prove to them that there are others in possession of treasures which for the former do not exist? Can the existence of powers be proved to one who has no capacity for their perception or comprehension? Even a miracle would prove nothing except that something unusual and unexplained had occurred.

The Fama Fraternitatis says: "The impossibility to reveal such secrets to those who are not sufficiently spiritually developed to receive them is the cause that many misconceptions and prejudices have existed among the public in regard to the Rosicrucians. Grotesque and fabulous stories, whose origin can only be traced to the ignorance or malice of those who invented them, have been circulated and grown in

intensity and absurdity as they travelled through the ranks of the gossippers. Falsehoods cannot be eradicated without injuring the roots of the truth, and evil intentions grow useful to contradict the false statements made by the ignorant or wilful deceiver; but what is the testimony of the blind worth when they speak of what they believe they have seen and what value can be attached to the statements of the deaf when they describe what they believe they have heard? What does the untruthful know of the truth, the godless of God, the foolish of wisdom, and the unbeliever of faith? They may think that they are right, nevertheless they are wrong; they may accuse others of harbouring illusions, while they live in illusions themselves. Envy, hate, jealousy, bigotry and superstition are like coloured glasses, which cause him who looks through them to see nothing in its true aspect, but everything in coloured light."

Thus it appears that the "Rosicrucians," in speaking of their society, means something very different from any terrestrial and external organization of persons calling themselves, for some reason or other, "Rosicrucians"; but of a spiritual union, a harmony of divine and con-spiritual, but, nevertheless, individual powers, such as the angels are supposed to be, and which are not concerned in any history connected with the tomfooleries of external life.

It is of that spiritual "association" of which they speak when they say:—

"Our community has existed ever since the first day of creation, when God spoke the word, 'Let there be light,' and it will continue to exist till the end of time. It is the society of the children of light, whose bodies are formed of light, and who live in the light for ever. In our school we are instructed by Divine* wisdom, the heavenly bride, whose will is free, and who comes to him whom she selects. The mysteries which we know embrace everything that can possibly be known in regard to God, Nature, and Man. Every sage that has ever existed has graduated in our school, in which he could have learned true wisdom. We have among our members such as do not inhabit this globe; our disciples are distributed all over the universe. They all study one book, and follow only one method of studying it. Our place of meeting is the temple of the Holy Spirit pervading all nature, easily to be found by the Elect, but for ever hidden from the eyes of the vulgar. Our secrets cannot be sold for money; but they are free to everyone who is capable to receive them. Our secrecy is not caused by an unwillingness to give; but by the incapacity to receive on the part of those that ask for instruction.

"There is only one eternal truth; there is only one fountain of love, Love cannot be given, it must be born in the human heart. Wherever the quickening takes place, we attend to the birth of divine love. We are in possession of a light that illumines the profoundest depths of the darkness and enables us to know the deepest of mysteries. We have a fire by which we are nourished and by which wonders may be performed in nature.

"Everything in this world is subject to our will, because our will is one and identical with the law; nevertheless, our will is free and bound by no law.

"Do you wish to become a member of our society? If so, enter within your own heart and hearken to the voice of the Silence. Seek for the Master within yourself, and listen to his instructions. Learn to know the Divinity that seeks to manifest itself within your soul. Throw away your imperfections and become perfect in God."

It will readily be perceived that all this refers to the "Inner Man," and not to his mortal physical frame. It is neither the physical body with its external senses, nor the perishing mind of man which can know divine truth. It is only divine truth in man that can know its own self. No man can attain true knowledge of any spiritual power, unless that power becomes alive in him and he identified with it. Occultism is not a question of what one should know, nor of what one should do; but of what one must be. If the inner man has become truly spiritual, not merely in his imagination, but in his will; then his awakened spirit will penetrate even through the physical form and change its nature in the same sense as darkness is consumed by light.

All this refers not to the man of terrestrial flesh; but to him who has been regenerated in the life of the spirit. The elementary body of man is not above disease and death; nor above that which gives pain. That body requires to be sheltered against the elements whereof it is made; and needs terrestrial food; but the man of the celestial kingdom is free. His home is as wide as his thoughts can reach, and his nutriment is the "Manna" from heaven.

"God" (according to Jacob Boehme) is the will of divine wisdom. He who rises up in his self-conceit will fall; because he will be full of his delusive knowledge, and the will of the Eternal cannot awaken divine wisdom in him. True humility does not consist in abject fear; but in the highest sense of dignity, such as can be felt only by him who feels that God is in and with him.

The "sophists" are those sceptical inquirers who diligently examine the external shell of the fruit that grows upon the tree of knowledge; without knowing that there is a kernel within the fruit. They persuade themselves that there is no kernel, and imagine that those who are capable to perceive by the power of the spirit the light that shines from the interior fountain, are dreamers; while they themselves little know that their own life is merely a sleep and their fancied knowledge a dream.

The spirit of man is not of this world; it belongs to eternity. There never was a time when the spirit of man was not; even since the beginning of creation; neither is its presence limited to this planet Earth. He who succeeds in merging his consciousness with that of the divine spirit that overshadows his personality, and which is his own real self, will know his past forms of existence and see the future; but the animal principles in man cannot partake of that state; they die and enter again into the Chaos, the storehouse for the production of forms.

Chapter Two

THE HERMETIC PHILOSOPHY

Tria sunt mirabilia. Deus et Homo. Mather et Virgo. Trinus et Unus.

There is only one eternal truth and consequently only one divine wisdom. If we wanted to trace the history of those in whom that wisdom became manifest back to their origin, we would have to step out of time and space and enter into eternity. We would have to go back to the first days of creation, when "the spirit of God moved upon the waters," when the "first initiator" (I) instructed a race of semi-spiritual beings, constituted very differently from the human beings as we now know them upon this planet. The externally reasoning historian speaks of the wisdom-religion of the ages, as if it were some system invented by man and evolved from the gradually unfolding speculative power of the reasoning intellect; but the Occultist knows that divine wisdom is eternal and always the same; all that differs is the form of its manifestation, according to the capacity of the minds in which it seeks for expression. A history of the doctrines of the Rosicrucians might, therefore, begin with an exposition of the doctrine of the Vedas or the ancient books of Egypt; but as these subjects have been extensively treated in H. P. Blavatsky's "Secret Doctrine" and other books, we will merely see in what shape the hermetic philosophy presented itself to the minds of the neoplatonic philosophers.

NEOPLATONISTS.

Ammonius Saccas.

this philosopher, who lived about 190 a.d., was the founder of the Neoplatonic School. He was the son of Christian parents, and received a Christian education, but departed from this system and became a "philosopher." He gained a living by carrying burdens for pay, and yet he was one of the greatest philosophers of that age, and well acquainted with the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy. His disciples were Erennios, Origenes, Plotinus, and Longinus.

PLOTINUS.

Plotinus was born at Lykopolis in Egypt in the year 205 a.d. He received his education at Alexandria. He took part in the war of the Emperor Gordianus in Persia, and went afterwards to Rome, where he established his school of philosophy. Here he obtained great renown and was respected by all. It is said that during the 26 years he lived in Rome he did not have a single enemy. Even the Emperor Gallienus, one of the

greatest villains, respected and honoured him.

Plotinus fell sick. As the physician Eustachius entered the room in which Plotinus was dying, the latter exclaimed, joyfully, "I am now going to unite the God that lives within myself with the God of the universe."

The mind of Plotinus was continually directed towards the Divine genius who accompanied him,—his own higher self. He cared little about his physical body, and having been asked about the day when the latter was born, he refused to tell it, saying that such a trifling matter was of too little importance to waste any words about.

Phenomenal existence was to him an error, a mistake, a low and undesirable condition, union with the Divine principle the highest aim of existence. He ate very little, took no meat, and lived a life of chastity. Porphyry, another one of the disciples of Saccas, having become envious of the renown of Plotinus, attempted to use black magic against him, but without success; and finally said that the soul of Plotinus was so strong that the most powerful Will directed against his soul could not penetrate it, and rebounded upon the sender. Plotinus, however, felt that magic influence, and expressed himself to that effect.

According to the philosophy of Plotinus, God is the foundation of all things. There is only one Substance; Matter and Form are merely illusions, or shadows of the Spirit. God is eternal and everywhere. He is pure light, a Unity, the basis of all existence and thought. The Mind (noûs) is the image of this Unity; it is, so to say, the image created by the Eternal by looking within itself. Thus the Mind is the product or creation of God, and yet God itself, and receiving its power from the latter. The Mind is the eternal activity of the Eternal. It is Light, primordial and unchangeable. Thought and every thinkable object exists within the mind. The world of Mind is the internal world; the eternal, sensual world is the external expression of the former. Mind being a Unity, and all beings and objects consisting of Mind substance, all are fundamentally identical, but they differ in form.

The activity by which the inner world of Mind came into existence is an interior power acting towards the centre. If an external world, corresponding to the inner world, is to come into existence, there must be another activity by which this internal activity is reversed, so as to be directed towards the periphery. This centrifugal activity is the Soul, a product or reaction of the centripetal activity of the Mind, in other words a product of Thought, entering within itself.

There is a universal law according to which something real may produce something approaching its own state of perfection, but not quite as perfect as itself, and therefore the activity of the soul resembles the activity of the mind, but is not as perfect as the latter.

The Soul, like the Mind, is living thought, but unlike the Mind, subject to continual change. The soul, unlike the mind, does not see things within her own self, but sees

them in the mind. The activity of the soul is directed outwardly, that of the mind inwardly; the perceptions of the soul are not so clear as those of the mind. The soul, like the mind, is a kind of light; but while the light of the mind is self-luminous, that of the soul is a reflection of the former.

According to the eternal laws of order and harmony existing in the whole organism of Nature, all souls become after a certain time separated from the mind, or—to express it more correctly—the distance between the soul and the centre of mind increases, and they assume a more material state. Moving away from the Divine intelligence they enter the state of matter, they descend into matter. At each step towards materialization their forms become more dense and material, the souls in the air have an airy, those upon the earth an earthly material form. The activity of the soul produces other and secondary activities. Some of the latter have an upward tendency, others follow lower attractions. The upward-tending activities are Faith, Aspiration, Veneration, Sublimity, etc.; the downward tendencies produce reasoning, speculations, sophistry, etc.; the lowest activity of the soul is the purely vegetative power, sensation, assimilation, instinct, etc.

The ultimate aim of the activity of Nature is the attainment of self-knowledge. Whatever Nature produces in a visible form, has also a supersensual form, giving shape to gross matter, so that the form may become an object for recognition. Nature is nothing but a living soul, she is the product of a higher, interior activity, the Universal Mind. There is only one fundamental living power in Nature, the power to imagine; there is only one result of the activity of this power formation, or perception of form, and the same process which takes place in Nature, takes place in the nature of man.

All formations of matter are produced by the soul residing therein. All forms are filled with an interior life, even if not manifested outwardly. The Earth is like the wood of a tree, wherein life exists; the stones resemble twigs which have been cut off from the tree. In the stars, as well as in the Earth, is Divine Life and Reason.

The sensual world and each existence therein has an interior soul, and this soul is all that is lasting about those forms; the external appearance is nothing more than an appearance.

The World of Intelligence, is an unchangeable living Unity wherein there is no separation by space or change in time. In that world exists everything that is, but there is neither production nor destruction, neither past nor future. It is not in space, and requires no space. If we say the world of intelligence is everywhere, we mean to express the idea that it is in its own being, and, therefore, within itself.

The world of Intelligence is the world of Spirit. There is a supreme Intelligence, wherein are germinally (potentially) contained all objects and all intellects, and there are as many individual intellects as can possibly be contained in that world of intelligence. The same may be said about the Soul. There is a supreme Over-Soul, and as many individual souls as can be contained therein; and the latter stand in the same

relationship to the former as a species to the one class to which it belongs. There are different kinds of species in a class, yet all originate in the latter. Each species has a character of its own. Likewise, in the intellectual world there must be some certain qualities to produce souls of various kinds, and the souls must be in possession of various degrees of thought-power, else they would all be identical in every detail.

There is nothing absolutely without Reason in Nature, although the manifestations of the principle differ vastly in the various forms. Even animals, which seem to be unreasonable, possess a reason which guides their instincts. Everything that exists has its origin in Reason, and there can be nothing absolutely unreasonable in Nature; but there are innumerable modes in which Reason becomes manifest, because these manifestations are modified by external and internal conditions and circumstances. The inner, spiritual man is far more reasonable than the external one. In the external world Reason manifests itself as observation, logic and speculation; but in the world of intelligence Reason is manifest in direct perception of the truth.

The aim of the internal action of reason is to produce an objective form. As differentiation proceeds and the various powers unfold, they continually lose some of their attributes, and the ultimate products are less perfect than the original power; but the circumstances in which they are placed give rise to the origin of new attributes, and thus a step is made towards rising again into a higher state.

Thus the world of intelligence is a radiation from the fundamental original centre, and the world which we perceive with our senses is a product of the world of intelligence. The state of imperfection and mutability of all things in the external world is caused by their remoteness from the great centre. The Universe is a product of three fundamental principles of existence; it is a great living being or organism, in which all its constituent parts are intimately connected together, and no part in that universe can act without causing a certain reaction in all other, even distant parts because throughout the whole there is only one soul, whose activity, manifesting itself in all parts, constitutes the organism of the whole. All parts are connected together by that universal power which constitutes the One Life in the universe. All souls lead, so to say, amphibious existences. Sometimes they are attracted more to the sensual plane and become interwoven with the latter; at other times they follow the attraction of Reason, from whence they originated, and may become united with it. The soul ultimately becomes divided, the higher elements rise to the higher planes, the lower ones sink still lower when they are no more held up by their connection with the higher ones. Whenever the incarnation of a human being takes place, the soul furnishes the mortal body with some of her own substance, but she does not, as a whole, belong to the body; and only that part of the soul which has become thoroughly amalgamated with the body takes part in the pains and pleasures of the latter. Man's evil desires come only from that part of his soul, which is thus mixed with the body, and, therefore, the evil consequences of man's evil actions befall merely the animal man—that is to say, his living animal principle—but not the real man or the spirit, connected with the higher elements of the soul. The more the soul is attracted to the vulgar and low, the more grossly material will the organism with which she clothes herself become. After death the gross substances must be

purified or destroyed, while the pure elements rise up to the source from whence they came, until the time for a new incarnation in a form of flesh has arrived. This process is repeated until the soul has attained sufficient knowledge to become inaccessible to the attraction of that which is low. In this sense man's terrestrial existence may well be looked upon as being a punishment for harbouring evil desires and inclinations. Intellectual labour is an activity belonging to a lower state of existence, and is necessary because the original faculty of the soul of directly perceiving the truth has been lost. If the soul desires to obtain this faculty again, she must free herself from all intellectual conceptions, and penetrate into the formless. If she desires to reach up to the original inconceivable fountain of all, she must leave her own conceptions behind, she must become free from all sensual perceptions and intellectual speculations, free of thought and speech, and live in a state of spiritual contemplation. That which is beyond intellectual conception can be seen, but can neither be conceived nor described in words. Seeing is better than believing, knowledge is better than logic; spiritual knowledge is one, but human science is a multiplicity, and has nothing to do with the eternal Unity, from which all things take their origin.

It is of the utmost importance that men should be instructed about their own nature, their origin, and their ultimate destiny; because an intellectual person is not inclined to undertake a labour, unless he is convinced about its usefulness. Spiritual perception is a power, which cannot be imparted, but which must be gained by effort.

If a person does not know that such a power exists, or if he cannot realize its usefulness, he will make no efforts to attain that state, his mind will remain without illumination, and he will not be able to see the truth. He may feel the existence of the truth, like a man may feel love for an unknown ideal, of which he does not know whether or not it exists; but he whose mind is illumined sees the object of his love, the light which illumines the world. This light is present everywhere. But it exists relatively only for those who are able to see, perceive, feel, and embrace it, by reason of their own similarity to it. To make the matter still more comprehensible, let us say that if the soul throws off her impediments and enters that state again in which she originated from the Eternal, then will she be able to see and feel the Eternal. If, after having received these instructions, a person is too indolent to follow them, he will have no one to blame but himself if he remains in darkness. Let all, therefore, try to tear themselves loose from that which is low and sensual, and become united with the supreme power of God.

If you desire to find the Supreme, you must free your thoughts of all impressions coming from the external world, purify your mind of all figures, forms, and shapes.

God is present in all, even in those who do not recognise Him; but men flee from God, they step out of Him, or, to speak more correctly, out of themselves. They cannot grasp Him before whom they are thus fleeing, and, having lost themselves, they hunt after other gods. But if the soul progresses on the road to perfection, begins to realize her own higher state of existence, to know that the fountain of eternal life is within herself, and that she, therefore, has no need to hunt after external things, but can find all that is desirable in the divine element within herself; if she begins to understand that

in that God within is her whole life and being, and that she must flee from the realm of illusion to live and exist in Him, then will the time come when she will be able to see Him, and to see herself as an ethereal being, illumined by a super-terrestrial light. She will see herself even as the pure Divine Light itself, as a God, radiant in beauty, but becoming dark again as her light is rendered heavy if it approaches the shadows of the material plane.

Why does not the soul remain in that state of light? Merely because she has not yet freed herself fully from the attractions of matter. If she has become entirely free of these attractions, she will remain in that light, and know that she is one with it. In this state there is no perceiver and no object of perception, there is merely perception, and the soul is that which she perceives. She is, for the time being, identified with the object of her perception, and, therefore, this state is something beyond the intellectual comprehension of man.

Having been united and identical with it, the soul carries its image within herself when she returns to herself. She then knows that during the time of her union with the Eternal she was the Eternal itself, and there was no difference between herself and the former. In herself there was no motion, no sensation, no desire after anything else, neither was there thought nor conception. She was exalted and resting in her own being, she was, so to say, rest itself, in a state surpassing all conceptions of beauty or virtue. A soul entering into this sublime state, in which there is no form and no image, cannot be supposed to enter anything illusive. A soul which sinks into illusions degrades herself, and enters the region of evil and darkness; but the exalted soul enters into herself; she is then neither in a state of being nor of non-being, but in one which is inconceivable and above all being.

malchus porphyrius.

This philosopher was a disciple of Plotinus, and was born in Batanea, in Syria, in the year 233 a.d. He died at Rome in the year 304 a.d. He says that only one single time during his life did he succeed in obtaining his union with God, while his teacher Plotinus, was four times blessed in this manner.

Porphyry says, in regard to the Soul:—The embodied soul is like a traveller who has lived a long time among foreign nations, and has, therefore, not only forgotten the costumes of his own country, but also adopted those of the foreigners. When such a traveller returns from his voyage, and desires to be welcomed by his friends and relatives, he attempts to lay on? his foreign manners,- and to return again to his former way of acting and thinking. Likewise the soul, while banished from her celestial home, and being forced to inhabit a physical form, acquires certain habits from the latter, and if she desires to return to her former state, she must lay aside all she has adopted from her terrestrial form. She must try to put off not merely the gross physical mask in which she is dressed, but also her more interior envelopes, so that she may enter, so to say,

in a state of nudity into the realm of bliss.

There are two poisonous sources from which man drinks oblivion of his former condition, and which cause him to become forgetful of his future destiny, namely sensual pain and sensual pleasure. By the action of these two, but especially by the action of the latter, desires and passions are created, and these attract the soul to matter and become the cause of her corporification. Thus the soul is, so to say nailed to the body, and the ethereal vehicle of the soul is rendered heavy and dense. We should avoid everything which may excite sensuality, because wherever sensuality is active, reason and pure Intelligence cease their activity. We should, therefore, never eat for the mere pleasure of eating, but only eat as much as is necessary to nourish the body. Superfluous, and especially animal food, strengthens the bonds which bind the soul to matter, and withdraw her from the Divinity and from divine things. The wise, being a priest of God, should seek to remain free of all impurities while he is in the temple of Nature, and he should never so far forget his dignity as to approach the Source of all Life while he himself constitutes a grave for the dead bodies of animals. He should select for his nutriment only the pure gifts of his terrestrial mother. If we could avoid all kind of food, we should become still more spiritual.

In regard to the difference existing between corporeal and incorporeal things, Porphyry says:—"The Incorporeal governs the Corporeal, and is, therefore, present everywhere, although not as space, but in power. The corporeal existence of things cannot hinder the Incorporeal from being present to such things as it desires to enter into relation with. The Soul has therefore the power to extend her activity to any locality she may desire. She is a power which has no limits, and each part of her, being independent of special conditions, can be present everywhere, provided she is pure and unadulterated with matter. Things do not act upon each other merely by the contact of their corporeal forms, but also at a distance, provided they have a soul, because the higher elements of the soul are everywhere, and cannot be enclosed in a body, like an animal in a cage, or a liquid in a bottle. The universal soul, being essentially one and identical with the infinite supreme Spirit, may, by the infinite power of the latter, discover or produce everything, and an individual soul may do the same thing if she is purified and free from the body."

"The realm of the soul, being semi-material, has its inhabitants possessing semi-material (astral) forms. Some of them are good, others evil; some are kindly disposed towards man, others are malicious. Both classes have ethereal but changeable bodies; the good ones are masters of their bodies and desires, the evil ones are governed by the desires of their bodies. They are all powers for good or for evil, divine, animal, or diabolic invisible influences creating, by their interior activity, passions, desires, vices, and virtues in the souls of beings. The more evil they are, the more do their forms approach the corporeal state. They then live on the exhalations of matter; they induce men to murder and to kill animals, they enjoy the vapours arising from the victims, and grow fat by absorbing the ethereal substances of the dying. They are, therefore, always ready to incite men to wars and crimes, and they collect in great crowds in places where men or animals are killed."

Porphyry ridicules the idea that gods, being wiser, more powerful, and superior to man, could be coaxed, persuaded or forced to do the will of man or conform to his desires. He repudiates the theory that clairvoyance, prophecy, etc., were the results of the inspiration by external gods, but says that they are a function of the Divine Spirit within man; and that the exercise of this function becomes possible when the soul is put into that condition which is necessary to exercise it. "The consciousness of man may be centred within or beyond his physical form; and according to conditions a man may be, so to say, out of himself or within himself, or in a state in which he is neither wholly without nor within, but enjoys both states at once." He also states that there are many invisible beings, which may take all possible forms and appear as gods, as men, or as demons, that they are fond of lying and masquerading, and of pretending to be the souls of departed men.

It is said that Porphyry was several times during his prayers levitated into the air, even to the height of ten yards or more, and that on such occasions his body appeared to be surrounded by a golden light. "The gods are everywhere, and he whose soul is filled with such a divine influence to the exclusion of lower influences is, for the time being, the god which that influence represents, possessing his attributes and ideas. The nature of the union of the soul with God cannot be intellectually conceived or expressed in words; he who accomplishes it is identical with God, he is Divinity itself, and there is no difference between him and the latter. The gods are not called down to us by our prayers; but we rise up to them by our own holy aspirations and efforts; we are connected with them by the all-embracing power of love."

JaMBLIChus.

This philosopher was a disciple of Porphyry, and died about 333 a.d. He says:—

"If the soul rises up to the gods, she becomes god-like and able to know the above and the below; she then obtains the power to heal diseases, to make useful inventions, to institute wise laws. Man has no intuitive power of his own; his intuition is the result of the connection existing between his soul and the Divine Spirit; the stronger this union grows, the greater will be his intuition, spiritual knowledge. Not all the perceptions of the soul are of a divine character; there are also many images which are the products of the lower activity of the soul in her mixture with material elements. Divine Nature, being the eternal fountain of Life, produces no deceptive images; but if her activity is perverted, such deceptive images may appear. If the mind of man is illumined by the Divine Light, the ethereal vehicle of his soul becomes filled with light and shining."

PROCLUS.

Proclus lived at Byzany, 412—485. He was a hermetic philosopher and mystic, having often prophetic visions and dreams. It is said that he had the spiritual power of producing rain by his "prayer" and of preventing earthquakes. He was very pious and self-denying, and on some occasions his head seemed to be surrounded by a glory of

light.

He says that the soul of man consists of many coats; some more dense, and others of a more ethereal character, each one being a fundamental principle, changeable only in regard to its form. "The soul can only return to her divine state after having been purified of her earthly desires. Her reason and free will must take part in the sufferings belonging to the material state, until she attains knowledge and becomes free from desires. For this purpose she clothes herself at certain periods in a physical form (reincarnates as a human being), until she has laid off her desires. The more the soul frees herself from her gross external coats (principles) the higher can she rise."

HIEROCLES.

This philosopher says:—"The intelligent soul-substance received from the Demiurgos (Logos) an inseparable immaterial body, and entered thus into being. She is, therefore, neither corporeal nor incorporeal, but comparable to the sun and the stars, which are the product of an immaterial substance. This soul-body, which human beings as well as "spirits" possess, is of a shining nature. The vehicle of the soul is contained within the material body of man; it breathes Life into the lifeless and soulless physical organism, and contains the harmony of the latter. The Life Principle of man is the inner being which produces the activity of Life in the organism. The inner man consists of an intelligent substance and an immaterial (transcendentally material) body. The visible material form is the production and images of the interior man. The external form consists of the animal, unintellectual, gross-material and ethereal bodies, a separation of living substance and dead matter is effected, and thus man may render himself capable of having intercourse with pure spirits.

During the year 529, the imperial bigot Justinian closed the schools of Philosophy at Athens, and their last representatives, Isodorus, Damascius, and Simplicius went to Persia. They expected to find in the East freedom of thought, tolerance, and wisdom. It was said that Chosroes, the King of Persia, was a philosopher, and they hoped to obtain his protection. But they soon found that the philosophy of that King was very superficial, and that he was a cruel, passionate, and ignorant tyrant, varnished over with some superficial learning. Disappointed, they returned to Greece.

This was the experience of the last of the Neoplatonic philosophers, such as were publicly known, and a long obscuraton of the sun of wisdom took place, until a ray of light broke again through the clouds during the 15th century.

Chapter Three

MEDIAEVAL PHILOSOPHERS

Centrum in Trigono Centri

The external world is an image of the interior world. The astronomy of the visible starry sky is an external reproduction of astrological processes taking place in the invisible heavens, and the revolutions of the planets which are within the reach of observation by our physical senses, are symbols by means of which the action of spiritual powers existing in the universe are represented. As the earth has her seasons of heat and cold, according to her position which she occupies in regard to the sun, and as she approaches the sun at certain times and recedes at others, likewise there are regular periods at which the human mind seems to come nearer to the spiritual sun of divine wisdom, and there are other times when a period of darkness and materialism exists. During the times of perihelion, receptive minds will find it easier to rise up in their thoughts to the fountain of eternal truth; while during the aphelion it requires greater efforts to approach the divine luminary. During the time of the Middle Ages there appears such perihelion to have taken place, and a wave of spirituality was passing over the world, illuminating the minds of those who were receptive for wisdom; while in the minds of the vulgar it merely aroused the emotional element, causing among them an epidemic of superstition, which manifested itself on the external plane as the development of witchcraft and sorcery. There were many hermetic philosophers of great prominence living during those times. Foremost of all must be mentioned Theophrastus Paracelsus, of Hohenheim; Jacob Boehme, Cornelius Agrippa, Basilius Valentinus, Robert Fludd, and many others too numerous to be named. As the lives and the philosophy of the two former ones have already been explicitly dealt with in my other books, I will select from the rest the writings of Cornelius Agrippa as a type of what was taught by those mediæval philosophers.

magic, ACCORDING TO cornelius agrippa.

Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim was born of a noble family at Coeln (Cologne) on September 14, in the year 1486. He was a philosopher, physician, lawyer, theologian, soldier, and also a statesman. He studied the Occult Sciences, and is said to have been a good Alchemist. He also organized at Paris a secret society for the purpose of studying the secret sciences. He drew upon himself the hatred and malice of the clergy, whose evil practices he desired to reform, and he was consequently denounced as a black magician and sorcerer, and there are even to-day nearly as many fabulous stories circulating about him as there are in regard to the reputed black magician, Doctor Faustus. He was an open enemy of the Holy Inquisition, continually persecuted by latter, and therefore he had to change his place of residence very often. While only twenty-four years of age he wrote his celebrated work, "Occulta Philosophia," which in his riper age he greatly improved. His study of the occult side of nature led him to realize the fact that the truth cannot be found in illusions, even if they belong to the supersensual plane of existence, and he therefore says in his book, "De Vanitate Scientiarum": "He who does not prophesy in the truth and power of God, but by means of daemons and evil spirits, errs. He who produces illusions by magic spells, exorcisms, citations, cojurations, philtres, and other dæmoniacal methods deserves to be punished

in hell."

Cornelius Agrippa made great effort to restore the true meaning of the term "Magic": a term which means the exercise of spiritual functions which are in possession of the wise; but the ignorant even to this day use the term "Magic," when they want to talk about Sorcery and Villainy, which is not wisdom, but the very thing opposed to it. In regard to his book he says: "I have written it in such a manner that those who are wise will find therein all the information they desire; but to the evil disposed and the sceptic the door to the mysterious realm will remain closed, no matter how hard they may struggle to enter it. If you possess the power of seeing with the eye of reason, the whole sublime magic science will appear before your sight, and you will know the powers which Hermes, Zoroaster, and Apollonius knew."

"The Key to the highest and divine philosophy of the mysterious powers nature is reason. The brighter the sun of reason shines, the more powerful will the intellect grow, and the easier will it become for us to accomplish even the most wonderful things. But if the intellect is in the bonds of flesh, if it cannot overcome the errors received by inheritance and false education, it will be unable to penetrate into the divine mysteries of nature and God. He who wants to enter into the sanctuary must die. He must die to the world and to external sensual attractions, die to his animal instincts and desires. Not that by such a death the soul would become separated from the body; but the soul must be able to step out of the latter. Therefore Paulus writes to the Colossians: 'You have died and your life is hidden with Christ in God'; and at another place he says: 'I know a man (but whether he was in the body or out of the body I do not know, God knows it) he was exalted into the third heaven.' Such a death must he die who wishes to know God, and only few are privileged to do so."

"Whatever we read about the irresistible powers of the Magic Art, of the wonderful sights of the Astrologers, etc., will be found to be fables and lies as soon as we take those things in their external and literal meaning. Their external forms cover internal truths, and he who desires to see those truths must be in possession of the divine light of reason, which is in possession of very few. Therefore those who attempt to solve the problems of the divine secrets of nature by the reading of books will remain in the dark; they are led away from the light of reason by the illusive glare of their erring intellect; they are misguided by the tricks of external astral influences and by erroneous imaginations. They fall continually into error by seeking beyond their own selves that which exists within themselves. You must know that the great cause of all magic effects is not external to ourselves, but operating within ourselves, and this cause can produce all that the Magicians, Astrologers, Alchemists, or Necromancers ever produced. Within ourselves is the power which produces all wonderful things.

Nos habitat, non tartara, sed nee sidera coeli
Spiritus in nobis, qui viget, ilia facit.

"Magic Science embraces a knowledge of the most sublime and exalted truths, the deepest mysteries in nature, the knowledge of the nature of matter and energy, of the

attributes and qualities of all things. By uniting the powers of nature and combining the lower with its corresponding higher counterpart the most surprising effects may be produced. This science is therefore the highest and most perfect of all; she is a sacred and exalted philosophy the culminating point of all."

Agrippa regards nature as being a trinity; an elementary (corporeal) astral and spiritual world, and the lower principles are intimately connected with the higher ones, forming thus four more intermediary states; that is to say, seven in all.

The cause of all activity in the universe is the omnipresent principle of Life (being identical with the Will), a function of the universal spirit. This life principle causes the ethereal Soul to act upon the gross element of Matter.

"The Spirit—the Primum mobile—is self-existent and is motion; the body, or the element of matter, is in its essence without motion, and differs so much from the former that an intermediary substance is required by which the Spirit can be united with the body. This intermediary spiritual substance is the soul, or the fifth essence (quinta essentia) because it is not included in the four states of matter, which are called the four elements, but constitutes a fifth element, or a higher state of matter which is perceptible to the physical senses. This soul of the world is of the same form as the world; because as the spirit in man acts upon all the members of his body by means of man's soul, likewise the universal spirit by means of the soul of, the universe pervades and penetrates all parts of the latter. There is nothing in the world which does not contain a spark of this universal power; but spirit is most active in those things or beings in whom the activity of soul is strongest.

This astral spirit can be rendered very useful to us if we know how to separate it from the other elements, or if we use such things as contain an abundance of it. There are certain things in which this principle is not so deeply sunk into or so strongly amalgamated with the body as it is in others, and such things act powerfully and may produce their counterparts.

This is the great alchemical agent, and in it are contained all productive and generative powers. If this spirit is extracted from gold or silver and united with some other metal it transforms the latter into gold, respectively silver.

There is such a great harmony and unity in nature that every superior power sends its rays through intermediary links down to the lowest, and the most inferior thing may rise up through the scale to the highest. Thus the lowest is connected with the highest comparable to a string of a musical instrument, which vibrates in its whole length if touched at one end. If the lower is acted on it reacts upon the higher, and the highest corresponds to the lowest.

A thing of very small size may produce a great effect (as may be seen by the growth of a tree from a seed), but this cannot take place with an elementary quality (physical force). The hidden powers may accomplish a great deal, because they are the

properties of the form to which they belong; but the elementary (mechanical or physical) forces, being material, require a great deal of matter to produce great effects upon matter. The powers belonging to the form are called occult powers, because their causes are hidden; that is to say, even the sharpest intellect cannot thoroughly conceive of their nature, and what the philosophers know about them they have learned rather by observation and experience, than by intellectual reasoning.

God created man in His own image. The universe is the image of God and man is the image of nature. Man is therefore, so to say, the image of the image; in other words a Microcosmos, or little world. The world is a reasonable, living, and immortal being; man is equally reasonable, but he is mortal, or at least divisible. Hermes Trismegistus says that the world is immortal, because no part of it is ever annihilated. Nothing is ever annihilated, and if "to die" means to be annihilated, then is "dying" a term without any reason for its existence; because there is no death in nature. If we say that a man dies, we do not mean to imply that anything of that man perishes; we only mean to say that his body and soul become separated from each other. The true image of God is His Word, Wisdom, Life, Light, and Truth; they exist through Him, and the (spiritual) soul is their image. This is the reason why it is said that we (man in its primitive purity as a spiritual being) have been created in the image of God, and not in the image of the world or its creatures. God can neither be touched with the hand, nor be heard with the external ear, nor be seen with the external eye, and likewise the spirit of man can neither be seen, heard, or touched in this manner. God is infinite and cannot be overpowered by anything, and likewise is man's spirit (spiritual soul) free and can neither be forced nor limited. In God is contained the whole world and everything existing therein, and likewise in the will of man is contained every part of his body. Man being thus stamped and sealed in the image of God as His counterpart, necessarily clothed himself in a form, representing the true image of nature. He is therefore called the second or little world; he contains everything contained in the great world, and there is nothing existing in the latter which is not also truly existing within the organism of man. In him are contained all the elements (principles), each principle according to its own qualities; in him is the ethereal astral body, the vehicle of his soul, corresponding to the firmament of the world; in him is the vegetative power of plants, the principle of sensation, manifest in the animal kingdom, the divine spirit, divine reason, and the divine mind. All this is contained in man, united to a unity and belonging to him by divine right. Man is therefore called by the Bible "the whole creation," and in his aspect as the Microcosm he contains not only all parts of the world, but also contains and comprehends the divinity itself.

The natural Soul is the Medium by which the Spirit becomes united with the flesh and the body, through which the latter lives and acts and exercises its functions. This Medium is intelligent, but also so to say corporeal; or to express it perhaps more correctly, the soul takes part in the materiality of the physical body. This is the doctrine of all hermetic philosophers. Man consists of the higher, the intermediary, and the lower principles. The higher ones are called the illuminated spiritual soul, and Moses speaks of it figuratively as having been breathed by God into the nostrils of man. The lowest is the animal soul (*anima sensitiva*). The apostle Paulus calls it the animal man. The

intermediate part is the rational soul which connects the animal soul with the divine mind and takes part in the nature of the two extremes. This part, to become free, must be separated from the lower elements by the power of the Will of which the apostle says, that it is living and cutting like a sword. The divine principle never sins and never consents to sin; but the animal principle sinks continually lower in animal desires unless it is held up by the divine spirit. The highest part of ourselves is never subject to punishment, knows nothing of the sufferings of the lower principle; but returns after being separated from the lower principles to its divine source; but that part which is called the rational soul, and which being free, may choose between the higher or lower, will, if it continually clings to the highest, become united with God and immortal in him; but if the intellectual principle clings to that which is evil, it will become ultimately evil, and grow to be a malicious demon.

God is the centre of the world and enters the heart of man, like a sun-ray. As the spirit of God descends, it surrounds itself with an ethereal substance, forming the Astral body, the vehicle of the soul (the fiery chariot of the soul). From the centre of the heat the spirit radiates into all parts of the body and pervades all its members, combining its own vehicle with the natural heart of the body and with the soul substance generated within the heart. By means of the soul it mixes with and amalgamates with the fluids (the blood, nerve currents, etc.), and with all organs of the body. The soul is therefore equally near to all organs, although she radiates from one organ into another in the same sense as the heat of a fire is intimately connected with air and water, if it is carried from fire to water by means of the air. In this way we may form a conception of the process, by which the immortal spirit by means of its immortal ethereal vehicle may be enabled to adhere to and mix with a dense, mortal, material body. If by disease or otherwise the connection between different parts of the same organism is interrupted, the spirit returns again to the heart. If the life-principle leaves the heart, the spirit departs with the ethereal vehicle and the physical organism dies.

The first Light in God is beyond intellectual conception, and can therefore not be called a conceivable light; but as it enters the mind it becomes intellectual light and may be intellectually conceived. Entering into the soul it may not only be conceived, but also understood. It is incorporeal. When it enters into the ethereal vehicle it takes form, invisible to the physical senses; but when it penetrates the elementary (physical) organism, it becomes also visible to the external perception. By this gradual progression of this divine Light from Spirit into dense Matter our spirit may obtain great power. It is possible that if the thoughts of the wise are directed with great intensity upon God, the divine light illuminates the mind and radiates its rays through all the parts of the dark and gross body, causing even the latter to become illuminated like a luminous star, and to change its attraction to the earth, so that it may be raised up into the air, and thus it has happened that even the physical bodies of men have been carried away to some distant locality. So great is the interior power of the spirit over the external body that the former may lift the latter up and take him to that place where man's thought travels or where he desires or dreams to be.

Man's power to think increases in proportion as this ethereal and celestial power or

light penetrates his mind, and strengthening his mental faculties, it may enable him to see and perceive that which he interiorly thinks, just as if it were objectively and eternal. Spirit being unity and independent of our ideas of space, and all men having therefore essentially the same spirit, the souls of men existing at places widely distant from each other may thus enter into communication and converse with each other exactly in the same manner as if they had met in their physical bodies. In this state man may perform a great many things in an exceedingly short period of time, so that it may seem to us as if he had required no time at all to perform it. But not everybody can do so; it can only be done by those whose imagination and power of thought is very strong. Such a man (an Adept) is able to comprehend and understand everything by the light of the universal power or guiding intelligence with which he is spiritually united.

But if imagination possess such a power that it cannot be impeded or restrained by the obstacles presented by time or distance, if it can even communicate itself to the heavy physical body and carry the latter with it; then it will be reasonable to believe that thought becomes still more powerful if it becomes free and may follow its natural; inclinations, instead of being held back by the attractions of the sensual plane. In each man there is such a power, which is the inherent property of his soul by right of the divine origin of the latter; but this power is not equally developed in all men, but stronger in some, weaker in others, and according to the state of its development the possibility to use it differs in different individuals.

By this power two persons being bodily far distant from each other may exchange their thoughts, or one may impress his thoughts upon another, and such a power may be used for good or for evil purposes. Weak-minded persons may thus be fascinated by stronger minds, or be made to fall in love with the person by whom they are thus fascinated. The instrument of fascination is the spirit, and the organ, by which it eminently expresses itself is the eye. Thus the spirit of one person may enter the heart of another by way of the eyes, and kindle a fire therein which may burn and communicate itself to the whole body. If two persons look into the eyes of each other, their spirits come in contact, and mix and amalgamate with each other. Thus love may be caused by a look in a moment of time, like a wound caused suddenly by an arrow. The spirit and the blood of a person thus affected then turn towards him who fascinated it, like the avenging spirit and the blood of a murdered person turns against the murderer.

The passions of the soul which adhere to the imagination may, if they are sufficiently strong, not only produce changes in the organism to which they belong, but also be transferred upon another organism, and thus impressions may be made by the will of a person upon the elements and external things, and thus diseases of the soul or body may be caused or cured. The state of the soul is the principal cause of the condition of the external body. A strong, exalted soul, stimulated by a strong and active imagination, may not merely cause health or disease in her own organism, but also in that of others with which she comes in contact. Evil disposed persons may exert a very evil influence upon others by their look. The invisible forces emanating from the soul through the eye are much more powerful, stronger, hotter, and more active than the

emanations of the physical body. The soul-force of a person entering within the soul sphere of another acts therein not less strong than it would act if it had originated in the latter. By such means one man may exert an influence upon the mind and character of another.

The spirit may accomplish a great deal by the power of Faith. This power is a firm confidence or conviction, based upon the knowledge that one can and will accomplish his purpose. It is a strong, unwavering attention which gives strength to the work, causing, so to say, an image in our mind of the power which is necessary to accomplish the work, and of the work which is to be accomplished in, by, and through ourselves. We must, therefore, in all magic operations, apply a strong will, a vivid imagination, a confident hope, and a firm faith; all of which combined will assist in producing the desired result.

It is well known that if a rich person has confidence and faith in his physician, he is more liable to be benefited by the latter than if he mistrusts him, and often the presence of the physician in whom the patient has faith benefits the latter more than the remedies which he uses. The presence of a spiritually-minded physician who possesses a strong soul, and who desires to help the patient, is a power which is often sufficiently strong to change the pathological activity of the soul-elements of the patient (of which the physical processes taking place in the organism are merely the external expression), and thus to restore the patient. Every physician ought therefore be a magician in a certain sense. He ought not to doubt in the least that he will be successful in that which he attempts to accomplish. He ought not even to permit a thought of the possibility of a failure to enter his mind; because as a firm faith may accomplish wonderful things, like-wise doubt disperses the active power of the operator and renders it ineffective. In such a case the spiritual activity vibrates, so to say, between two extremes: it lacks the projecting impulse to enter the physical organism of the patient, it becomes diffused in space and is lost.

In this power of the spirit over the element of matter by means of the soul rests the power of certain signs, images, formulas, incantations, words, etc., and many wonderful experiments may thus be produced. The activity of the spirit strengthens the soul; by the will and imagination of the spirit the soul receives strength to act upon matter.

There is a spiritual power residing in the soul of man which enables the latter to attract, influence, and change things. If the power of the soul mounts to a certain height she may overpower the elements which hold her in bonds; for that which is above attracts and subjects that which is below, and the latter partakes of the changes of the former. Therefore, a man who has rendered himself capable to receive celestial gifts, by making use of the aspirations (functions) of his soul and employing natural things, may influence another being who is less spiritually strong, and force him to obey.

He may cure another by the power of his will or cause him to be sick or kill him; he may make him joyful or sad, fill him with fear, admiration, respect, veneration, etc.

The root from which all such effects spring is a strong and decided will supported by the spiritual influence coming from and through the heart. An opposing spiritual activity will, if the latter surpasses the former in strength, neutralize or repulse it, or weaken its influence. If a man becomes subject to a fascination, it is not his intellectual principle, but his sensual (animal) soul which is thus affected. The intelligent and spiritual part in man cannot be thus magically influenced. If the organism of a man is suffering it suffers according to its animal and terrestrial, and not in his spiritual or celestial aspect. The intelligent and spiritual part of man can merely know that such influences are acting upon the lower principles by a certain sensation which is communicated from the lower to the higher elements. Intelligent man feels the influence which is exercised by external conditions upon his animal constitution; but he is not himself subject to their influences. Everything belonging to the above moves that which is next to it below according to its degree and order, not merely in the visible, but also in the invisible part of nature. Thus the Universal Soul moves the individual souls, the Mind acts upon the animal, and the animal upon the vegetative principle. Each part of the world acts upon every other part, and each one is capable to be moved by another; and upon each part of the lower world acts the higher world, according to the attributes and conditions of the former, just as one part of the animal organism acts upon another.

There is an art, known only to few, by which the purified and faithful (intellectual) soul of man may be instructed and illuminated, so as to be raised at once from the darkness of ignorance to the light of wisdom and knowledge. There is also an art, by which the knowledge gained by the impure and unfaithful may be taken away from their mind and memory and they thus be reduced to their former state of ignorance.

Apuleius says that the human soul may be put into a state of sleep, so that she will forget her terrestrial conditions and turning her whole being towards her divine origin, she will become illuminated by the divine light, and not only be able to see the future and to prophesy it correctly, but also to receive certain spiritual powers. On such occasions the divine inspiration and illumination may be so great, as even to communicate itself to other persons near, and to influence them in a similar manner.

Persons in a state of receptivity or passivity may become mediums through which divine demons (influences) may be attracted within the body of man and cause men to perform wonderful things. If the soul of such a person breaks away from the bonds of the body and surrenders herself to the power of imagination, she may become the habitation of demons of a lower order, which may enable her to perform extraordinary things. Thus we may see that a person who has never had any instructions in painting may suddenly exercise that art and produce an artistic work, etc., etc. If the soul enters entirely the intellectual sphere, she may become the habitation of another class of demons and obtain great knowledge in regard to human and external things, and man may thus become suddenly a great philosopher, physician, orator, etc., without having learned those things; but if the soul rises up entirely to the region of divinity, she may become the habitation of divine spiritual influences, and obtain a knowledge of divine mysteries.

Only those who are pure-minded and spiritual can possess true magic powers. Thought is the supreme power in man, and pure spiritual thought is the miracle-worker within him. If the thought of man is bound to the flesh, deeply amalgamated with it and occupied with animal desires, it loses its power over the divine elements, and therefore among those who seek to exercise magic powers there are few who succeed. If we desire to become spiritually developed we must try to find out how we can free ourselves of our animal instincts and desires and become rid of our sensuality and passions, and we must, furthermore, attempt to rise up to a state of true spirituality. Without accomplishing these two propositions we will never rise up to that state which is necessary to obtain magic powers, which result from the spiritual elevation and dignity of man.

We should therefore attempt to remove all external impediments which are in the way of our spiritual development and live in a state of purity. Our thoughts should be continually directed inwardly and within ourselves; for within ourselves is the element of consciousness, knowledge, and power. Nothing hinders us to develop and exercise our own powers, except our misconceptions, imaginations, and external desires. Therefore the divine influences will only come to him who liberates his soul of all such hindrances, carnal desires, prejudices, and hallucinations. A diseased eye cannot bear to look at the light; an impure soul is repulsed by the divine light of truth.

Such a process of development and unfolding is not accomplished at once, but requires time and patience; a neophyte cannot immediately understand the mysteries of initiation when he enters the sacred precincts. The soul must be gradually accustomed to the light until the power of spiritual thought is unfolded, and the latter being, continually directed towards the divine light, becomes at last united with it. If the soul is perfectly purified and sanctified she becomes free in her movements; she sees and recognizes the divine light and she instructs herself, while she seems to be instructed by another. In that state she requires no other admonition or instruction except her own thought, which is the head and guide of the soul. She is then no more subject to terrestrial conditions of time, but lives in the eternal, and for her to desire a thing is to possess it already.

C. Agrippa here adds the following instructions, copied from Boëthius:—

"The guides on the road to perfection are Faith, Hope, and Charity, and the means to attain this object are Purity, Temperance, Self-control, Chastity, Tranquility of Mind, Contemplation, Adoration (Ecstasy), Aspiration, and Virtue."

If the highest state of spiritual development is attained, the spirit, endowed with the highest spiritual activity of the soul, attracts the truth, and perceives and knows at once the conditions, causes, and effects of all external and internal, natural and divine things. It sees them within the eternal truth like in a mirror of Eternity. By this process Man, while he still remains in eternal nature, may know all that exists in the internal and external world, and see all things, not merely those which are, but also those which have been, or which will exist in the future, and, moreover, by being united and

identified with the divine power (The Logos), he obtains the power to change things by the power of his (spiritual) Word. Thus man being within nature may be above her and control her laws."

Those who are able to read the works of Cornelius Agrippa by the light of internal reason, will see that a single page of his books contains more wisdom than whole libraries filled with the speculations and theories of our modern philosophers, and his name and doctrines will be remembered and admired when all the illusions and hallucinations of the latter will have sunk into the oblivion which they deserve.

Chapter Four

AMONG THE "ADEPTS."

A belief in the existence of persons endowed with abnormal or extraordinary psychic faculties or magical powers, by which they can produce wonderful effects, such as are not to be explained by the commonly accepted theories of external science, is nothing new. The Bible and the "Acta Sanctorum" are full of accounts of so-called "miracles," a term which signifies something wonderful, but for all that not anything contrary to the laws of nature. Such "wonders" are performed by the power of the spiritually awakened will. The Yoga philosophy gives a specification of these powers, and describes how they may be acquired.

To those powers belongs the art of making oneself invisible; of leaving one's body at will and returning to it again; of projecting one's soul to a distant place; of prolonging physical life for a long period of time; of transforming base metals into pure gold by alchemical means; of creating subjective illusions which appear to the spectators as objective realities, and of performing numerous other feats, such as belong to the department of Magic, white or black.

There is sufficient evidence going to show that during the time of the Middle Ages there were numerous people existing in whom such psychic faculties had been more or less developed. It was a time during which the imagination of the people as a whole was more active and more directed toward the supersensual and metaphysical aspect of the world. There was more of the true faith, and likewise more superstition to be found than at present, and faith as well as fear are active powers, capable to produce results on the astral plane. From the true faith, the result of spiritual knowledge, spring the powers of the Adept; from fear and superstition, the phenomena of obsession and sorcery. Persons in possession of magic powers, and especially those who were supposed to know the secrets of Alchemy, were called "Adepts," "Rosicrucians," or "Philosophers," and the greatest of them were supposed to belong to some secret and mysterious society, called "the Brotherhood of the Golden and Rosy Cross."

If we allow a great deal of poetical liberty in the descriptions of the members of this

fabulous order, charging it to the fruitful imagination of the writers living at the time of the "knights errant," nevertheless, there remains a considerable amount of historical evidence going to show that there were persons endowed with abnormal powers; although there is no evidence whatever that they were united among themselves by any external association or sect. Neither would such a farce ever be necessary among those whose internal senses were opened, and who would be drawn together by the ties of the spirit. Having the power of interior perception, they would surely not need any external passwords and signs. The true brothers of the Golden and Rosy Cross were and still are a spiritual society, and therefore the effort made at that time of finding a real and living, indisputable true Rosicrucian, were as unavailing as was at a more recent period the effort made by a certain London society of proving the existence of real and living Adepts.

The Rosicrucians have been celebrated in prose and in verse; and their virtues have been extolled by some, while others have denounced them as impostors. Some writers describe them as beings of a superior character, possessed of apparently supernatural knowledge and powers, as men of noble appearance and exercising an invisible but irresistible influence over all with whom they come into contact. They describe them as having the power to read the hearts of men, and to cure the diseases of their bodies by wonderful medicines, or merely by the touch of their hands. They are loved by all and they love all; but their hearts are invulnerable to sexual love. They never marry. They are sometimes described as being of fabulous age, and still appearing in the full vigour of manhood; as being great travellers and speaking the language of each country where they temporarily reside, as fluently and correctly as if it were their own native tongue; as possessing the power of rendering themselves invisible, and again, as often appearing unexpectedly, when their presence is most urgently needed. They are possessed of immense treasures, and have the power to transmute base metals into gold, and yet they despise riches and are contented to live in poverty. They are the wisest of all men, and the knowledge of even the most learned cannot be compared with what they know. They do nothing whatever for the purpose of obtaining fame, for they are dear to ambition; nevertheless their fame spreads wherever they appear. They are universally honoured, but they seek not for honour, and prefer to remain unnoticed. Palaces are at their disposal, but they prefer the hut of a beggar. They are not proud of their personal attributes, but it is the majesty of the divine principle manifesting itself in them, and shining even through the material envelope called the physical body, which surrounds them with an aura commanding the respect and veneration of all who approach. The glory of supermundane light which shines through their forms is so great that they may even appear luminous in darkness.¹

The following is taken from a book entitled "Hermippus Redivivus," which we will abbreviate as much as possible.

The Sieur Paul Lucas, who, by the order of Louis XIV., travelled through Greece and Africa in search of antiquities, says, "Being at Broussa, we went to a little mosque. We were introduced into a cloister, where we found four Dervishes, who invited us to their dinner. One of these, who said that he was of the country of the Usbeks (a Tartar

tribe) appeared to me more learned than the rest; and / verily believe he spoke all the languages of the world. After we had conversed for a time in the Turkish language, he asked me whether I could speak Latin, Spanish or Italian. We then spoke in Italian; but he noticed by my accent that this was not my mother tongue, and when I told him that I was a native of France, he spoke to me in as good French as if he had been brought up at Paris. I asked him how long he had stayed in France, and he answered that he had never been there, but that he desired to visit that country. This man was so learned that, judging from his discourse, he seemed to have lived at least a century; but according to his external appearance he was not more than thirty years of age.

"He told us that he was one of seven friends who had wandered all over the world with a view of perfecting their studies; that at parting they always appointed another meeting at the end of twenty years in a certain town, and that the first who came would wait for the rest. I perceived that Broussa was the place appointed for their present meeting. There were a few of them present already, and they seemed to converse with each other with a freedom which spoke of old acquaintance rather than merely accidental meeting. We spoke of religion, natural philosophy, chemistry, alchemy and the Kabala. I told him that the latter, and especially the notion of the 'Philosopher's Stone,' were considered by modern savants as mere chimeras. He seemed to know all about it, and answered: 'The true sage hears all things without being scandalized at them; but though he may have so much politeness as not to shock any ignorant person by his denial when they talk of such things; yet, let me ask you whether you think that he is obliged to sink his understanding to a level with vulgar minds because they are not able to raise their thoughts to an altitude equal to his? When I speak of a sage, I mean that kind of man to whom alone the title "philosopher" properly belongs. He has no sort of tie to the world; he sees all things die and revive without concern; he has more riches in his power than the greatest of kings, but he tramples them under his feet, and this generous contempt sets him even in the midst of indigence above the power of events.'

"I said: 'With all these fine maxims, the sage dies as well as other people. What imports it, therefore, to me when I die, to have be«

either a fool or a philosopher, if wisdom has no prerogative over folly and one is no more a shield against death than the other?'

"'Alas!' he answered, 'I see you are absolutely unacquainted with our sublime science, and have never known true philosophy. Learn from me, then, my friend, that such an one as I have described dies indeed, for death is a debt which Nature enacts, and from which therefore no man can be exempt; yet he dies not before his utmost time is fixed. But then you must observe that this period approaches near a thousand years, and to the end of that time a sage may live. He arrives at that end through the knowledge he has of the true medicine. Thus he is able to ward off whatever may impede the animal functions of his body or injure the temperature of his nature; and is enabled to acquire the knowledge of whatever comes within the cognizance of man.

"Aboriginal man knew the secrets of Nature by the use of his reason, but it was this same reason which blotted his knowledge again from his mind, for having attained this

kind of natural knowledge, he began to mingle with it his own notions and ideas. This created a confusion which was the effect of a foolish curiosity, and he reduced thereby the work of the Creator to a state of imperfection; and this is the error which the true sage attempts to redress. The other animals act only by their instinct, which they have preserved as they obtained it at first, and they live as long now as they did when they first came into existence. Man is a great deal more perfect than they; but has he still preserved that prerogative which he had in the beginning, or has he not lost long ago the glorious privilege of living a thousand years, which, with so much care, he should have studied to preserve? This the true sages have accomplished, and that you may no more be led into mistakes, let me, assure you that this is what they call the Philosopher's Stone which is not a chimerical science, but a real thing. It is, however, known to a few only, and indeed it is impossible that it should be made known to the most of mankind, whom avarice or debauchery destroys, or whom an impetuous desire of life prematurely kills.'

" 'Surprised at all I heard, I said: 'Would you, then, persuade me that all who have possessed the Philosopher's Stone have likewise lived a thousand years?' 'Without doubt,' answered he, gravely, 'for whenever a mortal is favoured with that blessing, it depends entirely on his own will whether he shall reach that age of a thousand years, as in his state of innocence the first man might have done.'

"I took the liberty to mention the illustrious Flamel, who, I said, had possessed the Philosopher's Stone, but was now dead as far as I knew. As I mentioned that name, he smiled at my simplicity, and said with an air of mirth: 'Do you really believe Flamel is dead? No, no, my friend, do not deceive yourself, for Flamel is living still. It is not above three years ago since I left him and his wife in the Indies, and he is one of my best friends.' He was going to tell me how he made Flamel's acquaintance, but stopping himself, he said: 'That is little to the purpose. I will rather give you his true history with respect to which, in your country, I daresay, you are not very well acquainted.'

"A little before the time of Flamel there was a Jew of our fraternity; but as through his whole life he had a most ardent affection for his family, he could not help desiring to see them after it once came to his knowledge that they were settled in France. We foresaw the danger of his voyage, and did all we could to persuade him not to undertake that journey. We succeeded for a while in detaining him; but at last the passion of seeing his family grew so strong upon him that he went. At the time of his departure, he made us a solemn promise to return to us as soon as it was possible. He arrived at Paris, and found there his father's descendants in the highest esteem among the Jews. There was also a Rabbi, who was a true philosopher at heart, and who had long been in search of the great secret. Our friend did not hesitate to make himself known to his relatives, he entered into friendly relations with them, and gave them an abundance of light.

" 'But as the matter requires a long time to prepare it, he put into writing the whole process, and, to convince his nephew that he had not told him falsehoods, he made the "projection" in his presence of some ninety pounds of base metal, and turned it into pure

gold. The Rabbi, full of admiration, did all he could to persuade our brother to remain with him, but in vain; for the latter had made up his mind not to break the promise to return to us. When the Jew found this out, he changed his affection into hatred, and his avarice stifling the admonitions of his conscience, he resolved to extinguish one of the lights of the universe. Dissembling his black design, he begged the sage to remain with him only for a few days. He then executed his execrable purpose of murdering our brother, and made himself master of his medicine.

"Such horrible actions never remain very long unpunished. Some other crimes he had committed came to light, the Jew was imprisoned, convicted, and burned alive.

" 'Soon after this a persecution of the Jews began in France. Flamel, who was more reasonable than his enraged countrymen, and whose honesty was known, became a friend of the Jews, and a Jewish merchant entrusted him with all his books and papers, among which were those of the criminal who had been burned alive, and also the book of our brother; which had never been carefully examined by the merchant. When Flamel examined that book, his curiosity became aroused by certain figures contained therein, and he began to suspect that it contained great secrets. He got the first leaf, which was written in Hebrew translated, and from the little he learned from that, he became convinced that his suspicion was well founded; but knowing also that great caution was necessary, he took the following steps: He went into Spain, and, as Jews were settled in many parts of that country, he applied in every place to which he came to the most learned, and engaged each of them to translate a leaf of the book. Having thus obtained a translation of the whole, he returned to France. When he came home, he undertook with his wife the prescribed labours, and in the progress of time they arrived at the secret, by which they acquired immense riches, which they employed in building public edifices, and in doing good to a great many people.

" 'Fame is often accompanied by great dangers; but a true sage knows how to extricate himself from all kind of perils. Flamel saw that he was in danger of being suspected to possess the Philosopher's Stone, a suspicion which might have caused the loss of his liberty, if not that of his life, and he thought of means to escape all danger. By his advice, his wife pretended to be dangerously sick, and when it was reported that she had died, she had already safely passed the frontier of Switzerland, They buried in her place a wooden image in one of the churches which he had founded. Some time afterwards he used the same stratagem for himself and joined his wife. You know that there could have been no great difficulty in doing this, since in every country, if a man has sufficient money, physicians and priests are always at his service, ready to say or do whatever he directs them. He moreover left a last will and testament, directing that a pyramid should be erected to his memory and that of his wife. Since that time both have led a philosophic life, residing sometimes in one country and sometimes in another. This, depend upon my word, is the true history of Flamel and his wife,' "

The well-known fact that the Adepts and alchemists of the middle ages were continually subject to persecutions, to imprisonment, punishment, torture and death, is the cause that the names of only few of them became publicly known. Ore reputed

alchemist was the Count de Saint Germain, who lived in 1770 at the Court of France. He appeared to be, about forty years of age; some said he was ninety, he himself gave his age as being 370 years. He possessed the art of making artificial diamonds and precious stones, he was clairvoyant, could read people's thoughts and foretell future events. He possessed an "album," in which many of the most celebrated persons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had signed their names; he was able to write with both hands at one and the same time, with each on different subjects.

A somewhat similar character was the Count Cagliostro, whose physical form was born in Italy and received the name Giuseppe Balsamo. The latter was incarcerated in the castle San Angela at Rome, and is believed to have died in one of its dungeons. The problem of Cagliastro will not be solved by our historians until they study the true nature of man in its normal and abnormal aspects, when they may, perhaps, discover the fact that two personalities may inhabit one physical organism, and that a man may, perhaps, be a Cagliostro at one time and a Balsamo at another.²

I have carefully read the proceedings of the trial of the renowned Count Cagliostro before the tribunal of the inquisition in Rome, and have found no proof whatever of his having been an impostor. To everyone acquainted with even the elementary teachings of occultism, the phenomena which occurred in his presence do not appear at all unexplainable, or as having been the products of imposture; but what appears wonderful is the illogical consequence and ignorance of the witnesses for the prosecution, who admit the occurrence of phenomena in his presence, which could not have been produced by his tricks, while in the same breath they denounce him to be an impostor.

To arts of this kind belongs that of making pure gold or silver artificially, of transforming base metals into nobler ones; of preparing a Universal Panacea out of the principle of Life; of curing all diseases; of preparing a lamp which, by the manner in which it burns, indicates the state of health of an absent friend, with whom it is empathetically connected; of producing a similar sympathetic or magnetic connection between a person and a jewel, a tree, or a mirror; of producing a living miniature image of the world in a closed glass globe; of causing the forms of vegetables or animals to reappear out of their ashes after they have been burnt; of producing artificially man (Homunculi) without the assistance of a female organism; of preparing a fluid, which rises and falls within the bottle where it is contained, according to the increasing or decreasing moon; of preparing a glass wherein it will thunder, and lightning will appear, whenever the same takes place in the air; of producing an inextinguishable magic fire, an ever-burning lamp; a magic mirror, where events can be seen taking place in any other part of the world; a perpetuum mobile, whose rotation is caused by the rotation of the earth; a divining rod, for finding water or minerals, or whatever one wishes to find; a magic ring, which warns the wearer of any approaching danger, and reveals to him many secrets; of causing love or hate at will; of making pearls, diamonds, or any other jewels, which cannot be distinguished from natural ones, or causing them to grow larger; of obtaining power over the elemental spirits of Nature and causing them to render services; of causing the astral spectres of dead persons to appear and talk and

answer questions, and many other similar feats, too numerous to mention.

We call that wonderful which is not within our experience, and the causes of which we cannot explain; we are daily surrounded by marvels, and witnessing the most marvellous phenomena, the causes of which we cannot explain; but we do not look at them with a sceptical eye, nor are we at all surprised that they occur. On the contrary, we should be extremely surprised if they once ceased to occur; this merely because we are accustomed to see such things every day. We are surrounded by phenomena of an occult and .magic nature, and we live in a laboratory of alchemy. We see how out of a hard little stone—kernel or seed—a germ appears, and grows into a big tree, although we are sure that there was no such tree in the kernel; and what would be still more astonishing if it were not of daily occurrence, is that out of a certain kind of seed a certain species of plant only will grow, and no other. We see how out of an egg a living bird appears, and yet if we examine the same kind of egg as long as it is fresh, and open it we find therein nothing living, and nothing that resembles a bird. We also know that the parent bird does not put a bird into the egg after it is laid, for we may hatch out eggs by artificial heat, and thus produce birds out of the egg, and there is surely no bird in the heat. We See how out of a vegetable substance animal substance can grow, for we feed our cattle on grass, hay, and corn, and yet we are certain that there is no flesh in the grass or corn. We see the ever-burning light of the sun spending its heat year after year. We know of nobody who supplies him with fuel, and yet it seems to have always the same temperature. We know that the globe whereon we live revolves and, flies with tremendous velocity through space, and yet we do not feel it move, nor do we fall head foremost down in the abyss of space when at night it turns the dark side away from the sun; we see that the storm blows down houses and trees, and yet that which does the damage is nothing but thin air; we see the body of water of our rivers and lakes, and if we attempt to step on its surface we sink; but a few weeks or months afterwards we may try it again and find it as hard as rock, able to bear the weight of the skating crowd. There are a thousand other similar marvels in Nature, too numerous to mention.

There are many stories told of the Adepts, and the wonderful things they sometimes performed; how, in mid-winter, they caused beautiful flowers to grow out of the floor of a room, or produced a shower of roses in places where no roses were to be found; how some of them were seen simultaneously in two different places speaking and acting in each; how they sometimes were attended and served by "supernatural" beings appearing in human forms; how they were sometimes able to read the future, or see what was going on at a place hundreds of miles away from them; how they could speak languages which they had never studied; knew the contents of books which they had never read; could swallow poison without being harmed; make themselves invisible and visible at will, etc., etc. But the most interesting parts of our research, and at the same time the most pertinent to our object in view, will be historical accounts referring to their ability to make pure gold in an artificial manner—or, to speak more correctly, to transmute other metals into gold, and make gold grow. We shall therefore give a few abbreviated accounts of such authenticated facts:—

1. The following account is taken from the acta of the judicial faculty of Leipzig, whose legal decision was given in August, 1715. (*Responsio Juridica Facultis Juridicae Lipsiensis*.) A few years ago a man arrived late in the evening at the residence of the Countess of Erbach, the castle of Tankerstein, and asked to be permitted to enter it, and to hide there a few days, as he had accidentally killed a deer belonging to the Palatine of Palatia, who was, therefore, pursuing him to take his life, and he asked to be protected. The Countess at first refused; but when she saw the man she was so much impressed with his noble appearance that she consented, and the stranger was given a room, where he stayed for a few days. After that he asked for an interview with the Countess, and when admitted to her presence, he expressed his thanks for the protection given to him, and offered that, as a token of his gratitude, he would transmute her silver ware into gold. The Countess at first could not believe that such a thing was possible, but she at last consented to have an experiment made with a silver tankard, which the stranger melted and transmuted into gold. She thereupon sent this gold to the city and had it tested by a goldsmith, who found it to be gold of the purest kind. She then permitted the stranger to melt and transmute all her silver spoons, plates, dishes, etc., into gold, which he did, and finally he took his leave and went away, having received a comparatively small sum of money as a gift from the Countess. Soon after this event, the husband of the Countess, who seems to have been a spendthrift, and who had been away from home for several years, serving as an officer in some foreign country, returned, because he had heard that his wife had become suddenly rich. He claimed half of the gold for himself, but the Countess refused to acknowledge his claims. The case came, therefore, before the Court, and the husband supported his claims by the fact that he was the lord of the territory (*Dominus territorii*) upon which the castle belonging to his wife was located, and that according to the laws of the country all treasures found upon that land were lawfully his. He therefore requested that the gold should be sold, and from the proceeds new silver ware should be bought for the Countess, and the surplus be given to him. The defendant claimed that artificially produced gold could not come under the consideration of a law referring to buried treasures, and that therefore the said law could not be applied in her case; that, moreover, the silver had been transmuted into gold for her own benefit, and not for that of another, and she begged the Court to be permitted to remain in undisturbed possession of it. The Court decided in her favour.

2. Another authenticated case is that of an Adept by the name of Sehfeld, who lived in Rodaun, a small place in the vicinity of Vienna. He made gold out of tin and spent it freely. The proprietor of the house where he resided, a man named Friedrich, gained the confidence of the Adept, and told his family about the doings of Sehfeld. The consequence was that soon rumours and gossip began to spread. Sehfeld was accused of sorcery, and appealed for protection to the Austrian Emperor, saying that he was engaged in making certain chemical colours of which he possessed the secret. It is said that Sehfeld paid 30,000 florins into the Imperial Treasury to obtain this protection, which he enjoyed for several months. Friedrich and the members of his family often were present when Sehfeld made gold, and they say that after melting the tin, he sprinkled a small quantity of a red powder upon the molten mass, when the latter began to foam and exhibited all kinds of colours. After an hour or so it was allowed to cool, and

all the tin was then transmuted into pure gold. One day Friedrich attempted to make the experiment himself. Having obtained some of the red powder from Sehfeld, he melted the tin while Sehfeld was absent, and sprinkled the powder upon it; but the latter had no effect upon the tin and did not mix with it. After a while, Sehfeld entered the room where the experiment was made, and as he entered the mass began to foam and turned into gold. The security which he enjoyed did not last long, for after a few months new rumours were put into circulation, the envy, greed and jealousy of the neighbours were aroused, he was accused of practising unlawful sciences, and he was arrested at night and imprisoned in the fortress of Temeswar, where he remained over a year, sternly refusing to tell his secret, and saying that no amount of physical torture would be able to make him reveal it. The governor of the fortress of Temeswar, General Baron von Engelshofen, was so much charmed by the noble appearance and open character of Sehfeld, that he went to Vienna and spoke to the Emperor about Sehfeld, declaring his opinion that the latter was innocent. The Emperor soon afterwards, while hunting boars in a forest near Rodan, sent for Friedrich, and received from him a detailed account of his experiences with Sehfeld, and became convinced that the latter was not a villain; but he would not believe that he was able to make gold, and expressed his doubts to that effect. Upon this, Friedrich, who was an honest man, exclaimed, "Oh! your Majesty, if at this moment God were to come down from heaven, and say, 'Fredrich, you are mistaken; Sehfeld cannot make gold!' I would answer him, 'Dear God, it is nevertheless true that he can make it, because I know it to be so.'" Upon this, the Emperor, struck with the sincerity of the man, ordered that Sehfeld should be permitted to go where he pleased, and make whatever experiments he choose; but that he should not leave Austria, and should always be accompanied by two trustworthy officers who should never permit him to go out of their sight. Two of the best and most trustworthy officers belonging to noble families were selected for that purpose. He made several little excursions in their company; but not long afterwards Sehfeld and his two guards disappeared and never returned, nor has any trace of them ever been discovered. The historian adds that it is not probable that those two rich and noble officers would have sacrificed their career and also their reputation by thus deserting without having a sufficient cause or inducement to do so. Researches made in the house of Friedrich seemed to indicate that Sehfeld prepared his red powder out of some sky-blue minerals, probably some sulphuret of copper.

3. An apothecary at Halle made the acquaintance of a stranger, whom he found to be in possession of some chemical secrets. Having been invited to visit the stranger in his lodgings he went there, and after having talked about Alchemy, the claims of which the apothecary denied, the stranger showed him a certain red powder, and offered to give some of it to the apothecary so that the latter could make an experiment himself. With a very little spoon he took some of the powder out of the box wherein it was contained, but the apothecary objected that such a small quantity would not be sufficient to make the experiment. Upon this the stranger threw the powder back into the box, wiped the spoon, to which some of the powder adhered, on a piece of cotton, wrapped the cotton in a paper, and gave it to the apothecary, telling him that even this would be sufficient for that purpose. Having returned home, the apothecary took a big silver spoon, melted it in a crucible, and threw the cotton upon it. The molten metal began

immediately to boil and to foam, and to exhibit the most beautiful colours. After a while he took the crucible from the fire and poured the metal into a mould. The next morning he examined it and found that it was the purest gold, and there were some ruby-red drops on the top, which seemed to have been the surplus of the red powder which the metal had not absorbed. The apothecary hurried immediately to the lodging of the Adept to tell him of his success; but the latter had gone, and no one knew where he went. A sum of money, more than sufficient to pay for his lodging, was found upon the table in his room. The silver which the apothecary employed in this experiment weighed $1\frac{1}{4}$ ounces, and the gold which he gained weighed $1\frac{1}{2}$ ounces, which he sold to a goldsmith for 36 thalers. The gain in weight was, therefore, 20 per cent., which may be accounted for by the fact that the specific gravity of gold is greater than that of silver. Unfortunately, the ruby-red pearls on the surface of the gold were lost during the excitement caused by the discovery that the mass was actual gold, else they might have been used to transmute a far greater quantity of silver into gold.

4. During the reign of the Emperor Leopold, a monk of the Order of St. Augustine, named Wenzel Seiler, found a certain red powder in his convent, which proved to be the "Red Lion" of the Alchemists. By means of this powder, Seller transformed a quantity of tin into gold in the presence of the Emperor and his Court. The Emperor ordered that certain medals were to be made of this artificially produced gold, and he divided them out among the noblemen of his Court. He also, as a reward, gave to that monk the title of Freiherr von Rheinburg, and appointed him as master of the Imperial mint in Bohemia. The medal, of which one is now in the family of Count Leopold Hoffmann, in Brieg, shows upon the top the bust of the Emperor Leopold, with the following words:—"Leopoldus Dei Gratia Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus Germaniæ Hungariæ et Bohemiæ Rex." The reverse side is not stamped, but there is engraved thereon a verse, saying:—

Aus Wenzel Seilers Pulvers Mach
Bin ich von Zinn zu Gold gemacht.

5. The most indisputable proof (if appearances can prove anything) of the possibility of transmuting base metals into gold, may be seen by everyone who visits Vienna; it being a medal preserved in the Imperial treasury chamber, and it is stated that this medal, consisting originally of silver, has been partly transformed into gold, by alchemical means, by the same Wenzel Seiler who was afterwards made a knight by the Emperor Leopold I. and given the title Wenzeslaus Ritter von Reinburg.

The medal is of oval shape; its long diameter is 37, and the short one 40 centimetre. Its specific gravity is 19·3, and its weight 7,200·4 grammes. Its value is estimated to correspond to 2,055 Austrian ducats.

As indicated in the accompanying figure, about one-third of the upper part is silver, and the remaining part gold. The two incisions
were made in 1883, for the purpose of examining the medal, to see whether it was pure or merely gilded. The examination was made on request of Professor A. Bauer, of

Vienna.

One side of the medal shows the portraits of the ancestors of the Emperor, up to King Pharamund, the other side has the following inscription:—

Sacratissimo
Potentissimo et invictissimo
Romanorum imperatori
Leopoldo I.

Arcanorum natura; scrutatori curiosmo
Genuinum hoc verae ac perfectae
Metamorphoseos metallice
specimen

pro exiguo anniversarii diei nominalis
mnemosyno
cum omnigenae prosperitatis voto
humillima veneratione offert et dicat

Joannes Wenzeslaos de Reinburg
numini majestatique eius
devotissimus

anno Christi MDCLXXVII. die festo
S. Leopold!
ognomine pii olim marchionis Austria;

nunc autem patroni augustissimae
Domus austriacae
Benignissimi.

It seems, however, that there is nothing perfectly reliable in this world of illusions, and it is therefore necessary to state that Wenzel Seiler was afterwards regarded as an impostor, and sent back to his monastery. Later on, however, the Emperor received him again into his favour, and even paid his numerous debts, the existence of which is quite incomprehensible if he actually had the power to make gold by alchemical means.

Before us is a paper, printed in Leipzig, dated May 26th, 1761, which gives the latest news from Koln (Cologne). It says: "The two prophets who have been imprisoned in this place are still keeping the attention of our citizens on the alert. The court has not

yet decided what shall be done. It is useless to chain them, because they possess the wonderful power of bursting even the strongest chains, as if they were threads of linen, and they have done so in the presence of many. They can even in the darkest night see all objects in their prison, because there is an unearthly light shining around their heads and coming out of their eyes, which illuminates their surroundings. They seem to be young men, and yet they say that they were at Constantinople in the year 1453, at the time of Mohamed II.; they say that they were intimately acquainted with the last Christian emperor at that place, Constantine Palaeologus, and they are in possession of letters written by him and his wife and sister. They say that at the time when they were at Constantinople they were already over 300 years of age. They speak Persian and Chinese and other languages fluently; they live on nothing but a little bread and water. They performed some wonderful cures in the neighbouring villages before they were arrested; savage dogs and wild animals appear to treat them with reverence; they seem to be well acquainted with the books written by the ancient philosophers, and talk about Pythagoras with great respect. We do not know what to think about these men. Etc., etc."

Whether or not the body of a person may be inhabited simultaneously or alternatively by two different individualities, may be a matter for doubt; but the phenomena of obsession and hypnotism go to show that this is not impossible. Cagliostro said that he was born in the East, and it is certain that he had connections there; nevertheless, it was proved that he was born in Italy, and that his name was Balsamo. This would, of course, convict him at once among the ignorant of his times and among our writers of encyclopædias as being an impostor. Nevertheless, a more definite knowledge of the true constitution of man might explain the mystery. That which is the fundamental reality in man, is the will. The phenomena of So-called hypnotism show that the will of one person may be made to act in another, and during the time that a person is obsessed by the will of another, he is also under the influence of the memory of the latter. Those acquainted with occult laws will not find it incredible that the person of Balsamo was influenced and used by some eastern human spirit, whose name was Cagliostro, and that during such times Balsamo believed himself to be, and actually was, Cagliostro. Modern spiritualism has a legion of similar facts.

Continued in Part 2 (Chapters V-VIII)

[\[Part 2\]](#)[\[Articles\]](#)[\[Home\]](#)

Part 2 of 2 (Chapters V-VIII) [\[Part 1\]](#)

IN THE PRONAOS

of the

TEMPLE OF TRUTH
BY

By Franz Hartmann, M.D.

Chapter Five

THE ROSICRUCIAN "ORDERS."

Why is there so much perplexity about the mysterious order of the Rosicrucians? Let us ask in return, Why is there so much perplexity about that mysterious being called "Man"? The answer is that man is a spiritual being, inhabiting the spiritual world, which he has never entirely left; while the terrestrial personality in which he manifests himself during his earthly life is an inhabitant of this planet. That which the historian and the scientist know about man is merely that which refers to his physical body; while nothing is known to them about his real self. To imagine that such knowledge is true anthropology is like imagining that we know all about a man if we once see the coat which he wears. Likewise the true Rosicrucians, whether they still walk upon the earth in a visible form, or whether they inhabit the astral plane, are spiritual powers, such as are beyond the reach of examination of the externally reasoning historian or scientist. They are people who, as the Bible expresses it, "live upon the earth, but whose consciousness is in heaven."

The vulgar sees only the external form, but not the spirit which is the true inhabitant of that form. To discern the latter, the power of spiritual discernment is required. The coat which a man wears does not make the man; to pour water over a person does not make him a true Christian, and to have one's name entered into the register of some society calling itself "Rosicrucian," does not endow one with the rosy and golden light of love and wisdom that comes from the unfoldment of the "Rose" within the centre of one's soul.

But it is far easier to undergo some external ceremony than to die the mystic death which is required for the purpose of passing through the "Gates of Gold"; it is easier to profess a creed than to acquire true knowledge; and for this reason we find during the Middle Ages not less than at this present time many people who imagine that they could be made into Rosicrucians and Adepts, by joining some society dealing with mystical subjects.

In the beginning of the 17th century Germany was overrun, not only by monks and nuns and religious fanatics of all kinds, but also by a great many impostors and adventurers. There were pretended Alchemists, Astrologers, Fortune-tellers, and there was a universal mania among the people to pry into the secrets of Nature, and to enrich themselves by alchemical processes, or, if need be, by the help of the devil. This epidemic of superstition and folly seemed to require a strong remedy, and as foolish people are not accessible to reasonable arguments, it occurred to some sharp-witted mind to try the more caustic remedy of sarcasm. There appeared in the year 1614 two pamphlets, written by the same author, entitled, "Universal and General Reformation of the Whole Wide World," and the "Fama Fraternitatis; or, Brotherhood of the Laudable Order of the R.C. (Rosicrucians), a message to the Governments, nobles, and scientists of Europe." This book was out of print during the last century, and Frederic Nicolai, in Berlin, had it reprinted in the year 1781, falsifying however, its date, inserting 1681 instead of the correct date, an "Regensburg" instead of "Berlin." Another edition of the Fama Fraternitatis appeared at Frankfurt-on-Maine in the year 1827, and to this was added an additional part, entitled "Confessio."

These books, soon after they first appeared, made a great impression upon the public mind, and were immediately translated into several languages. The Universal Reformation is a satirical work. Its most interesting contents are an account of the meeting of a supposed Congress for the purpose of reforming the world. The story is as follows:—At the time of the Emperor Justinian, Apollo takes a look at the world, and finds it to be full of vices and wickedness. He therefore makes up his mind to call together a meeting of all the wise and virtuous men of the country to consult together how this evil might be remedied. Unfortunately, among all of them there is none to be found who is possessed of sufficient virtue and intelligence to give the desired advice. Apollo therefore assembles the seven ancient sages of Greece and three Romans, Marcus, Cato, and Seneca. A young Italian philosopher, by the name of Jacob Mazzonius, is appointed secretary. The congregation meets in the delphic Palatium; and now follow the speeches which were held. The sages talk the most egregious nonsense. Thales, for instance, advises that a window should be inserted in the breast of every man, so that the people could look into his heart. Solon has become a communist, and wants to divide out

all the public and private property, so that all should have equal parts. Bias proposes to prohibit all intercourse between the people, to destroy the bridges and to forbid using ships. Cato desires that God should be asked to send another deluge, to destroy the whole feminine sex and all males over 20 years of age; and to request Him to invent a new and better method of procreation. All the sages dispute and contradict each other, and finally it is resolved to cite the diseased century and make it come into court, so that the patient may be closely investigated. The century is brought in. It is an old man with a healthy-looking face, but having a weak voice. They examine him, and find that his face is painted, and a further investigation shows that not a single part of his body is without some disease. The savants then come to the conclusion that they cannot cure him; but they do not want to adjourn without having it appear that they had done something very useful and important, so they impose a new tax upon cabbage, carrots and parsley. They publish the document with a great deal of swagger and

self-praise, and the delighted people jubilate and applaud.

The meaning of this pamphlet, which was written for the purpose of throwing ridicule upon a certain class of people who wanted to improve the world at once and to show the absurdity and impossibility of such an undertaking, was plain enough, and it seems incredible that its purpose should have been misunderstood. That there were any people who took the matter seriously shows the extreme ignorance and want of judgment of the common people of those times, and forms an interesting episode for the student of history and intellectual evolution. The other pamphlet which accompanied the former is the celebrated *Fama Fraternitatis*. The Universal Reformation threw ridicule upon the self-constituted "world-reformers," and this second pamphlet now invites these would-be reformers to meet, and it, at the same time, gives them some useful hints as to what they might do to attain their object; advising them that the only true method for improving the world is to begin by improving themselves. This pamphlet being like the other one, a satire upon the would-be reformers and so-called Rosicrucians, might, for all that, have been written by a genuine Rosicrucian, for it contains true Rosicrucian principles, such as are advocated by the Adepts. It shows the insufficiency of the scientific and theological views of those times. It ridicules the imbecility of the pretended Alchemists, who imagined that by some chemical process they could transform lead into gold; but in doing so it gives good advice, and under the mask of divulging the laws and objects of some mysterious Rosicrucian Society, it indicates certain rules and principles, which afterward formed the basis of an organised society of investigators in Occultism, who adopted the name Rosicrucians.

Added to this, *Fama Fraternitatis* is the story of the "pious, spiritual, and highly-illuminated Father," Fr. R. C. Christian Rosencreutz. It is said that he was a German nobleman, who had been educated in a convent, and that long before the time of the Reformation he had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in company with another brother of his convent, and that while at Damascus they had been initiated by some learned Arabs into the mysteries of the secret science. After remaining three years at Damascus, they went to Fez, in Africa, and there they obtained still more knowledge of magic, and of the relations existing between the macrocosm and microcosm. After having also travelled in Spain, he returned to Germany, where he founded a kind of a convent called *Sanctus Spiritus*, and remained there writing his secret science and continuing his studies. He then accepted as his assistants, at first three, and afterwards four more monks from the same convent in which he had been educated, and thus founded the first society of the Rosicrucians. They then laid down the results of their science in books, which are said to be still in existence, and in the hands of some Rosicrucians. It is then said that 120 years after his death, the entrance to his tomb was discovered. A staircase led into a subterranean vault, at the door of which was written, *Post annos CXX. patebo*. There was a light burning in the vault, which however, became extinct as soon as it was approached. The vault had seven sides and seven angles, each side being five feet wide and eight feet high. The upper part represented the firmament, the floor the earth, and they were laid out in triangles, while each side was divided into ten squares. In the middle was an altar, bearing a brass plate, upon which were engraved the letters, A. C. R. C; and the words, *Hoc Universi Compendium*

vivus mihi Sepulchrum feci. In the midst were four figures surrounded by the words, Nequaquam Vacuum. Legis Jugum. Libertas Evangelii. Du Gloria Intacta. Below the altar was found the body of Rosencreuz, intact, and without any signs of putrefaction. In his hand was a book of parchment, with golden letters marked on the cover with a T (Testamentum?), and at the end was written, Ex Deo naximur. In Jesu morimur. Per Spiritum Sanctum reviviscimus." There were signed the names of the brothers present at the funeral of the deceased.

In the year 1615, a new edition of these pamphlets appeared, to which was added another one, entitled Confessio; or, "the Confession of the Society and Brotherhood of the R. C.;" giving great promises about future revelations, but ending with the advice to everybody that until these revelations were made the people should continue to believe in the Bible.

All these pamphlets had—as will be shown farther on—one and the same author, and as the "General Reformation" was of an entirely satirical character and a pure invention, having no more foundation in fact, than the Don Quixote de la Mancha of Cervantes, there is no reason whatever why we should believe that the succeeding pamphlets should have been meant seriously, and that the story of the returned knight, Christian Rosencreuz, should have been anything more than an allegory. Moreover, there is no indication of what became of the body of that knight after it was once discovered, nor that the temple of the Holy Ghost (Sanctus Spiritus) exists anywhere else but in the hearts of men.

The whole object of these pamphlets seems to have been to present great truths to the ignorant, but to dish them up in a fictitious form, appealing to the curiosity of the people, and to the prevailing craving for a knowledge of the mysteries of Nature, which the majority of the people of these times wanted to know for the purpose of obtaining selfish and personal benefits.

The beauty of the doctrines which shone through these satirical writings were so great and attractive that they excited universal attention; but at the same time the craving of the majority of the people for the mysterious was so great that it blinded their eyes, and rendered them incapable of perceiving the true object of the writer, which was to ridicule the pretensions of dogmatic science and theology, and to draw the people up to a higher conception of true Christianity. The belief in the existence of a real secret organization of Rosicrucians, possessed of the secret how to make gold out of lead and iron, and of prolonging life by means of taking some fluid in the shape of a medicine, was universal; and quacks and pretenders of all kinds roamed over the country and helped to spread the superstitions, often selling worthless compounds for fabulous prices as being the "Elixir of Life;" while others wasted their fortunes and became poor in making vain efforts to transmute metals.

A flood of writings appeared, some attacking and some defending the Rosicrucian Society, which was supposed to exist, but of which no one knew anything. Some people, and even some of the well-informed ones, believed in the existence of such a

society; others denied it. But neither one class nor the other could bring any positive proofs for their beliefs. People are always willing to believe that which they desire to be true, and everyone wanted to be admitted as a member of that secret society, of which nobody was certain whether it existed at all; and if anyone boasted of being a Rosicrucian, or succeeded in creating the impression that he was one, he awed the ignorant, and was regarded by them as a very favoured person, and in this way impostors and adventurers often succeeded in preying upon the pockets of the rich.

Those who wanted to be taught magic and sorcery desired that a society or school where they might learn such things should exist; and because they desired it they believed in its existence. If no genuine Rosicrucian could be found, one had to be invented. If the true Rosicrucian society was not to be had, imitations of what was believed to constitute a Rosicrucian society had to be organized. In this way numerous societies were formed, calling themselves "Rosicrucians"; and "Rosicrucianism" took various shapes.

One of the most important publications, and which is calculated to throw light upon the mysterious subject of Rosicrucianism which still perplexes the learned, is the Chymical Marriage of Christian Rosencreutz, printed in 1616. This, again, was written to throw ridicule upon the vain and self-conceited dogmatists, scientists, and "gold-makers" of those times, while at the same time it contains high and exalted truths, disguised in an allegorical form, but easily to be perceived by the practical Occultist, and by him only. It can easily be seen that the style and tendencies of this publication have a great deal of resemblance to that of the Fama Fraternitatis. Now it has been ascertained beyond any doubt that the author of the "Chemical Marriage" was Johann Valentine Andreae,¹ who wrote it while a young student in the years 1602 and 1603 in Tübingen. He acknowledges this in the history which he gives of his life, and he adds that he intended to give a true picture of the popular follies of that time. This renders it extremely probable that he was also the author of the "General Reformation," of the Confessio, and of the story of Christian Rosencreutz, and this probability amounts to almost conviction if we take into consideration the discovery made afterwards, that the "General Reformation" is nothing else but a literal translation of a part of a book from Boccacini Ragguagli di Parmaso. Andreae was a great admirer of that author, and he also adopted his style in his Mythologia Christiana; it is therefore plain that he also made the above-named translation, and added it to his "Fama Fraternitatis." Both writings, in fact, form a complement to each other. In the "General Reformation" the political would-be-reformers are held up to ridicule, and in the "Fama" the mystical dreamers, imaginary theosophists, pretended gold-makers, and supposed discoverers of the universal panacea are castigated. There can be no reasonable doubt that this was Andreae's object, and, moreover, his intimate friend, Professor Besoldt, in Tübingen, acknowledged it in saying that the character of both books was plain enough, and that it was very strange that so many intelligent people had been led by the nose to mistake their meaning. Andreae himself, without, however, acknowledging himself to be their author, expressed himself to the effect that the whole was a satire and a fable. In his "confession" he says: (Sc.) risisse semper Rosicrucianam fabulum et curiositatis fraterculos fuisse in sectatum² and in his paper entitled "Turris Babel, seu judiciorum de

Fraternitatae Rosaccas crucis chaos," he speaks still more plainly upon this subject. It seems to have been his object in this latter publication to help those to become sober again who had become intoxicated by misunderstanding the former publications, for he exclaims: "Listen, ye mortals! In vain will ye wait for the arrival of that fraternity; the comedy is over. The fama has played it in, the fama has played it out," etc., etc. Still there were many who were not satisfied with this explanation, and who believed that it had been Andreae's intention to cause by his fama, a secret society of the scientists of his age to come into existence; but Andreae was too wise to attempt such an absurdity and to apply to the most unreasonable persons of his age to form a reasonable society.

The question why he should have selected the name "Rosicrucian" for his imaginary society is not difficult to answer. The Cross and the Rose were favourite symbols among the Alchemists and Theosophists long before anything of a "Rosicrucian Society" was known. More-over, in his own coat of arms, as in that of Luther, there was a cross and four roses, a circumstance which probably led him to select that name.

There is, perhaps, very rarely a fable or work of fiction invented which is not based upon some fact, however disconnected such facts may be with the subject. A work, entitled *Sphinx Rosa*, printed in 1618, makes it appear very plausible that the writer of the *Fama Fraternitatis*, in inventing the story of Christian Rosencreutz and his three brothers, whose number was afterwards increased by four more, had certain originals in his mind, which served as prototypes to construct his story. The author of that *Sphinx* says that the idea of forming such a society for the general reformation of mankind arose from the success of Luther's Reformation; that the knight, Christian Rosencreutz, was, in reality, no other person than a certain Andreas von Carolstadt, an adventurer, who had travelled a great deal, but never been in Palestine. He made himself so obnoxious to the clergy of his time, whom he desired to reform, that they, after his death, put the following Epitaph upon his grave:—*Carolstadius Pests Ecclesiae venonissima, tandem a Diabolo occisus est*. This means: "Here lies Carolstadt, who was a poisonous plague to the Church until the devil killed him at last." The three supposed associates of Rosencreutz were the friends of Carolstadt, the reformer Zwingli, Oecolompadius, and Bucerus, and the four others, who were supposed to have been added afterwards, were probably Nicalaus Palargus, Marcus Stubner, Martin Cellurius, and, finally, Thomas Münster, all of which persons were more or less known on account of their desire to aid in reforming the Church.

As the people became infatuated with the idea of becoming Rosicrucians, and no real society of Adepts could be found, they organized Rosicrucian societies without any real Adepts, and thus a great many so-called Rosicrucian societies came into existence. There was one such society founded by Christian Rose in 1623, having head centres in the Hague, Amsterdam, Nuremberg, Mantua, Venice, Hamburg, Dantzic and Erfurt. They used to dress in black, and wore at their meetings blue ribbons with a golden wreath and a rose. As a sign of recognition the brothers wore a black silk cord in the top button hole. This ornament was given to the neophytes after they had promised under oath to be strangled by such a cord rather than reveal the secrets which they were supposed to possess. They also had another sign, consisting of the "tonsure," such as

is used today by the Roman Catholic clergy, meaning a small round shaven spot on the top of the head, originating probably from the custom of the Buddhist priests, who shave their whole head. Hence many of them wore a wig, in order not to be recognised as belonging to the brotherhood. They led a very quiet life, and were devout people. On all high festivals, very early at sunrise they would leave their residence, and go out through the gate of the town facing the east. When another one of them appeared, or when they met at other places, one would say: Ave Frater! to which the other would answer, Rosae et Aureae; then the first one said Crucis, then both together said: Benedictus Deus Dominus noster, que nobis dedit Signum! They also had for the sake of legitimation a large document, to which the Emperor affixed the great seal.³

There was another "Rosicrucian society," formed at Paris in the year 1660 by an apothecary named Jacob Rose. This society was dissolved in 1674, in consequence of the notorious case of wholesale poisoning by the ill-reputed Marquise de Brinvillier.

Whether or not there ever were any real Adepts and genuine Alchemists among the members of these Rosicrucian societies, we are, of course, not in a position to affirm. We are satisfied to know that Adepts do exist and that Alchemy is a fact; but whether they had anything to do with these orders we do not know, nor do we care about it, as it is now of no consequence whatever. All that we know for certain in regard to this matter is, that there existed at that time persons in possession of an extraordinary amount of occult knowledge, as is shown by the books they have left; but whether these persons belonged or did not belong to any organized society, is absolutely useless to know.

During the life of Theophrastus Paracelsus, he was the intellectual centre to which Alchemists, Occultists, Mystics, Reformers and Rosicrucians were attracted, but there is no indication that he was a member of any society of men calling themselves "Rosicrucians." There is, likewise, no indication that after the time of Paracelsus any organized society of true Adepts, calling themselves "Rosicrucian Society," ever existed. Some of the greatest minds of that age were engaged in occult research, and were naturally attracted together by the bonds of sympathy; but however much they may have been united in the spirit (in the temple of the Holy Ghost), there is no indication that they had an organized society on the external plane, nor would any real Adepts need any other but spiritual signs of recognition.

A book printed in 1714, and written by Sinecrus Renatus, contains the remarkable information that some years ago the Masters of the Rosicrucians had gone to India, and that none of them at present remained in Europe. This is not at all improbable; for the moral atmosphere of Europe is at the present time not very congenial for spiritual development, nor very inviting to those who, while progressing on the Path of Light, are reincarnating in physical forms.

As all researches after a real Rosicrucian society consisting of genuine Adepts were naturally fruitless, the excitement caused by the Fama Fraternitatis gradually ceased, and there was not much said or written about them until between the years 1756 and 1768, when a new degree of Freemasonry came into existence, called the "Rosicrucian

Knights," or the order of Rose-croix, or the Knights of the Eagle and Pelican; but we should in vain search among these knights for any genuine Adept, or even for anyone possessed of occult knowledge or power; for as our modern churches have lost the key to the mysteries which were once entrusted to their guardianship, and have degenerated into places for social gatherings and religious pastime, so our modern Masons have long ago lost the Word, and will not find it again unless they dive below the surface of external ceremonies and seek for it in their own hearts.

The most important books written during the time of the Rosicrucian controversy were the following:—

I. Books Written in Favour of the Rosicrucians:

(Titles translated from the German.)

Fama Fraternitatis, or the discovery of the laudable Order of the Rosy Cross.—Anonym., Frankfurt, 1615.

Confessio, or Confession of the Fraternity of the Rosy Cross.—Anonym., Frankfurt, 1615.

Opinion regarding the laudable Order of the Rosy Cross, by Adam Bruxius, M.D., 1616.

Message to the Philosophical Fraternity of the Rosy Cross, by Valentin Tschirnessus, Goerlitz.

Thesaurus Fidei, or warning to the novices of the Fraternity of the Rosy Cross, 1619.

Fons Gratiae, by Trenaëus Agnostus, C.W., 1619.

Raptus Philosophicus, or Philosophical Revelations for the Fraternity of the R.C., 1619, by Rhodophilus Stansophorus.

Silentium Post Clamores. An apology resp. Defence, by R.M.F., 1617.

Prater Crucis Rosacae, or. What kind of people are the Rosicrucians? By M.A.O.F.W., 1617.

Speculum Constantiae. Appeal to new members of the R.C. Society, by Trenaëus Agnostus, C.W., 1618.

Themis Aurea. The Laws and Regulations of the laudable Fraternity of the R.C., by Michael Mater, Imp. Cons. Corn. Ey. Ex., 1618.

Tintinabulum Sapnorum, or, The Discovery of the blessed Fraternity of the Order of the R.C., by Trenaëus Agnostus, C.W., 1619.

Prater Non Frater. Admonitions to the disciples of the R.C., 1619.

Prodromus Rhodo-Stauroticus. Directions for the practice of Alchemy, 1620.

Colloquium Rhodo-Stauroticum. A discourse regarding the Fraternity of the R.C., 1621.

Rosencreuti. Ch. Chemical Marriage, Anno 1459? (1781).

//. Writings Inimical to the Rosicrucians.

Benevolent Advice regarding the Fama and Confessio of the R.C., by And. Libavius M.D., P.C; Sae. Theolog. and Philosoph., 1616.

Sphinx Rosceea. Suspicions in regard to the mysteries of the R.C., by Christophorus Nigrimus Philomusus and Theologus, 1618.

The New Arabian and Moorish Fraternity, by Eusebius Christianus, a carrier of the wooden cross.

Speculum Ambitionis, or A Mirror for Ambition, in which may be seen how the Devil has brought all sorts of new orders into existence. A refutation of the doctrines of that new sect, called Rosicrucians, by Joh. Hintner, 1620.

Tomfoolery Discovered, or, Christian Refutation of the so-called Brothers of the Rosy Cross, showing that these people are not of God, but of the Devil. A timely warning to all pious Christians.! By Joh. Silvert Aegl, 1617.

The more important modern books on Rosicrucianism are: Semler's "Collections to the history of the Rosicrucians"; Bouterwek's "Origin of the R.C."; Murr, "The true origin of Rosicrucians and Freemasons"; Buhle, "Origin and history of the R.C."; Nicolai, "Remarks about the history of the Rosicrucians and Freemasons"; Herder, "An article in the German Mercury of March, 1782, and reprinted in Herder's Philosophy and History," vol. 15, p. 258; Arnold, "History of the churches and heretics," part ii., lib. xvii., cap. 18; Rossbach, "Joh. Valentin Andreae and his age," Berlin, 1819. There are numerous books on Alchemy, Theosophy, and Occult Science which have been written by people supposed to have been Rosicrucians; but they give no account of the history of the latter. The most prominent are the works of Theophrastus Paracelsus, Jacob Boehme, Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim; Robert Fludd's "Summum Bonum"; John Arndt, "Silentium Dei," and "The true Christendom"; Simon Studion, "Naometria"; Trenaëus Philalethes, "Lumen de Lumina," and innumerable others, which may be drawn into this

category; but perhaps the most interesting of all is an illustrated work which is now out of print, and has become very rare, and which is entitled "The Secret Symbols of the Rosicrucians of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century"⁴ and from which a great deal of information contained in this present volume is taken.

Dr. Johann Yelentin Andreae was born Aug. 17, 1586, at Herrenberg, in Wurtemnberg, and died an abbot of Adelsberg, at Stuttgart, June 27, 1654. He spoke several languages, was well versed in theology, mathematics, history, and the natural sciences. He was of a noble mind, anxious to do good, and an original character. Herder describes him as a rose among the thorns.

Andreae's autobiography. Weismann, hist. eccl. P. ii., p. 936.

Extracted from the "Sphinx." Vol. I., No. I.

This book has been reprinted and published with the fac-similes of the plates by The Aries Press, Chicago, 111.

Vade retro satanas. Nunquam mihi suade vana. Sunt mala quae libas.
Ipse venena bibas.

Chapter Six

PSEUDO-ROSIKRUCIANS—IMPOSTERS AND FOOLS

The fool's paradise is the world of self-created illusions, without the recognition of the underlying eternal truth.

The Devil is God inverted. Falsehood is truth perverted. The spirit produces the form to be its true image; but, for all that the form does not always represent the true qualities of the spirit. Thus the sun shines upon the earth, and his rays produce wholesome and poisonous growths, and the spirit of Christ for ever remains in His glory, even if a thousand of so-called "Christian" sects misrepresent Him, so that His image can no more be recognised in them. Likewise the true Brothers of the Golden and Rosy Cross still exist, even if the name of their order has been misused by impostors and fools.

The age at which the idea of Rosicrucian societies became popular was a time when orders of all kinds were flourishing. Monasteries, convents, and religious orders were the plagues of the country; in some places the Catholic clergy, in others the Protestant clergy, were, so to say, omnipotent. The work of the great Reformation had only begun its work, and free thought and free speech were little known. The Protestant clergy were not less intolerant than the Catholics who preceded them, and in some places the latter were still in possession of all the authority they possessed at the time of the Inquisition.

In consequence of the power of the Church over the citizens of the country—a power which the former abused very freely—it became necessary to have secret societies and places where the members could secretly meet and exchange their opinions without being overheard by spies and traitors. Secret orders of all kinds were, therefore, existing in great numbers, and foremost of all were the Freemasons, an order which, on account of the strength of its principles, has continued to exist. At that time Masonry was not what it is now. A writer of those times, in a work published in 1666, informs us that it was neither a political nor a Christian institution, but a truly secret organization, which admitted such men as members who were anxious to obtain the priceless boon of liberty of conscience, and to avoid clerical prosecution.

But the air of mystery which hung about the masonic lodges was also very attractive to all who were mystically inclined. Then, as now strange rumours circulated about the doings of the Masons, wild stories were whispered about among the ignorant, which the clergy of those times, like their brothers of the present day, helped to start, circulate, and exaggerate. They were accused of practising black magic and sorcery, and some even accused them of being in league with devils.

All these things served to attract to the masonic lodges not merely those who were desirous of freedom of speech, but also those who desired to learn forbidden secrets; and, moreover, adventurers of all kinds sought to gain admittance and sometimes succeeded. Many of the masonic brothers attempted to study and practise alchemy; and there are some accounts proving that sometimes successful alchemical experiments were made in the lodges. But, generally speaking, then, as now, those who joined a lodge for the purpose of having some very important secrets revealed to them, were sadly disappointed, for besides the external ceremonies and forms, which they were sworn not to reveal, and which were of no further importance, they were informed of nothing which would have been worth revealing. They went from one degree to another, paying large sums for being admitted into higher degrees, and still no revelations were made, and all they learned on such occasions was some other form of ceremony, a knowledge of which was hardly worth the price they paid for it.

It is, therefore, not surprising that when the Rosicrucian mania broke out, and when the more exaggerated accounts about the great powers; of that order were fully believed, that the Masons opened their ranks to anyone who was supposed to be a Rosicrucian, and that if the latter succeeded in making the brothers believe that he was

actually such a favoured person, he would at once gain a great deal of influence in the lodge. These circumstances opened the doors of the masonic lodges to a great many strolling adventurers, vagabonds, charlatans, and mountebanks; and especially the Catholic as well as the Protestant "Jesuits" were not slow to see their advantage, and to gain admission to the lodges under the disguise of Rosicrucians.

They pretended to be in communication with certain unknown superiors, some grand patriarch of Jerusalem, or some invisible somebody, whose orders had to be obeyed without asking any questions, but whose names must not be revealed; and to make such supposed orders more effective, they produced letters and documents apparently coming from such superiors, but which they had written and sealed themselves. On some occasions they performed sleight-of-hand tricks, produced sham apparitions of ghosts and deceased persons, for the purpose of deluding the members of the lodge, and to make them believe in their supernatural powers. Thus they made Freemasonry their tool and used the power which they gained for the advancement of their own interests.

Volumes might be filled with amusing accounts of the doings of the pseudo-Rosicrucians; but we have only room for a few examples, and shall, for that purpose, select those whose influence in history was of considerable importance.

One of the adventurers, of whom it is still doubtful whether or not he possessed any occult powers, was the reputed Schroepfer, a bankrupt inn-keeper of Leipzig. His only object seemed to be to make as much money as he could, and to spend it as fast he made it. He assumed the name "von Steinbach," and pretended to be a French Colonel, and to have been appointed by the Duke of Orleans as secret ambassador, sent to reform masonry, and to establish a connection with the Jesuits, who were at that time driven away. These Jesuits, he said, were in possession of an enormous amount of treasure, which they had entrusted to his care; but his intention was to use that money for the benefit of the country, and whoever wanted to obtain a share of it would have to come to confession and to better his life.

It is almost incredible that any sane person should have believed such nonsense; nevertheless, when a prospect of obtaining money is held out, most people are ready to believe almost anything. Moreover, Schroepfer had a wonderful power of gaining the confidence of those who came near him, and he had some knowledge of chemistry, which gave him a scientific air, and so it happened that even some people of high social position believed in his assertions.

To gain full power over his dupes, he deposited in a bank at Frankfurt a sealed package, to be returned to him whenever he desired it; this package was said to contain several millions in bank-notes, but which, as might have been supposed, contained nothing but brown paper. On the strength of that supposed deposit, which "could not then be touched," he borrowed large sums of money. He even gained the confidence of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, in whose presence he caused the apparition of the Chevalier de Saxe to appear in the palace. This scene is described by an eye-witness as

follows:—"The large room wherein the ghost was to appear had the form of a theatre, and had formerly been used for the purpose of giving private plays and operas. The spectators were sitting in a half-circle, and they received strict orders not to leave their seats under any circumstances, nor to touch nor examine any of the apparatus for the conjuring process, else the most dread consequences would follow. They had, furthermore, to wear that they would not reveal afterwards what they had seen.

The Duke and his Minister, von Wurmb, and other dignitaries were present. Schroepfer appeared, nodded to the assembly, and walked in a haughty manner up to the platform. The Duke had desired to see the apparition of the Chevalier de Saxe, and Schroepfer consented. Suddenly all the candles in the room went out at once, and every one present felt a feeling of horror creeping over him. At the same time a stupefying smoke of some incense which Schroepfer was burning filled the room. Gradually the platform grew more light, while the place for the spectators remained in darkness. A kind of bluish light shone upon the faces of the latter, which gave to every one of them a ghostly appearance. Gradually a cloud became visible in the background of the stage. At first it was only like a thin mist, but slowly it grew more solid. Gradually it assumed the outlines of a human form. The details of the figure became clearer, the face could be seen and recognised; there was the living image of the Chevalier de Saxe.

"The Duke, seeing his dead relative standing before him, broke in an exclamation of horror. The apparition lifted its arm. Every one was terrified; none dared to speak. There were deep sighs.

"Then the ghost began to speak in a hollow voice, complaining that he had been disturbed in his sleep in the grave.

"The Duke appeared to be near fainting; but being a courageous man, he rose with an effort, and it seemed for a moment that his reason was to be victorious over superstition.

"Laying his hand on his sword, he exclaimed, 'Illusion of hell! Go back to the place from whence you came!'

"At that moment the sword dropped from his hand, as if he had been suddenly paralyzed. The apparition was gone and the room was dark. Suddenly, as quickly as they had been extinguished, the candles began to burn again, and we all saw the conjuror in his long habit of black velvet, looking still paler than usual, the sweat standing upon his forehead, resembling a man who has just escaped some great danger. Having recovered, he turned to the Duke and reproached him.

" 'Your Excellency,' said Schroepfer, 'may congratulate yourself that we have not all been killed. Only the most powerful conjurations on my part could prevent the apparition from murdering us. It was the most terrible hour of my life.'

"The Duke excused himself, and finally begged pardon, promising to be more obedient at some future occasion."

"There were a great many people of whom Schroepfer had borrowed money, sometimes even large sums, and they all grew impatient, and wanted to be paid. Schroepfer was forced to produce the package from the bank, and it was found to be worthless. But even that was not sufficient to destroy the confidence of his dupes. They persuaded themselves that he was a high Rosicrucian Adept, who was only testing their faith. "Can we, in our ignorance," they said, "head the Master's heart and know his intentions? Perhaps he is going to take away our earthly Mammon, and give us for it the imperishable philosopher's stone."

"At last, however, the measure was full; the creditors refused to be fed any longer on idle promises; they wanted their money. So they selected a deputation from their midst, and sent them to Leipzig, where Schroepfer had gone to escape their importunity. When they entered his room he bade them welcome in a kind manner and full of assurance.

"I have already been informed of your coming," he said, "and have been waiting for you."

"Then," they answered, "you will also know that we have come for the purpose of obtaining a settlement of our financial affairs."

"What!" exclaimed Schroepfer, appearing to be astonished, "do you doubt me?"

"Not I," answered the one addressed; "but some of my friends do."

"And you, sir?" asked Schroepfer, turning to another one and fixing his eyes upon him.

The person addressed trembled, and began to stammer an excuse; but Schroepfer, whose face assumed a triumphant smile, continued:—

"Oh, you of little faith! ye are worse than the doubting Thomas, more obstinate than Peter, who thrice denied his Master. I have opened before you the portals of the spirit world and made you see its inhabitants, and you still doubt my power. I wanted to lead you into the innermost sanctuary, and to make you richer than all the kings of this earth; but you have not stood the test imposed upon you. Shame upon you! Without faith and confidence no miracle can be performed. Doubt is the great sin of the world."

"Mercy, great master!" exclaimed one; "do not punish the innocent with the guilty. I did not doubt."

"I know it," answered Schroepfer; "and for the sake of one just man, I will forgive the sins of all. The mammon after which your sinful heart hankers, you shall receive; what I

promised will be done; but it would have been better for you if you had chosen the hidden wisdom instead of possessions which perish."

They then begged his pardon, and at last he became less stern and forgave them their doubts. He promised not only to unveil to them all the secrets of the true Rosicrucians, but he also appointed a certain day for the payment of his debt.

The revelations about the secrets never came; but the day appointed for the payment of the debt arrived. In the evening preceding that eventful day, Schroepfer invited all his creditors to his house. The supper which was served was excellent, the wine of the first quality. Schroepfer was in high spirits, more talkative than usual, and amused his guests by some clever sleight-of-hand tricks, attributing it, of course, all to the spirits. Midnight passed, and the guests prepared themselves to depart for their residences, but the host objected.

"I shall not let you go," he said, "you may all sleep here, and in the morning, even before sunrise, I will show you something entirely new. Heretofore I have shown you dead people whom I have called back into life; but this morning I will show you a living man whom you will believe to be dead." He then took up his glass filled with wine, and caused it to jingle by bringing it in contact with the glasses held by the others, with each one successively. As he approached the last one, his glass broke into pieces.

"What does this mean?" asked one.

"The fate of mankind," answered Schroepfer. "The wine of life has escaped, the vessel broke to pieces; I am fatigued enough to die."

He fell asleep, and the guests followed his example, sleeping in armchairs and on lounges as well as they could manage it. Early in the morning Schroepfer called to them to awake; telling them that it was time to go. They all went together out of the town to an almost solitary place called the "Rosenthal." Schroepfer was silent, and appeared to be very serious. Having arrived at the place of destination, he ordered his companions to remain where he posted them.

"Do not move," he said, "until I call you to help me to raise the buried treasure. I am now going into that grove, where you will soon see a wonderful apparition."

With a satirical smile on his pale face he turned away and disappeared in the bushes. Soon a sound as of a pistol-shot sounded from there. They thought that it was perhaps fired by some hunter, and paid no further attention to it. They waited. One quarter of an hour after another passed away, and nothing happened. They did not dare to leave their places, fearing to rouse the anger of the magician by their disobedience. The mist of the morning had turned into a fine rain, which made their position very uncomfortable. They grew impatient, and consulted with each other what was to be done. While they were discussing the subject, some proposing to follow Schroepfer into the bushes, and others objecting, saying that by doing so they might interrupt his

incantations, or at least give him a welcome excuse for not obtaining the treasure, a stranger approached. His appearance was so sudden that it almost appeared miraculous.

"I know," said the stranger, "for whom you are waiting. Schroepfer will not come; he is dead."

"You lie!" exclaimed one of the company, being very indignant about this intrusion.

Instead of answering, the stranger gave a certain secret sign which proved him to be one of the superiors of a high masonic order. All present bowed respectfully.

"Follow me," he said, "and you will see that I told you the truth."

They followed him into the ticket, and there they found the magician dead upon the sod. He held a pistol in his hand; the ball had penetrated his heart.

Thus perished a man who, although he was an impostor, may nevertheless have been in possession of some occult knowledge, but who had not strength enough to resist the temptations of the senses, and who misused his powers for the gratification of his personal self.

Johann Christoph Woellner was the son of a Protestant clergyman, who resided near Spandau, and became preacher of the Evangelical community at Grossbehnitz, near Berlin. While in this position he succeeded in seducing the daughter of his patron, the General Itzenplitz, and the family at last consented to a marriage which they could not prevent. The affair was still more scandalous on account of the publicly known fact that Woellner made love to the mother of the girl before he married the latter. By this marriage he acquired a considerable fortune. He was very much inclined to mysticism, and soon became one of the most active and prominent members of the Rosicrucians. His name in the lodge was Chrysophron, and by the influence of his friends he obtained an influential position, which he used for the advancement of his own selfish interests, and finally he obtained a position at the Prussian Court.

He appeared externally very modest and meek; while at the same time his conceit and ambition were without limits, and no means were too vile to him, if by them he could accomplish his purpose. His low forehead indicated a person of very little intelligence, but a great deal of cunning. His little eyes were continually looking downwards; his manners were those of a pious coxcomb. Sympathetic souls find each other, and he therefore became very intimate with Bischofswerder, another pseudo-Rosicrucian, who was Minister of State and favourite of King Frederic William II. of Prussia, and he in company with his friend worked together for the destruction of the religious liberty of the people, as shall be described further on.

Another of the same class was the pastor Johann August Stark, an Evangelical preacher, but secretly a Catholic, and in league with the Jesuits. He was an

extraordinary hypocrite. Still worse, but more ridiculous, was his disciple, the pseudo-Rosicrucian Mayr, a very eccentric character and a great fanatic. He was limping, bald-headed, squinted, and of most unprepossessing appearance. A broad trunk, with an immense hydrocephalic head rested upon thin, weak legs. He usually wore black pantaloons and vest, and an orange-coloured coat. While preaching, he shot with a pistol from the pulpit at a man who slept during the sermon, and wounded him, exclaiming, "I will wake you up!" He had all kinds of religions. In the morning he went to the Catholic mass, next he preached in the Protestant church, then spent his afternoons in the Jewish synagogue or with the Mennonites, and in the evening he went to the masonic lodge.

These were some of the types of the "Rosicrucians" which infested the masonic lodges of those times, and it is a marvel that they did not destroy masonry. Some of them were impostors, others were dupes, and not a few imposed upon their dupes, while at the same time they were the dupes of others. This confusion of incompatible elements, such as freethinkers, pietists, reasonable men, and superstitious fools, could not fail to bring on a separation within the lodges and they naturally became divided into two parts, of which one represented progression and tolerance, the other one bigotry and superstition. Among the latter class was the "Society of the Cross," who at their initiation had to take the following oath: "In the name of the crucified I swear to break all ties which bind me to my father, mother, brothers, sisters, wife, relatives, friends, sweethearts, king, benefactors, or to any other human being, whom I may have sworn to obey, so that I may belong entirely to Christ."

The Crown Prince, afterwards King Frederic William II. of Prussia, was himself a member of a masonic lodge and a great admirer of Woellner and Bischofswerder, who exerted their nefarious influence over him, and whenever the unfortunate prince appeared to become subject to doubts regarding the supernatural powers of his friends, they quieted him again by causing the spectre of some dead friend to appear before him, which was not at all difficult to do, as they were in possession of all the paraphernalia necessary to perform sleight-of-hand tricks, such as magic lanterns, electric batteries, etc.; and there was no danger of being detected in these tricks, as the spectators had to remain within a certain "magic" circle, which they were not permitted to leave; and it was always said that a disobedience to the orders of the magician would be followed by the direst consequences, or perhaps be fatal to all.

The greatest enemies of the so-called "Rosicrucians" were the Illuminati, a secret organization, radiating throughout the whole of Germany. At their head stood the councillor Weishaupt, formerly professor at the University of Ingolstadt, in Bavaria. He had been educated in his youth in a Jesuit convent, but afterwards became a bitter enemy of that order. He wanted to liberate the people from the bonds of bigotry by spreading his cosmopolitan ideas, and he founded the order of the Illuminati, using the already existing masonic symbols and formula". He proclaimed that the object of his order was not to interfere with the Church or State, but that it intended to work for the moral improvement of humanity, to do good, to prevent evil, and to spread useful knowledge to all parts of the world. The necessary requirements to become a member

of his order are described by him as follows:—

"He who is not deaf to the voice of suffering, whose heart is open to charity, and who is the brother and friend of the unfortunate, is our brother. He should love all creatures, and not cause pain even to a worm. He ought to be constant in adversity, indefatigable in doing good, courageous in overcoming difficulties. He should not look with contempt upon the weak; he should be above all selfish and personal considerations, and be anxious to benefit mankind. He should avoid idleness, and not consider any kind of knowledge to be below his dignity to investigate. But the main object of his life should be the attainment of self-knowledge. He who cares for virtue and truth for its own sake will not care for the applause of the vulgar. He who dares to do that which his own heart commands him to do is fit to become a member of our order."

His order, like all secret orders, possessed the charm which always surrounds that which is mysterious. It had three degrees; the first one consisted of the novices and the minervales. After passing an examination, the candidate was accepted into a higher degree, consisting of the lesser and the higher degree of Illuminati, and finally followed the highest degree, the Priests. According to Weishaupt's ideas, the main object of true religion was to lift man up to a higher conception of his true nature and destiny, and thereby bring him up to a realization of this higher state of human dignity. This could not be accomplished by force, but merely by the spreading of knowledge, displacing error and superstition. He thought that if men could once realize the necessity of virtue and be all united by brotherly love, immorality, vice, degradation, and poverty would cease to exist, and men would become their own rulers and guides.

He furthermore attempted to prove that true (esoteric) Christianity was not a popular religion, or a religion for the vulgar, but that it was a system of philosophy, given in symbols, comprehensible only to those who were far enough advanced to be instructed in it, and it was the duty of the Illuminati to study the esoteric side of the religious systems, and to try to comprehend their meaning.

The highest rank in the highest degree was that of Regent. The Regents were the superiors of the order, and only the most useful and virtuous members were admitted to that rank, after having passed through long and severe probations.¹

Soon the Illuminati became objects of fear and suspicion for the Governments, especially in Bavaria. A Protestant clergyman, Lange, was accidentally killed by a stroke of lightning. When his body was examined by the authorities, they found some papers regarding the order, and a list of some of its prominent members. This was the signal for a universal inquisition and persecution. Many of the noblest and most eminent persons were imprisoned or banished, others fled, and a price was set upon Weishaupt's head, who, however, escaped to Gotha, where he found an asylum.²

Still the order of the Illuminati continued to exist, and between them and the Roslcrucians there existed the same animosity as now between the Liberals and the Ultramontanes, or between Progressionists and Conservatives. Each party denounced

the other one, and each party had some just cause; for the Rosicrucians attempted to push the people still lower into darkness and superstition, while the Illuminati gave them a light which the people did not understand, and by undermining the authority of the priesthood, which governed the people by fear, they also undermined the authority of the law, by which the people must be ruled, as long as they cannot rule themselves.

King Frederic the Great cared nothing about these religious quarrels. In his dominions everyone was at liberty to follow the religion which suited him best; and all the efforts of the Rosicrucians were therefore directed to maintain their power over the Crown Prince, and in this they succeeded. The Crown Prince was a good-hearted but weak-minded man, whose strength had been to a certain extent exhausted by too much sensual enjoyment. He often had spells of great moral depression and brooded over his regrets for the past. He needed some comfort and consolation, and this he attempted to find sometimes in the arms of the Countess of Lichtenau; at other times in those of the pietists and "Rosicrucians," Bischofswerder and Woellner.

These "Rosicrucians" used all the means they could to obtain power. They calumniated Frederic the Great, and saw in him their greatest enemy, because his liberal measures hindered them from forcing their narrow-minded ideas and bigotry upon the people. They frightened the credulous Crown Prince by painting and exaggerating to him the dire consequences of the spreading of "irreligious" doctrines. They proposed to restore the Inquisition in a Protestant shape.

Frederic the Great died; Frederic William II. became King; but he was ruled by Bischofswerder and Woellner, and by his mistresses. One of the first successful attempts of the former was to restore to a great extent the power of Rome in Protestant Germany. Woellner became Minister of the religious department, and soon followed the issue of the infamous "religious edict" of July 9, 1788. In this edict everybody was warned by order of the King to subordinate his own reason to the dogmas of the Church; and those who should contravene this order were threatened with the loss of the offices they held and with imprisonment. They generously permitted everybody to believe what he pleased, but they strongly prohibited any expression of opinion in regard to religious matters, if such opinions were not sanctioned by the Church. But those who should dare to ridicule a clergyman were threatened with the heaviest punishment. At the same time censure was established, so that nothing could be printed and published without having first been submitted to the clerical authorities for approval.

The excitement caused by this shameful edict was terrible. The Illuminati led by the bookseller Nicolay, at Berlin, protested against it; but their writings were confiscated. Woellner surrounded himself with "Rosicrucians" and pietists and a "spiritual examination board" was instituted, which examined every candidate for an office in regard to his creed before he could be appointed. They examined all clergymen and school teachers and ejected everyone who was not a hypocrite and who dared to say what he thought. They published a miserable catechism written in bad Latin, in which was prescribed what a person would have to believe before he could pass the examination. Pietistic schools and hymn-books were introduced and everything possible

It will be found that the doctrines presented herein contain the most profound secrets, especially in regard to the "resurrection of the flesh." They go to show that the physical body is neither a useless nor a despicable thing, and that Matter is as necessary to Spirit, as Spirit to Matter. Without the presence of a living body no resurrection could take place; neither could the Spirit have any relative existence without the presence of a material form. The state of Nirvana is not to be attained by merely dreaming about it, and before Man can rise superior to anything he must have attained that to which he desires to become superior. Only from the soul resurrected within the body of flesh arises the glorified spirit.

PRAESENTIA MUNIAMUR EJUS IN OBITU NOSTRO

Ex Deo nascimur. In Jesu morimur. Reviviscimus per
Spiritus Sanctum.

Chapter Seven

IN THE PRONAOS OF THE TEMPLE OF THE ROSY CROSS.

Our salvation is the life of Christ in us.

The place or state wherein the true Rosicrucian lives is far too exalted and glorious to be described in words. When we enter the vestibule of the temple of the true Rosy Cross, we enter into a region of unalloyed bliss and happiness. There is an effulgence of super-terrestrial light, where all abhorrent thinking and exercise of the imagination for the purpose of drawing logical inferences about the unknown, ceases, for in that light is the realm of pure knowledge; to live there is to perceive, and to perceive is to know. Into that paradise of celestial consciousness nothing impure can enter. No room is there for terrestrial flesh and blood; but the spiritual beings which inhabit that realm are made of the flesh and body of "Christ," in other words, of the substance of the spiritual soul.

H. P. Blavatsky, in her "Key to Theosophy," says that there are beings having attained a state of spiritual consciousness which would entitle them to enter the state of Nirvana; nevertheless, out of compassion for mankind, they still remain residents of this earth, inhabiting invisibly for mortal eyes the astral plane of our planet. In that, she describes the true order of the Golden and Rosy Cross as a spiritual Brotherhood, and if one of these superior beings, for some purpose or other, reincarnates in a human body upon this planet, then will there be a real Rosicrucian in a visible form upon this earth.

The "history" of that "brotherhood" is the history of the evolution of the world, and that of the spiritual regeneration of the soul and the body of man; for although each of these individual beings had its own terrestrial history and experiences in passing through many incarnations upon this planet, nevertheless, in its essential points the history of all is alike, and consisted in the conquering of the low and the unfoldment of the high. They all had to bear the Cross of suffering before they could become crowned with victory;

they all had to crucify their selfish and personal will, and die in regard to all that attracts the soul to the sphere of earthly desires and illusions before they could have the spiritual faculties of their souls unfolded like the Rose whose leaves are unfolded by the rays of the rising sun.

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ROSICRUCIAN RULES.

1. Love God above all.

To "love God" means to love wisdom and truth. We can love God in no other way than in being obedient to Divine law; and to enable us to exercise that obedience conscientiously requires knowledge of the law, which can only be gained by practice.

2. Devote your time to your spiritual advancement.

As the sun without leaving his place in the sky sends his rays upon the earth to shine upon the pure and the impure, and to illuminate even the most minute material objects with his light; likewise the spirit of man may send his mental rays into matter to obtain knowledge of all terrestrial things; but there is no need that the spirit should thereby lose its own divine self-consciousness, and be itself absorbed by the objects of its perception.

3. Be entirely unselfish.

Spiritual knowledge begins only where all sense of self ceases. Where the delusion which causes man to imagine himself to be a being separated and isolated from others ends, there he begins to realize his true state as an all-embracing universal and divine self-conscious power.

4. Be temperate, modest, energetic, and silent.

The door to the inner temple is called "Contentment"; but no animal can enter therein, only he who walks uprightly, being conscious of his true dignity as a human being. Without energy, nothing can be accomplished; and only in the silence, when all thoughts and desires are at rest, can the Divine harmonies penetrate to the internal ear.

5. Learn to know the origin of the METALS contained within thyself.

Ignorance is the cause of suffering. That which is material must be crucified and die, so that that which is spiritual may be resurrected and live.

6. Beware of quacks and pretenders.

He who claims to be in possession of knowledge knows nothing; only he through whom the Word of wisdom speaks is wise.

7. Live in constant adoration of the highest good.

The worm seeks for pleasure among abomination and filth; but the free eagle spreads his wings and rises up towards the sun.

8. Learn the theory before you attempt the practice.

He who travels with a trustworthy guide will be safer than he who refuses to profit by the experience of another.

9. Exercise charity towards all beings.

All beings are one in the spirit; divided from each other merely by the illusion of form. He who is charitable towards another form in which the universal One Life is manifest, saves suffering to his own self.

10. Read the ancient books of wisdom.

Books are to the unripe mind that which the mother's milk is to the nursling. We must receive drink from others until we have gained sufficient strength and experience to descend to the living fountain within ourselves, and to draw from there the water of truth.

11. Try to understand their secret meaning.

That which is external may be seen with the external eye; but that which is spiritual can only be seen with the eye of the spirit.

These are the eleven rules which ought to be followed by those who desire to enter the temple of the Rosy Cross; but the Rosicrucians have a twelfth rule, an Arcanum, in which great powers reside, but at which it is not lawful to speak. This Arcanum will be given to those who deserve it, and by its aid they will find light in the darkness, and a guiding hand through the labyrinth. This Arcanum is inexpressible in the language of mortals, and it can, therefore, only be communicated from heart to heart. There is no torture strong enough to extract it from the true Rosicrucian; for even if he were willing to reveal it, those who are unworthy of it are not capable of receiving it.

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THE DUTIES OF A ROSICRUCIAN.

Those who are dead in the flesh will read the following with the external understanding; those who live in the spirit will see its internal meaning, and act accordingly.

The duties of a true Rosicrucian are:—

1. To alleviate suffering and to cure the sick without accepting any remuneration.

The medicine which they give is more valuable than gold; it is of an invisible kind, and can be had for nothing everywhere.

2. To adopt the style of their clothing to the costumes' of the country wherein they reside for the time being.

The clothing of the spirit is the form which he inhabits, and must be adapted to the conditions of the planet whereon he resides.

3. To meet once a year in a certain place.

Those who do not meet at that place, when their terrestrial career is over will have their names taken out of the book of life.

4. Each member has to select a proper person to be his successor.

Each man is himself the creator of that being whose personality he adopts on the next step on the ladder of evolution.

5. The letters R.C. are the emblem of the order.

Those who have truly entered the order will bear the marks upon their body, which cannot be mistaken by him who is capable of recognising them.

6. The existence of the Brotherhood is to be kept secret for one hundred years, beginning from the time when it was first established.

Nor will the "hundred years" be over until man has awakened to the consciousness of his own divine nature.

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THE SECRET SIGNS OF THE ROSICRUCIANS.

There are sixteen signs by which a member of the order of the Rosicrucians may be known. He who possesses only a few of those signs is not a member of a very high

degree, for the true Rosicrucian possesses them all.

1. The Rosicrucian is Patient.

His first and most important victory is the conquest of his own self. It is the victory over the LION, who has bitterly injured some of the best followers of the Holy Cross. He is not to be vanquished by a fierce and inconsiderate attack made upon him; but he must be made to surrender to patience and fortitude. The true Rosicrucian tries to overcome his enemies by kindness, and those who hate him by gifts. He heaps not curses, but the burning fire of love upon their heads. He does not persecute his enemies with the sword, or with faggots, but he suffers the weeds to grow with the wheat until they are both matured, when they will be separated by Nature.

2. The Rosicrucian is Kind.

He never appears gloomy or melancholy, or with a scowl or sneer upon his face. He acts kindly and politely towards everybody, and is always ready to render assistance to others. Although he is different from the majority of other people, still he tries to accommodate himself to their ways, habits and manners, as much as his dignity will permit. He is, therefore, an agreeable companion, and knows how to converse with the rich as well as with the poor, and to move among all classes of society so as to command their respect; for he has conquered the bear of vulgarity.

3. The Rosicrucian knows no Envy.

Before he is accepted into the order he must go through the terrible ordeal of cutting off the head of the snake of envy; which is a very difficult labour, because the snake is sly, and easily hides itself in some corner. The true Rosicrucian is always content with his lot, knowing that it is such as he deserves it to be. He never worries about the advantages or riches which others possess, but wishes always the best to everybody. He knows that he will obtain all he deserves, and he cares not if any other person possesses more than he. He expects no favours, but he distributes his favours without any partiality.

4. The Rosicrucian does not Boast.

He knows that man is nothing but an instrument in the hands of GOD, and that he can accomplish nothing useful by his own will; the latter being nothing but the will of GOD perverted in man. To GOD he gives all the praise, and to that which is mortal he gives all the blame. He is in no inordinate haste to accomplish a thing, but he waits until he receives his orders from the Master who resides above and within. He is careful what he speaks about, and uses no unhallowed language.

5. The Rosicrucian is not Vain.

He proves thereby that there is something real in him, and that he is not like a

blown-up bag filled with air. Applause or blame leaves him unaffected, nor does he feel aggrieved if he is contradicted or encounters contempt. He lives within himself, and enjoys the beauties of his own inner world, but he never desires to show off his possessions, nor to pride himself on any spiritual gifts which he may have attained. The greater his gifts, the greater will be his modesty, and the more will he be willing to be obedient to the law.

6. The Rosicrucian is not Disorderly.

He always strives to do his duty, and to act according to the order established by the law. He cares nothing for externalities, nor for ceremonies. The law is written within his heart, and therefore all his thoughts and acts are ruled by it. His respectability is not centred in his external appearance, but in his real being, which may be compared to a root from which all his actions spring. The interior beauty of his soul is reflected upon his exterior, and stamps all his acts with its seal; the light existing in his heart may be perceived in his eye by an expert; it is the mirror of the Divine image within.

7. The Rosicrucian is not Ambitious

There is nothing more injurious to spiritual development and expansion of the soul than a narrow mind and a selfish character. The true Rosicrucian always cares much more for the welfare of others than for his own. He has no private or personal interest to defend or foster. He always seeks to do good, and he never avoids any opportunity which may present itself for that purpose.

8. The Rosicrucian is not Irritable.

It is evident that a person who works for the benefit of the whole will be hated by those whose personal advantages are not benefited thereby; because selfishness is opposed to magnanimity, and the claims of the few are not always compatible with the interests of the community. The Rosicrucian will therefore be often resisted by narrow-minded and short-sighted people; he will be slandered by calumniators, his motives will be misrepresented, he will be misjudged by the ignorant, ridiculed by the would-be wise, and taunted by the fool. All such proceedings, however, cannot excite or irritate the mind of the true Rosicrucian, nor disturb the divine harmony of his soul; for his faith rests in the perception and knowledge of the truth within himself. The opposition of a thousand ignorant people will not induce him to desist from doing that which he knows to be noble and good, and he will do it even if it should involve the loss of his fortune or of his life. Being able and accustomed to direct his spiritual sight towards the divine, he cannot be deluded by the illusions of matter, but clings to the eternal reality. Being surrounded by angelic influences, and listening to their voices, he is not affected by the noise made by the animals. He lives in the company of those noble beings, who were once men like others, but who have become transfigured, and who are now beyond the reach of the vulgar and low.

9. The Rosicrucian does not think evil of others.

Those who think evil of others see merely the evil which exists within themselves reflected and mirrored forth in others. The Rosicrucian is always willing to recognise in everything that which is good. Tolerance is a virtue by which the Rosicrucian is eminently distinguished from others; and by which he may be known. If a thing appears to be ambiguous, he suspends his judgment about it until he has investigated its nature; but as long as his judgment is not perfect, he is more inclined to form a good opinion than an evil one about everything.

10. The Rosicrucian loves justice.

He, however, never sets himself up as a judge over the faults of others, nor does he wish to appear to be wise by censuring the mistakes of others. He does not enjoy gossip, and cares no more about the foolishness committed by others, than he would about the buzzing of a fly or the capers of a monkey. He finds no pleasure in listening to political or personal quarrels, disputations, or mutual recriminations. He cares nothing for the cunningness of a fox, the dissimulation of a crocodile, or the rapacity of a wolf, and is not amused by the stirring up of mud. His nobility of character lifts him up into a sphere far beyond all such trifles and absurdities, and being above the sensual plane, wherein ordinary mortals find their happiness and enjoyment, he lives with those who do not think evil of each other, who do not rejoice about an injustice done to their brother, or make merry about his ignorance, and enjoy his misfortunes. He enjoys the company of those who love the truth, and who are surrounded by the peace and harmony of the spirit.

11. The Rosicrucian loves the truth.

There is no devil worse than falsehood and calumny. Ignorance is a nonentity, but falsehood is the substance of evil. The calumniator rejoices whenever he has found something upon which to base his lies and to make them grow like mountains. Opposed to it is the truth, it being a ray of light from the eternal fountain of GOOD, which has the power to transform man into a divine being. The ROSICRUCIAN seeks, therefore, no other light but the light of truth, and this light he does not enjoy alone, but in company of all who are good and filled with its divine majesty, whether they live on this earth or in the spiritual state; and he enjoys it above all with those who are persecuted, oppressed, and innocent, but who will be saved by the truth.

12. The Rosicrucian knows how to be silent.

Those who are false do not love the truth. Those who are foolish do not love wisdom. The true Rosicrucian prefers to enjoy the company of those who can appreciate truth to that of those who would trample it with their feet. He will keep that which he knows locked up within his heart, for in silence is power. As a minister of state does not go about telling to everybody the secrets of the king; so the Rosicrucian does not parade before the public the revelations made to him by the king within, who is nobler and wiser than all the earthly kings and princes; for they only rule by the authority

and power derived from Him. His secrecy ceases only when the king commands him to speak, for it is then not he who speaks, but the truth that is speaking through him.

13. The Rosicrucian believes that which he knows.

He believes in the immutability of eternal law, and that every cause has a certain effect. He knows that the truth cannot lie, and that the promises made to him by the king will be fulfilled, if he does not himself hinder their fulfilment. He is, therefore, inaccessible to doubt or fear, and puts implicit confidence in the divine principle of truth, which has become alive and conscious within his heart.

14. The Rosicrucian's hope is firm.

Spiritual hope is the certain conviction resulting from a knowledge of the law, that the truths recognised by faith will grow and be fulfilled; it is the knowledge of the heart, and very different from the intellectual speculation of the reasoning brain. His faith rests upon the rock of direct perception and cannot be overthrown. He knows that in everything, however evil it may appear to him, there is a germ of good, and he hopes that in the course of evolution that germ will become developed, and thus evil be transformed into good.

15. The Rosicrucian cannot be vanquished by suffering.

He knows that there is no light without shadow, no evil without some good, and that strength only grows by resistance. Having once recognised the existence of the Divine principle within everything, external changes are to him of little importance, and do not deserve great attention. His main object is to hold on to his spiritual possessions, and not to lose the crown which he has gained in the battle of life.

16. The Rosicrucian will always remain a member of his society.

Names are of little importance. The principle which presides over the Rosicrucian Society is the truth; and he who knows the truth, and follows it in practice, is a member of the society over which the truth practises. If all names were changed and all languages altered, the truth would remain the same; and he who lives in the truth will live even if all nations should pass away.

These are the sixteen signs of the true Rosicrucians, which have been revealed to a pilgrim by an angel who took away the heart of the pilgrim, leaving in its place a fiery coal, which is now incessantly burning and glowing with love of the universal brotherhood of humanity.

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ROSICRUCIAN JEWELS.

The most valuable jewel of the Rosicrucians is WISDOM, which is represented by a pure DIAMOND in the centre of the ROSE, but the CROSS is adorned with twelve jewels of priceless value, in all of which the power that resides in the truth is manifested. These jewels are:

1. Jasper (dark green). The power of active light, multiplying itself to a sevenfold degree, and evolving seven states of the one light, by which the seven states of darkness may be consumed.

2. Hyacinth (yellow). LOVE, born from the matrix of Light, manifesting itself as it grows, and emitting red rays. Its power overcomes the spirit of anger and violence.

3. Chrysolite (white). Princely wisdom. It confounds that which is foolish and vain, subdues it, and comes out of the battle victorious.

4. Sapphire (blue). Truth; originating and growing out of its own essence. It overcomes doubt and vacillation.

5. Smaragd [Emerald] (green). The blooming spring in its eternal justice destroying the unjust attributes of a perverted and degenerate nature and opening the fountain of infinite treasures.

6. Topaz (golden). The symbol of peace, mild and pleasant. It suffers no impurity or division to exist, neither does it admit that which causes separation and quarrels. It heals ruptures and cures wounds.

7. Amethyst (violet). Impartiality, equilibrium of justice and judgment. It cannot be falsified, bent, or counterfeited. It weighs all things in the scales of justice, and is opposed to fraud, cruelty, or tyranny.

8. Beryl (diverse colours). Meekness, humility; the equal temperature of the spirit, being kind and good, and overcoming wrath, stubbornness, and bitterness.

9. Sardis (light red). The high magical FAITH, growing into power, and destroying fear, scepticism, and superstition.

10. Chrysoprase (light green). Invisible power and strength, overcoming all opposition, allowing nothing to remain which could possibly resist the law.

11. Sardonyx (striped). Triumphant JOY and gladness, flowing from the eternal fountain of happiness, destroying all sorrow and sadness. (May it bless you!).

12. Chalcedony (striped). The crown of Victory, dominion, glory. The keystone and the greatest of all miracles, turning everything to the glorification of GOD.

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ROSICRUCIAN SYMBOLS

SIGNS FROM THE HEART OF THE CELESTIAL MOTHER.
(From the work of Antonio Ginther. August Vindelicorum. 1741.)

Prænesis. A ship in the open sea, with a floating anchor, and a star shining overhead, with the inscription: Hac monstrante viam.

Emblema 1. An open book with the name MARIA, and a heart transfixed by a sword, with the inscription: Omnibus in omnibus.

2. A seven-headed monster threatened with a club. Inscription: In virtute tua.

3. A closed and sealed door with an angel attempting to open it. Inscription: Signatur ne perdat.

4. A landscape representing an island. The sun rises and the stars shine. Inscription: Aurora ab lacrymis.

5. An orange tree bearing fruits, of which the inner part is sweet, while the rind is bitter. Inscription: Dulce amarum.

6. An altar with a fire upon it, in which a heart is burning, sending out a sweet odour. Inscription: In odorem suavitatis.

7. A pure white lily in a flower-pot, standing in a garden. Inscription: Virginei laus prima pudoris.

8. An angel separating wheat from chaff by means of a sieve. Inscription: Dimittit inanes.

9. A ring with a jewel exhibited upon a table. Inscription: Honori invincem.

10. A globe illuminated by the full moon. Inscription: Plena sibi et aliis.

11. Jacob's ladder with seven steps, reaching from the earth up to heaven. Inscription: Descendendo ascendendo.

12. A sun-dial attached to the wall of a tower. Inscription: Altissimus obnumbrat.

13. The signs of the Zodiac, with the sun passing through the sign of the Virgin. Inscription: Jam mitlus ardet.

14. A hen brooding in a stable, brooding over eggs. Inscription: Pant in alieno.

15. Two palm-trees, inclined towards each other. Inscription: Blando se -pace salutant.

16. A grape-vine, cut from the trunk, is weeping. Inscription: Ut gaudeas mero.

17. A plant, representing a myrrh. Inscription: Amara sect, salubris.

18. A painter's easel, with a cloth ready for painting. Inscription: Qua forma placebit.

19. A heart transfixed by a sword. Inscription: Usque ad divisionem animæ.

20. Two doves pecking at each other. Inscription: Amat et castigat.

21. A passion flower. Inscription: Delectat et cruciat.

22. Wolves and sheep, eagles and bats, basking together in the sunshine. Inscription: Non possentibus offert.

23. A bird, sitting between thorns and thistles. Inscription: His ego sustentor.

24. Ivy winding around a dead tree. Inscription: Nee mors separavit.

25. Two hearts in a winepress. Inscription: Cogit in unum.

26. A crocodile shedding tears while eating a man. Inscription: Plorat et devorat.

27. Wolf devouring a sheep. Inscription: Non est qui redimat.

28. Tulips inclining toward the rising sun. Inscription: Languexit in umbra.

29. Two stringed musical instruments; a hand plays upon one. Inscription: Unam tetigis se sat est.

30. A white lily growing between thorns. Inscription: Transfixum suavius.

31. The prophet Jonah thrown into the raging sea. Inscription: Merger ne mergantur.

32. The setting sun and the evening star. Inscription: Sequitur deserta cadentem.

33. A cross with a snake wound around it. Inscription: Pharms-cumnon venenum.

34. Eagle, rising towards the sun. Inscription: Ad te levavi oculos.

35. A squirrel standing upon a log, floating in the water and rowing. Inscription: Ne merger.

36. Light tower, illuminating the ocean. Inscription: *Erantibus una micat.*
37. Rock standing in a stormy sea. Inscription: *Non commovebitur.*
38. A diamond exposed upon a table. Inscription: *In puritate pretium.*
39. Grafting a tree. Inscription: *Accipit in sua.*
40. A man hanging upon a tree. Inscription: *Non est hac tutior umbra.*
41. A flock of sheep, each one bearing the letter T upon the forehead. Inscription: *Non habet redargutionem.*
42. Chandelier with seven lights. Inscription: *Non extinguetur..*
43. A solar eclipse. Inscription: *Morientis sideris umbra.*
44. The setting sun and a rainbow shedding tears. Inscription: *Desinit in lacrymas.*
45. Cypress blown at by winds coming from the four quarters of the world. Inscription: *Concussio firmat.*
46. Two hearts surrounded by thorns, with nails and a dagger. Inscription: *Vulneratum vulnerat.*
- 47- A heart transfixed by a sword and instruments of torture. Inscription: *Superminet omnes.*
48. Beehive, and bees flying around flowers. Inscription: *Currit in odorem.*
49. A chemical furnace with retorts, from which drops are falling. Inscription: *Color elicit imbres.*
50. A man sowing grain into furrows. Inscription: *Ut surgat in ortum.*
51. A cloth spread upon a field and sprinkled with water. Inscription: *A lacrymis candor.*
52. Ocean waves and a bird flying through the furrows of water. Inscription: *Mersa non mergitur.*
53. Noah's dove with an olive branch. Inscription: *Einergere nuntiat orbem.*
54. Flying eagle carrying a lamb. Inscription: *Tulit prædeam tartari.*

55. Rain descending upon flowers. Inscription: Dulce refrigerium.
56. Plumb-line and level. Inscription: Recta a recto.
57. A hot iron upon an anvil. Inscription: Dum calet.
58. Solitary bird sitting in a cave. Inscription: Gemit dilectum suum.
59. Elephant drinking blood flowing from a grape. Inscription: Acuitur in prælium.
60. Bird escaping from a nest. Inscription: Ad sidera sursum.
61. Sunrise rays shining into a heart of adamant. Inscription: Intima lustrat.
62. A flying bird attached to a string. Inscription: Cupio dissolvi.
63. Two birds of Paradise flying upwards. Inscription: Innixa ascendit.
64. A triple crown made of silver, iron, and gold. Inscription: Curso complete.
65. The statue of Dagon thrown down and broken to pieces. A corpse. Inscription: Cui honorem honorem.
66. The Red Sea dividing for the passage of the Israelites. Inscription: Illuc iter quo ostendum.
67. Labyrinth with a human figure therein. A hand extended from heaven holds a thread reaching down to the figure. Inscription: Hac duce tuta via est.
68. A camp. Among the tents is a standard bearing the image of a man. Inscription: Presidium et decus.
69. A clock, whose finger points to the second hour. Inscription: Ultima secunda.
70. Ship at sea carrying a light. Fishes and birds are attracted by the glow. Inscription: Veniunt ad lucem.
- Epilogus.—Noah's ark in tranquil water. Inscription: Non mergitur, sed extollitur.

SIGNS REFERRING TO THE DIVINE CHILD.
(From the above-mentioned work.)

Prænesis. —A hen with chickens under her wings. A hawk preying in the air above. Inscription: Sub umbra alarum tuarum.

Emblema 1. A figure kneeling and holding a book wherein is represented a fiery heart. Inscription: Tolle lege.

2. Altar upon which a fire is lighted by a sunray. Inscription: Extinctos suscitāt ignes.

3. Sunray falling through a lens and setting a ship on fire. Inscription: Ignis ab Primo.

4. Sun shining upon a lambskin extended upon the earth. Inscription: Descendit de cælis.

5. A chrysalis upon a leaf. Inscription: Ecce venio.

7. The sea and the rising sun. Inscription: Renovabit faciem terræ.

8. A rising sun eclipsed by the moon. Inscription: Condor ut exorior.

9. A chicken and an eagle in the air. The former is protected against the latter by a shield. Inscription: A facie persequentis.

10. A rose in the midst of a garden. Inscription: Hæc mihi sola placet.

11. A lamb burning upon an altar. Inscription: Deus non despiciēs.

12. Dogs hunting. Inscription: Fuga salutem.

13. A lamb dying at the foot of a cross. Inscription: Obediens uaque ad mortem.

14. The ark of the covenant. Rays of lightning. Inscription: Procul este profani.

15. Sun in the midst of clouds. Inscription: Fulgura in pluvium fruite.

16. Sun shining upon sheep and wolves. Inscription: Super robos et malos.

17. A well and a pitcher. Inscription: Hauriar, non exhauriar.

18. Animals entering the ark. Inscription: Una salutem.

19. Shepherd carrying a lamb. Inscription: Onus meum leve.

20. Sheep drinking at a well. The water is stirred by a pole. Inscription: Similem dant vulnera formam.

21. A dove sitting upon a globe. Inscription: Non sufficit una.

22. Light penetrating the clouds. Inscription: Umbram fugat veritas.

23. A vineyard and the rising sun. Inscription: Pertransiit beneficiendo.
24. Three hearts with a sieve floating above them. Inscription: Cælo contrito resurgens.
25. Swan cleaning his feathers before proceeding to eat. Inscription: Antequam comedum.
26. A hungry dog howling at the moon. Inscription: Inanis impetus.
27. Ark of the covenant drawn by two oxen. Inscription: Sancta sancte.
28. A winepress. Inscription: Premitur ut exferimat.
29. An opening bud. Inscription: Vulneribus profundit opes.
30. Amor shooting arrows at a heart. Inscription: Donee attingam.
31. Cross and paraphernalia for crucifixion. Inscription: Præbet non prohibet.
32. A sunflower looking towards the rising sun. Inscription: Usque ad occasum.
33. Drops of sweat falling down in a garden. Inscription: Tandem resoluta venit.
34. Sword protruding from the clouds. Inscription: Cædo noncedo.
35. Hammer and anvil, a forge and a fire. Inscription: Ferendo, non feriendo.
36. A ram crowned with thorns upon an altar. Inscription: Victima coronata.
37. A sheep carrying animals. Inscription: Quam grave portat onus.
38. A crucified person and a snake upon a tree. Inscription: Unde mors unde vita.
39. A tree shedding tears into three dishes. Inscription: Et læsa medelam.
40. A spring fountain. Inscription: Rigat ut erigat.
41. A heart offered to an eagle. Inscription: Redibit ad Dominum.
42. A heart upon a cross surrounded by thorns, crowned with a laurel. Inscription: Pignus amabile pacis.
43. Bird persecuted by a hawk seeks refuge in the cleft of a rock. Inscription: Hoc tuta sua sub antro.

44. Target with a burning heart in the centre; Amor shooting arrows at it. Inscription: Trahe mi post te.

45. Pelican feeding her young ones with her own blood. Inscription: Ut vitam habeant.

47. Phoenix sinking into the flames. Inscription: Hic mihi dulce mori.

48. Blood from a lamb flowing into a cup. Inscription: Purgantes temperat ignis.

49. Clouds from which proceed rays of lightning. Inscription: Lux recto fatumque noscenti.

50. Eagle flying towards the sun. Inscription: Tunc facie ad faciem.

Epilogus.—A hedgehog, having rolled in fruits, is covered with them. Inscription: Venturi providus ævi.

He who can see the meaning of all these allegories has his eyes open.

TABULA SMARAGDINA.

ERBA SECRETORUM HERMETIS.

It is, beyond any doubt, most certain and true, that the Below is like the Above, and thereby can be accomplished the miracle of one only thing. As all things are derived from only one thing, by the will and the word of the One who created it in his mind; likewise all things result from this unity by the order of nature. Its father is the sun, its mother the moon; the air carries it in its womb; its nurse is the earth. This thing is the origin of all perfections that exist throughout the world. Its power is most perfect when it has again been reduced to earth.

Separate the earth from the fire, and the subtle from that which is gross; act with prudence, understanding, and modesty. It rises up from the earth to the heavens, and returns again to the earth, taking unto itself the power of the Above and the Below. Thus you will obtain the glory of the whole world. Therefore discard all ignorance and impotency. This is the strongest of all powers, for it overcomes all subtle things, and can penetrate through all that is gross. Thus was the world created, and from this originate rare combinations, and are wrought miracles of various kinds. Therefore have I been called Hermes Trismegistus, having obtained three-parts of the wisdom of the whole world. This is what is to be said about the masterwork of the alchymical art.

Chapter Eight

ALCHEMY.

Quæ sunt in superioribus hæc inferioribus insunt; Quod monstrat coelum, id terra frequenter habet. Ignis, Aqua et Fluitans, due sunt contraria; Felix talia si jungis, sit tibi scire satis.

alchemy is that science which results from a knowledge of God, Nature, and Man. A perfect knowledge of either of them cannot be obtained without the knowledge of the other two, for these three are one and inseparable. Alchemy is not merely an intellectual, but a spiritual science; because that which belongs to the spirit can only be spiritually known. Nevertheless, it is a science dealing with material things, for spirit and matter are only two opposite manifestations or "poles" of the eternal one. Alchemy is an art, and as every art requires an artist to exercise it, likewise this divine science and art can be practised only by those who are in possession of the divine power necessary for that purpose. It is true that the external manipulations required for the production of certain alchemical preparations may, like an ordinary chemical process, be taught to anybody capable of reasoning; but the results which he would accomplish would be without life, for only he in whom the true life has awakened can awaken it from its sleep in the prima materia, and cause visible forms to grow from the Chaos of nature.

Alchemy in its highest aspects deals with the spiritual regeneration of man, and teaches how a god may be made out of a human being or, to express it more correctly, how to establish the conditions necessary for the development of divine powers in man, so that a human being may become a god by the power of God, in the same sense as a seed becomes a plant by the aid of the four elements, and the action of the invisible fifth. Alchemy in its more material aspect teaches how minerals, metals, plants, and animals, and men, may be generated, or made to grow from their "seeds"; or, in other words, how that generation, which is accomplished during long periods of time in the due course of the action of natural laws, may be accomplished in a comparatively very short time, if these natural laws are guided and supplied with material, by the spiritual knowledge of man. There is no doubt in my mind that gold can be made to grow by alchemical means; but it requires an Alchemist to make the experiment succeed, and he who is attracted by the power of gold will not obtain possession of the spiritual power necessary to practise that art.

It is not the object of these pages to furnish proof to the sceptic that Alchemy is a truth, nor to furnish arguments on the strength of which the incredulous may become persuaded to believe in its possibility. To believe in a thing of which one has no knowledge would be of little benefit; but those who have some spiritual knowledge of Alchemy, perhaps having studied it in some former incarnation, may receive some benefit from a perusal of this chapter, as it may serve to bring that which they already

spiritually know to the understanding of their mind.¹

It is a mistake to confound Alchemy with Chemistry. Modern Chemistry is a science which deals merely with the external forms in which the element of matter is manifesting itself. It never produces anything new. We may mix and compound and decompose two or more chemical bodies an unlimited number of times, and cause them to appear under various different forms, but at the end we will have no augmentation of substance, nor anything more than the combinations of the substances that have been employed at the beginning. Alchemy does not mix or compound anything, it causes that which already exists in a latent state to become active and grow. Alchemy is, therefore, more comparable to botany or agriculture than to Chemistry; and, in fact, the growth of a plant, a tree, or an animal is an alchemical process going on in the alchemical laboratory of nature, and performed by the great Alchemist, the power of God acting in nature.

The nature of Alchemy is clearly explained by Johannes Trithem, who says:—

"God is an essential and hidden fire in all things, and especially in man. That fire generates all things. It has generated them, and will generate them in the future, and that which is generated is the true divine light in all eternity. God is a fire; but no fire can burn, and no light appear within nature without the addition of air to cause the combustion, and likewise the Holy Spirit in you must act as a divine 'air' or breath, coming out of the divine fire and breathing upon the fire within the soul, so that the light will appear, for the light must be nourished by the fire, and this light is love and gladness and joy within the eternal deity. This light is Jesus, having emanated from eternity from Jehovah. He who has this light not within himself is in the fire without light; but if the light is in him, then is the Christ in him, and takes form in him, and such a person will know that light as it exists in nature.

"All things such as we see are in their interior fire and light, wherein is hidden the essence of the spirit. All things are a trinity of fire, light, and air. In other words, 'Spirit,' the 'father,' is a divine superessential light; the 'son,' the light having become manifest; the 'holy spirit' a divine superessential air and motion. The fire resides within the heart and sends its rays through the whole body of man, causing it to live; but it no light is born from the fire without the presence of the spirit of holiness."

To express this in other words we may say—All things are made of thought, and exist in the universal mind (the astral light), and within each is latent the will, by whose action they may become developed and their powers unfolded. This takes place under favourable circumstances by the slow and unconscious action of the universal will acting in nature, and may be accomplished in a very short time by the aid of the conscious will of the alchemist; but before the will of a person can accomplish such wonders in external substances, his will must first become self-conscious within itself; the light that shines from the centre of his own heart, must become living and bright before it can act upon those substances with which the Alchemist deals. He in whom this divine light of the Christ (the Atma) has not awakened to life, is virtually asleep in

the spirit, and can act upon spiritual things no more than a man can deal with material substances while he sleeps; but this fact will hardly be acknowledged or comprehended by the superficial scientist and rationalist, who imagine themselves to be fully awake, and therefore the secrets of alchemy are an inexplicable mystery to them, which can be disposed of in no other way than by being denied or laughed away. Alchemy was known at the most ancient times. It was no secret to the initiates among the ancient Brahmins and the Egyptians; and the Bible, if read in the light of the Cabala, will be found to be the description of an alchemical process. The Aleph represent three fiery flames, nevertheless, it is only one letter. In Magic it means AOH, the Father, the one from which all the rest take their origin, the Alpha and likewise the Omega, the beginning and also the end. As the air causes the fire to burn and to emit a light, likewise the Holy Spirit (without whose presence nothing can be accomplished) nourishing the divine fire with the soul, causes the living light of the Christ to become manifest. This is also indicated in the three first letters of the word , for the means "Ben," the son; the AOH, the father; and means "Ruach," or spirit. This, then, is a trinity of father, son, and spirit, and its quality is indicated by the following syllable , indicating the true generation, for the is the letter symbolizing the fire, and the the light. The pronunciation of the former is like the hissing of the flame, but the latter issues mildly from the fire, as it is likewise born mildly and humbly within the human soul while the symbolizes the spirit and the power of the outspoken word.

The "Song of Solomon," in the Old Testament, is a description of the processes of alchemy. In this Song the Subjectum is described in Cant. i., 5; the Liliu artis in C. ii., 1; the Preparation and Purification in C. ii., 4; the Fire in C. ii; 7, and C. iv., 16; the Putrefaction in C. Hi., 1; Sublimation and Distillation in C. Hi; 6; Coagulation and Change of Colours, C. v., 9 to 14; Fixation, C. ii, 11, and C viii, 4; Multiplication, C. vi., 7; Augmentation and Projection, C. vvi. 8, etc., etc.

With all this it must not be supposed that the practice of Alchemy consists merely in the exercise of the will and the imagination, or that the products obtained are merely imaginary and intangible or invisible to mortal eyes. On the contrary, no alchemical processes can be accomplished without the presence of visible and tangible matter, as it is so to say a spiritualizing of "matter." There is no transformation of "matter" into "spirit," as some people believe, for each of the seven principles of eternal nature is unchangeable, and remains for ever in its own centre, in the same sense as darkness cannot be turned into light, although a light may be kindled within the darkness, in consequence of which the darkness will disappear. Likewise within each material form there sleeps the divine spirit, the light, which may become awakened to life and activity, and illuminate the body and cause it to live and to grow. Of the qualities of the powers of that light, or even of its existence, modern chemistry has no knowledge and no names to describe it; but they are described under various names in the Bible, and in the still older religious books of the East.

There is a visible substance and an invisible one; a tangible water and one that is beyond the reach of perception by the physical senses; a visible fire and an invisible magic fire; neither can either of these accomplish anything without the other, for in the

practice of Alchemy, as in the regeneration of man, that which is above must be made to penetrate that which is below, so that the lower may enter into a higher state of existence.

———— oOo ————
THE "PRIMA MATERIA"

If we wish to know nature we must learn to know God, and God cannot be known without a knowledge of one's own divine self. The spiritual substance of which external visible nature is an imperfect expression and manifestation, has been called "Prima Materia"; it is the material for the formation of a new heaven and a new earth. It is like "water," or a "crystalline ocean," if compared with our grossly material earth, it is at once fire, water, air, and earth, corporeal in its essence, and nevertheless, incorporeal relatively to our physical forms.

In it as the "Chaos," are contained the germs, or seeds, or "potencies" of all things that ever existed, and of all that ever will exist in the future. It is the soul, or corpus of nature, and by means of the magic fire, it may be extricated from all substances, and be rendered corporeal and visible. It is a unity, and nevertheless a trinity, according to its aspects as Sulphur, Mercury, and Salt. These three are distinct qualities characterising the spirit of light, and nevertheless they are nothing different from the essence of the light, and this light is eternal nature, or the soul of the world.

This primordial matter contains the powers that go to form minerals and metals, vegetables and animals, and everything that breathes; all throbbing hearts, and send them into the forms of the lower worlds and into all beings, acting through their own centres, and leading the forms higher up on the road to perfection. The forms in which this living principle becomes fixed become perfect and permanent, so that they will neither rust nor decay, nor be changed on being exposed to the air; neither can such forms be dissolved by water, nor be destroyed by fire, nor eaten up by the elements of the earth.

"This spirit can be obtained in the same manner in which it is communicated to the earth by the stars; and this takes place by means of water, which serves as its vehicle. It is not the Philosopher's Stone, but the latter may be prepared of it by causing that which is volatile to become fixed.

"I admonish you to pay strict attention to the boiling of the water, and not to allow your minds to be disturbed by things of minor importance. Boil it slowly, and let it putrefy until it attains the proper colour, for in the water of Life is contained the germ of wisdom. By the art of boiling the water will become transformed into earth. This earth is to be changed into a pure crystalline fluid, from which an excellent red fire is produced; but this water and fire, grown together into one essence, produces the great Panacea, composed of meekness and strength: the lamb and the lion in one."

————— oOo —————
THE SECRET FIRE

In H. P. Blavatsky's book "The Voice of the Silence," the secret fire of the Alchemists is described as "Kundalini," the "serpentine," or annular working power in the body of the ascetic. "It is an electric fiery occult or Fohatic power, the great pristine force which underlies all organic and inorganic matter"; and in another place the author says: "It is an electro-spiritual force, a creative power which, when aroused into action, can as easily kill as it can create."

This point is the reason why the secrets of Alchemy are not divulged to the curious, and why only those who have gained the power to control their own self will be told how that power can be aroused in man.

In regard to this "secret fire," the Rosicrucians say:

The potentialities in nature are aroused by the action of the secret fire, assisted by the elementary fire. The secret fire is invisible, and is contained within all things. It is the most potential and powerful fire, with which the external visible fire cannot be compared. It is the fire with which Moses burned the golden calf, and that which Jeremiah hid away, and which seventy years after was found by the knowing ones, but which, by that time had become a thick water. (2 Maccab. I. and II.)

Without the possession of this magic fire, no alchemical process can be accomplished, and therefore it is recommended in the "Secret Symbols of the Rosicrucians," that the student of Alchemy should above all seek for the fire.

1. Follow Nature.

It is useless to seek for the sun by the light of a candle.

2. First know; then act.

Real knowledge exists in the triangle composed of seeing, feeling, and understanding.

3. Use no vulgar processes. Use only one vessel, one fire, one instrument.

The door to success lies in the unity of will and purpose and the proper adaptation of the means to the end. There are many roads leading to the celestial centre. He who follows the chosen path may succeed, while he who attempts to walk on many paths will be delayed.

4. Keep the fire constantly burning.

If the molten metals are allowed to cool off before they are transformed into higher ones, they will become hard again, and the whole process will have to be recommenced from the beginning. Use the inextinguishable lamp. Its light will not go out unless it is driven away by force.

————— oOo —————

THE FIVE THINGS NECESSARY TO OBSERVE IN THE PRACTICE OF ALCHEMY.

1. To recognise the true PRIMA MATERIA.

It is to be found everywhere; but if you do not find it in your own house, you will find it nowhere. It is a living substance that can be discovered only in places inhabited by man. It is the only substance from which the Philosopher's Stone can be prepared, and without that substance no genuine silver or gold can be made. In thirty pounds of ordinary mercury, there is usually not more than one pound of the true substance; and a hundred pounds of ordinary sulphur usually contain not more than one pound of that which is useful. It can only be found above the earth, but not below it. It is before everybody's eyes; no one can live without it; everybody uses it; the poor usually possess more of it than the rich; the ignorant esteem it highly, but the learned ones often throw it away. The children play with it in the street, and yet it is invisible. It can be perceived by the sense of feeling, but it cannot be seen with the material eye.

2. Use for the preparation of the PRIMA MATERIA only the rose-coloured blood of the Red Lion and the pure white gluten of the Eagle.

Let your Will be strong, but without anger, and your Thoughts be pure from that which infects the lower strata of the earth's atmosphere. Let the fire of the divine Will penetrate deeply within your soul, and elevate your mind to the highest regions of thought.

3. Obtain the sacred Fire.

It is not of man's making; it cannot be bought, but it is given for nothing to those who deserve it.

4. Then follow Multiplication and Increase, for which purpose weight and measure are necessary.

Weigh all things with the scales of justice, and measure them by the rule of reason.

5. The fifth is the Application, that is to say the Projection upon the metals.

This will be accomplished by nature without artificial aid.

AXIOM ATA HERMETICA.

1. Whatever may be accomplished by a simple method should not be attempted by a complicated one.

There is only one Truth, whose existence requires no proof, because it is itself proof enough to those who are capable of perceiving it. Why should we enter into complexness to seek for that which is simple? The sages say: "Ignis et Azoth tibi sufficiunt." The body is already in your possession. All that you require is the fire and the air.

2. No substance can be made perfect without long suffering.

Great is the error of those who imagine that the Philosopher's Stone can be hardened without being first dissolved; their time and labour is wasted.

3. Nature must be aided by art whenever she is deficient in power.

Art may be the handmaid of nature, but cannot supplant her mistress. Art without nature is always unnatural. Nature without art is not always perfect.

4. Nature cannot be amended except in her own self.

The nature of a tree cannot be changed by trimming the branches or by the addition of ornaments; it can be improved only by improving the soil upon which it grows, or by grafting.

5. Nature enjoys, comprehends, and overcomes nature.

There is no other actual knowledge than the knowledge of self. Every being can only truly realize its own existence, but not that of any element entirely foreign to it.

6. He who does not know motion does not know nature.

Nature is the product of emotion. At the moment in which eternal motion should cease, all nature would cease to exist. He who does not know the motions that are taking place in his body is a stranger in his own house.

7. Whatever produces the same effect as is produced by a compound is similar to the latter.

The One is greater than all the rest of the numbers, for from it an infinite variety of mathematical magnitudes may be evolved, but no change is possible without the all-pervading presence of the One, whose qualities are manifest in its manifestations.

8. No one can pass from one extreme to another except through a medium.

An animal cannot become divine before it becomes human. That which is unnatural must become natural before its nature can become spiritual.

9. Metals cannot be changed into other metals without having been first reduced to -prima materia.

The self-will, opposed to the divine, must cease before the divine Will can enter into the heart. We must become unsophisticated, like children; before the word of wisdom can speak in our mind.

10. The unripe must be assisted by the ripe.

Thus fermentation will be induced. The law of Induction rules in all departments of nature.

11. In the Calcination the Corpus is not reduced, but augmented, in quantity.

True asceticism consists in giving up that which one does not want after having received something better.

12. In Alchemy nothing can bear fruit without having first been mortified.

The light cannot shine through matter unless the matter has become sufficiently refined to allow the passage of the rays.

13. That which kills produces life; that which causes death causes resurrection; that which destroys creates.

Nothing comes out of nothing. The creation of a new form is conditioned by the destruction (transformation) of the old one.

14. Everything containing a seed may be augmented, but not without the assistance of nature.

It is only through the seed that the fruit bearing more seeds comes into existence.

15. Each thing is multiplied and augmented by means of a male and female principle.

Matter produces nothing unless penetrated by power. Nature creates nothing unless impregnated by Spirit. Thought remains unproductive unless rendered active by Will.

16. The virtue of each seed is to unite itself with each thing belonging to its own

kingdom.

Each thing in nature is attracted by its own nature represented in other things. Colours and sounds of a similar nature form harmonious units, substances that are related with each other can be combined, animals of the same genus associate with each other, and spiritual powers unite with their own kindred germs.

17. A pure womb gives birth to a pure fruit.

Only in the innermost sanctuary of the soul will the mystery of the spirit be revealed.

18. Fire and heat can only be produced by motion.

Stagnation is death. The stone thrown into the water forms progressively radiating circles, which are produced by motion. The soul that cannot be moved cannot be elevated, and becomes petrified.

19. The whole method is begun and finished by only one method:

THE BOILING.

The great Arcanum is a celestial spirit, descending from the sun, the moon, and the stars, and which is brought into perfection in the saturnine object by continuous boiling until it attains the state of sublimation and power necessary to transform the base metals into gold. This operation is performed by the hermetic fire. The separation of the subtle from the gross must be done carefully, adding continually water; for the more earthly the materials are, the more must they be diluted and made to move. Continue this process until the separated soul is reunited with the body.

20. The entire process is accomplished through nothing else but Water.

It is the same Water over which the Spirit of God moved in the beginning, when darkness was upon the face of the deep.

21. Each thing comes from and out of that into which it will be resolved again.

That which is earthy comes from the earth; that which belongs to the stars is obtained from the stars; that which is spiritual comes from the Spirit, and returns to God.

22. Where the true principles are absent, the results will be imperfect

Mere imitations cannot produce genuine results. Merely imaginary love, wisdom, and power can only be effective in the realm of illusions

23. Art begins where nature ceases to act.

Art accomplishes by means of nature that which nature is unable to accomplish if unaided by art.

24. The hermetic art is not attained by great variety of methods, the lapis is only one.

There is only one eternal, unchangeable truth. It may appear under many different aspects; but in that case it is not the truth that changes: it is we who change our modes of conceiving of it.

25. The substance of which the arcanum is prepared should be pure, indestructible, and Incombustible.

It should be pure of grossly material elements, indestructible by doubt, and incapable of being burned up in the fire of passion.

26. Do not seek for the seed of the philosopher's stone in the Elements.

Only at the Centre of the fruit is that seed to be found.

27. The substance of the Philosopher's Stone is mercurial.

Those that are wise are seeking for it in the mercury; the fool seeks to create it out of his own empty brain.

28. The seed of the metals is in the metals, and the metals are born of themselves.

The growth of the metals is very slow; but it may be hastened by the addition of Patience.

29. Use only perfect metals.

Crude mercury, such as is usually found in European countries, is perfectly useless for this work. Worldly wisdom is foolishness in the eyes of the Lord.

30. That which is hard and thick must be made subtle and thin by calcination.

This is a very painful and tedious process, because it is necessary to remove even the root of evil, and this causes the heart to bleed, and tortured nature to cry out.

31. The foundation of this art is to reduce the corpora into argentum vivum.

This is the Solutio Sulphuris Sapientium in Mercurio. A science without life is a dead science; an intellect without spirituality is only a false and borrowed light.

32. In the solution the solvent and the dissolved must remain together.

Fire and water must be made to combine. Thought and love must remain for ever united.

33. If the seed is not treated by warmth and moisture, it will be useless.

Coldness contracts and dryness hardens the heart, but the fire of divine love expands it, and the water of thought dissolves the residua.

34. The earth produces no fruit unless moistened repeatedly.

No revelation takes place in the darkness except through the light.

35. The moistening takes place by water, with which it has the closest affinity.

The body itself is a product of thought, and has therefore the closest affinity with the mind.

36. Everything dry naturally tends to attract the moisture which it requires to become complete in its constitution.

The One, from which all things are produced, is perfect; and therefore all things contain within themselves the tendency and possibility for perfection.

37. A seed is useless and impotent unless it is put in its appropriate matrix.

A soul cannot develop and progress without an appropriate body, because it is the physical body that furnishes the material for its development.

38. Active heat produces in that which is moist blackness; in that which is dry, whiteness; and in that which is white, a yellow colour.

First comes mortification, then calcination, and afterwards the golden glow produced by the light of the sacred fire illuminating the purified soul.

39. The fire must be moderate, uninterrupted, slow, equal, moist, warm, white, light, all-embracing, enclosed, penetrating, living, inexhaustible, and the one used by nature.

It is the fire that descends from heaven to bless all mankind.

40. All operations must take place in only one vessel and without removing it from the fire.

The substance used for the preparation of the Philosopher's Stone should be

collected only in one place and not be dispersed in many places. If the gold has once lost its brightness, it is difficult to restore it.

41. The vessel should be well closed, so that the water may not run out of it, or the air escape; it ought to be hermetically sealed, because if the spirit were to find a place to escape, the power would be lost; and furthermore it should be well closed, so that nothing foreign and impure can enter and become mixed with it.

There should always be put at the door of the laboratory a sentinel with a flaming sword to examine all visitors, and to reject those that are not worthy to be admitted.

42. Do not open the vessel until the moistening is completed.

If the vessel is prematurely opened, most of the labour is lost.

43. The more the Lapis is nursed and nourished, the more will it increase.

Divine wisdom is inexhaustible; the limitation exists only in the capacity of the form to receive it.

There are two kinds of knowledge in man, namely, that which belongs to his spirit (Budhi), and that which belongs to his mind (Manas). The former is, so to say, the quintessence of what man has learned in previous incarnations; the latter is that which he has learned in his present life. If he were to succeed to rise up in his mind to the sphere of his spirit, to unite his Budhi with his Manas; then would the mind share the knowledge which the spirit possesses.

the end.

[\[Part 1\]](#)[\[Articles\]](#)[\[Home\]](#)

Sufism and Islam

madde işareti	The Sabians of Harran by Kemal Menemencioglu
madde işareti	The Order of the Assassins by Kemal Menemencioglu
madde işareti	On the Islamic Origin of the Rose-Croix by Emile Dantinne, translated from the French by Elias Ibrahim
madde işareti	The Bektashi Order of Dervishes by John Kingsley Birge

The Sabians of Harran
By Kemal Menemencioglu

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The World's Oldest Statue

When we mention Anatolian civilizations very few of us think of Harran. The city of Harran is virtually a forgotten spot in the geography of Anatolia. Whereas in reality, it is a place of great importance having a very significant role in the development of civilization. It may surprise you to know that a 11,500-year-old temple was discovered in Göbeklitepe, and a 13,500-year-old statue, the world's oldest, was discovered during an excavation in Balıklıgöl. Assistant Professor A. Cihat Kürkçüoglu of Harran University claims that the history of civilization began in the Urfa (a city just 45 kilometers from Harran). When we consider that civilization began in Egypt in Mesopotamia roughly 5,000 years ago we can have an idea on how these archeological finds have rocked the foundations of our understanding of history.

The city of Harran was believed to have been founded in 2000 B.C. as a merchant outpost of Ur. The name "Harran-U" means "caravan" or "crossroad" in Sumerian and Akkadian. The Bible records that Abraham stayed in Harran after leaving Ur, which some claim was actually Urfa. Though there are claims that Harran got its name from Haran the brother of Abraham. Other than the similarity of name this is not substantiated. Furthermore, we learn that Terah, the father of Abraham and Haran died and was buried in Haran, and that a branch of the family remained there. Later Abraham sent a servant to Harran to obtain a wife for his son Isaac.

Though Harran, once a fabulous city, is now in ruins, we are told that not only was this city built over an area where the first world's cities with the first temples rose, and where agriculture was first started, but hosted perhaps the world's oldest university in the world. Many philosophers, scientists, such as Al-Battani, who calculated the distance from the Earth to the Moon, Thabit ibn Qurrah, who translated Greek classics and scientific works into Arabic, and wrote on mathematics and astronomy, and the physicist and chemist Jabir ibn Hayyan to name just a few of the figures who rose to prominence in the Harran school.

Ruins of the Harran University destroyed in 1251

At a time when Christianity was rapidly spreading throughout the known world. Harran became the last pagan enclave, and as the seats of learning in Alexandria fell in the wake of the new religion, and the Academies and schools of philosophy were closed down, philosophers sought refuge in Harran, where their books and teachings were preserved. Later many of them were translated into Arabic. Some by the so called "Sabians of Harran", ushering a golden age in the Islamic world. Later these works were to make their way into Europe, directly resulting in the Renaissance along with those works that were preserved in monasteries. Furthermore such underground movements as the Rosicrucians that fought for the reformation of state institutions, religion and science claimed their source of knowledge from the mysterious Damkar, believed to be a Sabian center of learning. The secular, democratic and humanistic principles of the modern world are due to such struggles which have taken centuries.

The first church and the first Mosque in Anatolia was built there, but the Harranians were famed as Sabians, "Star Worshipers." Both Jewish and Islamic sources claim that Abraham was himself a star worshiper, and there is a mutually story told that after contemplating the setting of Sun and the Moon, he came to the conclusion that there must be one God. There was a great temple dedicated to the moon god Sin at Harran, and it is claimed that Harran was one of seven cities each of which was dedicated to one of the seven planets. Such a system of astrolatry could be the oldest religion of man. Ancient structures like Stonehenge and the pyramids are known to be constructed on the basis of very fine astronomical calculations such planetary and stellar movements, seasons and eclipse. It is also the source for astrology which seeks to establish a unity between the greater phenomenon in the macrocosmos, and the lesser phenomenon in the microcosmos (man).

In 639 A.D. Harran came under Islamic rule The Caliph Marwan (744-750 AD) moved to Harran and brought the Umayyad Empire from Damascus to Harran. In 830 A.D. It is said that the Caliph al-Ma'mun while passing through Harran during an expedition to Byzantium, asked the Harranians what religion they belonged to. They said, "We are Harranians," and made it clear that they were neither Muslims, Christians or Jews, the Caliph said that was not good enough, they had to be either Muslims, Jews, Christians or Sabians, as only these are lawfully "People of the Book" according

to the Koran. The Caliph continued on his journey and said they when he got back, they better convert to one these or it would be lawful to shed the blood of idolaters. After consultations the anxious Harranians were advised by someone clever to say "We are Sabians," and thereby the Pagan "Sabians" were able to continue their faith undisturbed until in 1251, when Harran was destroyed by a Mongol invasion.

The Harranian school drew from many resources, they had their roots in Chaldea and schools of the Magi; they harbored priceless Greek scrolls and which would have otherwise may have been lost. They were influenced by Judaism, Christianity and Islam. They revered Hermes Trismegistus as their prophet and the Corpus Hermeticum as their holy book. Hermes Trismegistus was believed to be an ancient great Egyptian sage, perhaps Imhotep, who as the founder of writing and the author of many books on science, medicine, theology, ethics, astrology, alchemy and magic. In the Hermeticum we have his teaching in the form of mystic visions, He has been equated with the Greek god Hermes, and the Egyptian god Thoth or Tehuti, but the Hermeticum portrays a divinely inspired teacher. He has also been equated with Enoch in the Bible, and Idris in the Koran. Through the Hermeticum's monotheistic teachings, the Harranians were able to claim themselves as one of the "People" of the book, though Sabian might have actually referred more to the Mandaian of Iraq, who are followers of John the Baptist.

Ruins of the Harran University destroyed in 1251

Seven years after the conquest of Constantinople in 1460, the ruler of Florence, Cosimo de' Medici obtained a rare manuscript. This was but one of many that made its way to the West from Byzantium after its fall. Medici immediately told Marsilio Ficino to delay his translation of Plato and to begin translating this new manuscript without delay. This manuscript was the Corpus Hermeticum, which may have been passed into Byzantine hands from Harran. The work had wide influence. There was even a suggestion that it should be placed into the Bible. However, eventually the interest died down when it was claimed that the Hermeticum, which was written in Greek, was a recent work influenced by Christianity and Neo-Platonism. However this did not stop the spread of various Hermetic movements. Today, with the discovery of a Hermetic text in Nag Hamada, scholarship is confirming an Egyptian root for the Corpus Hermeticum.

It is interesting that Hermeticism as a cult of knowledge was upheld in Harran, which as a cultural crossroad has embodied many different scientific and spiritual enrichments. Could Harran be the last inheritor of a lost knowledge that at one time was spread throughout the world? It is known that the Sabians played a part in Atatürk's theory of a Solar Cult in the ancient world and it is believed to be the source of Islamic practices such as the structures and timing of fasting and prayers. For instance, the numbers 19 and 99 which play such a prominent role in Islam are the number of years when the solar and lunar calendars coincide.

The Order of the Assassins
By Kemal Menemencioglu

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Hasan Sabbah

Hasan Sabbah and his unconditionally obedient assassins, the fedayin, the false paradise and great library of fort Alamut, the instant death dealt by the trust of a dagger to important officials by their seemingly obedient assassin servants have been part of a legend woven throughout the centuries. In this short article, rather than give a detailed historical account of this radical Islamic sect that terrorized the Middle East for decades, as there are already a number of competent books and Internet resources that can well fulfill this task. We will suffice with an evaluation of this order that has left its mark on history.

The word "assassin" is derived from the Arabic "asessen", which means protector or guardian (some claim the "guardian of the mysteries"). Their enemies called them "Hashishi" (the Arabic for Hashish users) in contempt by taking advantage of the similarity in pronunciation. The western equivalent word "assassin", a political killer is derived from this sect. In reality, the assassins are a branch of the Nizari Ismailis. A heterodox opposition group that originated after the Caliph Nizar son of the recently deceased Caliph el-Mutansir was overthrown by the commander of the army, Bedr ul Jemali in 1094 in favor of his brother.

Those who undertook the assassin cause were called the "daye." This was originally the title for Nizari Ismaili missionaries. The word Arabic fedayin comes from this word as does the Persian word for self-sacrifice, "fedakar." In his youth, Hasan Sabbah was a brilliant student in both the sciences and theology, he gave himself to the Ismaili cause after receiving lessons from the daye, and used his intelligence and knowledge to establish a terrifying disciplined order unrivaled in history. After capturing fort Alamut built on top of an inaccessible mountain, in a remote region of Persia, he proceeded to capture a chain of similar forts. Among those who retold the legend of the Sheik or "Old Man of the Mountain" (Sheik ul Jebel), the following account from Marco Polo is most famous:

"The Old Man was called in their language aloadin. He had caused a certain valley between two mountains to be enclosed, and had turned it into a garden, the largest and most beautiful that ever was seen, filled with every variety of fruit. In it were erected

pavilions and palaces the most elegant that can be imagined, all covered with gilding and exquisite painting. And there were runnels too, flowing freely with wine and milk and honey and water; and numbers of ladies and of the most beautiful damsels in the world, who could play on all manner of instruments, and sung [sic] most sweetly, and danced in a manner that it was charming to behold. For the Old Man desired to make his people believe that this was actually Paradise. So he had fashioned it after the description that Mahommet gave of his Paradise, to wit, that it should be a beautiful garden running with conduits of wine and milk and honey and water, and full of lovely women for the delectation of all its inmates. And sure enough the Saracens of those parts believed that it was Paradise! ,

“Now no man was allowed to enter the Garden save those whom he intended to be his ashishin. There was a Fortress at the entrance to the Garden, strong enough to resist all the world, and there was no other way to get in. He kept at his Court a number of the youths of the country, from twelve to twenty years of age, such as had a taste for soldiering, and to these he used to tell tales about Paradise, just as Mahommet had been wont to do, and they believed in him just as the Saracens believe in Mahommet. Then he would introduce them into his garden, some four, or six, or ten at a time, having first made them drink a certain potion which cast them into a deep sleep, and then causing them to be lifted and carried in. So when they awoke, they found themselves in the Garden.

“When therefore they awoke, and found themselves in a place so charming, they deemed that it was Paradise in very truth. And the ladies and damsels dallied with them to their hearts' content, so that they had what young men would have; and with their own good will they never would have quitted the place.

Alamut Fortress

“Now this Prince whom we call the Old One kept his Court in grand and noble style, and made those simple hill-folks about him believe firmly that he was a great prophet. And when he wanted one of his Ashishin to send on any mission, he would cause that potion whereof I spoke to be given to one of the youths in the garden, and then had him carried into his Palace. So when the young man awoke, he found himself in the Castle, and no longer in that Paradise; whereat he was not over well pleased. He was then conducted to the Old Man's presence, and bowed before him with great veneration as believing himself to be in the presence of a true prophet. The Prince would then ask whence he came, and he would reply that he came from Paradise! and that it was exactly such as Mahommet had described it in the Law. This of course gave the others who stood by, and who had not been admitted, the greatest desire to enter therein.

“So when the Old Man would have any Prince slain, he would say to such a youth: "Go thou and slay So and So; and when thou returnest my angels shall bear thee into Paradise. And should'st thou die, nevertheless even so will I send my Angels to carry thee back into Paradise." So he caused them to believe; and thus there was no order of his that they would not affront any peril to execute, for the great desire they had to get

back into that Paradise of his. And in this manner the Old One got his people to murder any one whom he desired to get rid of. Thus, too, the great dread that he inspired all Princes withal, made them become his tributaries in order that he might abide at peace and amity with them.”

However, there are also certain alternative views regarding the assassins in a more favorable light. Ismail Kaygusuz in his book *Hasan Sabah and Alamut* (in Turkish) wrote the following:

“Hasan Sabbah's Alamut nation built on the basis of peace, equality and equal distribution lasted for 176 years. Alamut was a nation stretching from the Pamir mountains to the southeastern Mediterranean and Palestine governed by 300 head, who worked in coordination without private property, under fort settlements called “Dar ul Hajar” (migrant homes

“Hasan Sabbah did not train assassins (killers), not did he establish a narcotic heaven in his fortress nation as claimed by his enemies. But the fact that his enemies (the Sunni Baghdad Caliphs, the Selchuk Sultans, Crusaders, Mongols) were superior in numbers, propagated his Alamut defense in a guerrilla image. It is known that Hasan Sabbah trained an armed unit of select warriors (fedayin). Contrary to these “fedayin” claims, assassinations were conducted only against officials, who were oppressors.”

Much has been written about the assassins due to recent events in the Middle East. Bernard Lewis in his book, *The Assassin – A Radical Sect in Islam*, has made the following comment on the subject:

Fedayins jumping off Alamut fortress to their doom

“Certainly, the resemblance between the medieval Assassins and their modern counterparts are striking: the Syrian-Iranian connection, the calculated use of terror, the total dedication of the assassin emissary, to the point of self-immolation, in the service of his cause and in the expectation of heavenly recompense. Some have seen a further resemblance, in that both directed their attack against an external enemy, the crusaders in the one case, the Americans and the Israelis in the other.

“There may indeed be such a resemblance, but if so, it is in the misapprehension rather than the reality of these attacks. According to a view widespread in the Western world since medieval times, the anger and the weapons of the Assassins were directed primarily against the Crusaders. This is simply not true. In the long list of their victims, there were very few Crusaders, and even these were marked down as the result of some internal Muslim calculation. The vast majority of their victims were Muslims, and their attacks were directed not against the outsider, seen as basically irrelevant, but against the dominant elites and prevailing ideas in the Islamic world of their time. Some modern terrorist groups do indeed focus on Israelis and on Westerners. But others, probably in the long run more important, have as their targets the existing — in their view apostate — regimes of the Islamic world, and as their objective, the

replacement of these regimes by a new order of their own. These points emerged very clearly from the statements made by the assassins of the Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. When the leader of the group proudly proclaimed: 'I have killed pharaoh,' he was clearly not condemning pharaoh for making peace with Israel, but as the prototype — in the Qur'an as in the Bible — of the impious tyrant.

“There are also interesting resemblances and contrasts in their methods and procedures. For the medieval Assassins, the chosen victims were almost invariably the rulers and leaders of the existing order — monarchs, generals, ministers, major religious functionaries. Unlike their modern equivalents, they attacked only the great and powerful, and never harmed ordinary people going about their avocations. Their weapon was almost always the same — the dagger, wielded by the appointed Assassin in person.

“Islam, like Christianity and Judaism, is an ethical religion, and terror and blackmail have no place in its beliefs or commandments. Even while ordaining holy war as a religious duty, Islamic law lays down elaborate rules for the conduct of warfare, including such matters as the opening and termination of hostilities, the treatment of noncombatants, and the avoidance of certain indiscriminate weapons.”

Despite their Islamic appearance, the Ismailis embraced many pre-Islamic doctrines. The rule of the Fatimid caliphate, descending from the Imam Ismail, was known for its promotion of science, religious tolerance and, and ideals of social equality and justice. The Ismaili Assassins were a secret society with 9 degrees of initiation. The higher degrees were known for their radical heterodox doctrines. Cihangir Gener wrote the following in his book *History of Esoteric Doctrines* (in Turkish):

“Between 874 and 1256, the Ismailis were very influential in the Middle East. Their power has increased to such a level that the Ismaili Imam, Hasan the 2nd announced the Sharia (Islamic Laws) were abolished in the middle of Ramadan in 1164. He proclaimed to the people that fasting, daily Islamic prayers and other Islamic conditional requirements were no longer obligatory. His son Imam Mohammed the 2nd continued his policies. Islamic obligations returned only after the Selchuk regime removed the Ismaili pressure over the Baghdad caliphate.”

According to certain recent views, Haci Bektash Veli the founder of the Turkish Bektashi Order of Dervishes was a “daye.” It is not known to what extent the Order of the Knight Templars were influenced by the Assassins, but there are claims that it was highly significant. According to evidence provided by Michael Baigent and Richard Leigh in their book, *The Temple and the Lodge*, and other recent works, Freemasonry has its origins in the Templars and not in medieval mason's guilds as some claim. Similarly, another western secret society, the Rosicrucians have their origin in the Ismaili Brethren of Purity according to Emile Dantinne in his article *the Islamic Origins of the Rose Cross*. Cihangir Gener wrote the following in his book *History of Esoteric Doctrines* (in Turkish):

“Hugs de Payens and other knights visited Hasan Sabbah at the Alamut fortress upon invitation. Here the knights personally observed the system founded by Hasan Sabbah and received first hand information on the organization and esoteric doctrine. The Templars, who were the foremost advocates of Catholicism upon entering Jerusalem, after going deeply into the Ismaili teachings, gradually distanced themselves from Catholic doctrines and adopted esoteric doctrines, which gives precedence to reason. While this change in the Templars’ beliefs spread throughout Europe due to the powerful organization they established, it caused a weakening of the Catholic Church. While the Templars’ relationship with the Ismailis caused a complete change in their philosophy, it eventually laid the seed of their destruction. The papacy seeking an excuse to disband the Templars, accused them of “having relationship with the Muslims” and even “Islamization.”

According to S. Ameer Ali, “The development of all heterodox secret societies has its origins in Crusaders contact with the Ismailis. All organizations such as the Templar and Hospitalers knights, the Jesuits founded by Loyola modeled the ideals of dedication to their cause on dedicated individuals the likes of which cannot be found in our present day. The origin of stern Dominicans, the mild Franciscans and all brotherhoods can be traced back to either Cairo, or Alamut. The Knight Templar especially show the most resemblance in their religious fervor and hierarchical structure to the Ismailis of the East.”

In 1256, The Mongol Hulagu Han transformed the Middle East into a pile of rubble and ash. The Kingdom of Alamut was wiped out along with Baghdad and Harran.

[\[Articles\]](#)[\[Home\]](#)

On the Islamic Origin of the

Rose-Croix

By Emile Dantinne (Sar Hieronymus)

Originally published in the review "Inconnus" 1951

Translated from the French by Elias Ibrahim, and contributed by Dame Donna of The Order of The Grail Grand Commandery

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To know the history of the mysterious Order of the Rose-Croix, it is indispensable to refer to the ancient documents which attest to its existence in Europe at the beginning of the 17th century.

The most important of these documents and the earliest is entitled: *Allgemeine und generale Reformation des gantzen weiten Welte, heneben der Fama Fraternitatis des löblichen Ordens des Rosenkreutzes an alle Gelehrte und Haupte Europae geschrieben* This anonymous text of 147 pages in octavo appeared in Cassel from the printery of Wilhelm Wessel in 1614.

The essential and original part of the Reformation is the *Fama Fraternitatis* comprising pages 91 to 118 of the 1614 edition.[1]

The *Fama Fraternitatis* speaks of a secret fraternity founded two centuries before by Christian Rosenkreutz [2] whose life it recounts.

Born of a noble family, Christian Rosenkreutz became orphaned at an early age. He grew up in a convent which he left at the age of sixteen years in order to travel in Arabia, Egypt and Morocco (Sedir, *Histoire des Rose-Croix*, p 42).

It is during the course of these travels in Islamic countries that he was put into contact with the sages of the East, who revealed to him the universal harmonic science derived from the Book M which Rosenkreutz translated.

It is on the foundation of this teaching that he conceived the plan for simultaneous universal religious, philosophic, scientific, political, and artistic reform. For the realization of this plan he united with several disciples to whom he gave the name of Rose-Croix.

The founder of the Order of the Rose-Croix belonged, as affirmed by his historians, to a noble family, but no document allows us to affirm this peremptorily. But that which is certain is that he was an orientalist and a great traveler.

The Fama tells us "that in his youth he attempted a journey to the Holy Sepulchre with a brother P.A.L. Although this brother died in Cyprus and so did not see Jerusalem, our brother C.R. did not turn back, but embarked for the other coast and directing himself towards Damascus, wanting to continue by visiting Jerusalem, but die to sickness of body, he stopped himself and thanks to the use of some drugs (which were not foreign to him) he received the favor of the Turks and entered into contact with the Sages of Damasco (Damcar) in Arabia....[3] "

He became acquainted with the miracles accomplished by the Sages and how the whole of nature was unveiled to them. Not being able to contain his impatience, he made an agreement with the Arabs that they would take him to Damcar for a certain sum of money.

If one admits the date 1378 as the date of birth of Christian Rosenkreutz, it is incontestable that the beginning of his voyage to the Middle East is situated in the first years of the 15th century during the interregnum of 1389 to 1402, during the epoch of Sultan Sulieman the First (1402-1410)[4]. ...but incontestably before the great catastrophe of 29th May 1453, the date of the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. Before that time, there is no doubt that relations between Europe and the Islamic world were quite normal and that a young lover of things Arabian such as C. Rosenkreutz would not have lost the opportunity to be accepted in the learned circles of Islamic countries.

In spite of the intellectual decadence which marked the end of the Caliphate " the universities of Cairo, Baghdad and Damascus were highly reputed[5]."

There is nothing at all surprising that this young German savant should go to Jerusalem and have the desire to know about the Arab philosophy whose influence had been so considerable on medieval scholasticism since Gregory IX had lifted the prohibition on Aristotle and the Arab philosophers[6].

The text of the Fama relative to the relationship of C.Rosenkreutz with the Sages of Damasco is not yet as clear as one thinks. Does it suggest Damascus? This village in

Arabia is named Damashqûn. In addition, the ancient capital of the realm of Damacène, the capital of Syria, is not at all in Arabia.

In reality does it not suggest a totally different school? It is necessary to note that the word university or college corresponds to the arabic noun *madraset*. The author of a History of Lebanon refers to the "*madraset-ul-hûqûqi fi Bayrût*", which means the University of Law in Beirut[7].

The word *Damcar* therefore remains quite mysterious. I have in vain consulted dictionaries by Lane, Kazimirski, Richardson, Wahrmund, Zenker, Belot, Houwa, the *Supplement aux dictionnaires arabes* by Dozy, the *Additions aux dictionnaires arabes* by Fagnan, the *Enzyklopädie des Islam* and the *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* by Brockleemann. *DMCR* is not an arabic root.

And yet *Damcar* doesn't seem so far from Jerusalem. It is there that he strengthened his foundation in the Arabic language that the following year he translated the Book M into good Latin[8].

It is sufficiently difficult to know what the author intended by Book M. Perhaps it suggests a translation of a lost book by Aristotle, bearing this title, but it hardly seems probable. Since the *Fama* cites other books by means of a letter, one can induce that the initials in question correspond to the categorization Chr. Rosenkreutz made for the books which he translated from Arabic.

After three years of study in which he especially concentrated on medicine and mathematics, he embarked from the *Sinu Arabico* for Egypt, where he applied his attention to plants and animals.

He doesn't seem to have been in Egypt for very long , when as he states, he embarked for the destination of Fez. What he says here is worth remembering: " Every year the Arabs and Africans send their chosen deputies to meet to question each other on the subject of the Arts and to know whether something better hasn't been discovered, or if experience hasn't weakened their basic principles. Therefore every year sees something new which improves mathematics, medicine, and magic[9]." But he recognized that "their magic was not altogether pure and their Kabbalah is defiled by their religion[10]".

The Sages whom he meets in Fez are in periodic and regular contact with those of other Islamic countries. The "*Elementaries*", that is to say those who study the elements, revealed many of their secrets to him[11].

Fez was at the time a center of philosophical and occultist studies: some taught there were the alchemy of Abu-Abdallah, Gabir ben Hayan, and the Imam Jafar al Sadiq, the astrology and magic of Ali-ash-Shabramallishi, the esoteric science of Abdarrahan ben Abdallah al Iskari. These studies flourished from the time of the

Omayyads[12].

The fact that secrets are suggested indicates without any doubt that they formed the teachings of secret societies. It doesn't at all suggest the Sabeans, an essentially heterodox society which represented a survival of paganism. One is inclined to believe that Chr. Rosenkreutz had found his secrets amongst the Brethren of Purity, a society of philosophers which had formed in Basra in the first half of the fourth century after the Hejira (622) which , without being orthodox , interpreted the dogmas and applied itself seriously to scientific research. Their doctrine which had its source in the study of the ancient Greek philosophers, became more pronounced in a neo-Pythagorean direction[13]. They took from the Pythagorean tradition the habit of envisaging things under their numeric aspect.

Their interpretation of dogma remained a secret from society due to its heterodox nature.

For example, on the subject of resurrection, they explained that the word resurrection (qiyamah) is derived from subsistence (qiyam) and when the soul leaves the body it subsists by its essence , and it is this which resurrection actually consists.

The Brethren of Purity had in each locality a meeting place where non-members were excluded, and where they could discuss their secrets together. They would mutually help each other "like the hand and foot work together for the body."

There were various degrees in the order: masters of crafts, governors or pastors of the brothers, the degree of sultan which represented legislative power, and finally the supreme degree, named the royal degree which conferred a state of vision or revelation like the one attained at death.

The secret part of the teaching was on the subject of theurgy: the divine and angelic names, conjurations, the Kabbalah, exorcisms etc...[14]

The Brethren of Purity differed from the Sufis but they were united in many points of doctrine. They were both mystical orders deriving from Koranic theology. The dogma is supplanted by faith in the Divine Reality[15].

The Sufis evidently distinguished themselves from Brethren of Purity, and if their doctrines had some points in common with nearly all the Sufi sects, it is necessary to certainly except that which admitted metempsychosis. Following the teachings of the Arab neo-platonic philosophers and Jewish kabbalists who often influenced the mystics, they called for the idea of metempsychosis, in order to represent the chastisement of the impure soul leaving the body[16].

Their teaching presented enough Christian cross fertilizations that it attracted the attention of the Christian initiate C.Rosenkreutz. Their doctrine of the Logos deriving from the Gospels evidently differed from the Christian idea, but there was among them

a syncretism which one discovers in the Rosicrucian rituals. In the ascension of the soul towards God, the Illumination of the Names is given by the Bible, the Illumination of the attributes by the Gospels, and the Illumination of the Essence by the Koran. Jesus and Mohammed had revealed the mysteries of the Invisible[17]. This is well enough the character of this syncretism.

It is to be noted that Brethren of Purity did not wear any special clothing[18]; it is a known fact that the initiators also assured themselves that one person who could succeed them, and that they practiced abstinence, which the author of the Fama translated by an Arab image " they were engaged to virginity[19] " , they healed the sick . I will abstain from citing the names of the great Arabic doctors who are so well known.

The Rosicrucian doctrine of Creation which we have recently published[20], is found again in its entirety in the philosophy of Ibn Sina. God does not create the world directly but the necessary Being emanates a pure intelligence which is the First Cause. This First Cause knows the Creator as necessary and itself as possible. From this time multiplicity introduces itself into the Order of creation. This intelligence is the active intellect, the illuminator of souls. From sphere to sphere (through the ten spheres) the radiance pursues itself towards the pure intelligences as far as the level of matter.

God is understood therefore as the omnipotent and creative First Cause. He cannot have been abstaining from all time and have commenced that which implies in him a change so that the creation is eternal.

The Creator does not directly create matter, but it is through the role of the intermediaries, the angels who identify themselves with the first principles[21].

It is possible that Chr. Rosenkreutz could have known the teachings of Ibn Sina or Abdu'l-Karim al-Jili[22], who developed an analogous theory: " The world is co-eternal with God, but in the logical order, the judgement that God exists in Himself is anterior to the judgement that things exist in his knowledge. He knows them as He knows Himself but they are not eternal and He is eternal.[23]"

Mohyi-ed-Din taught that the souls are pre-existent to the body, that they are of different degrees of perfection and that they unequally break through the shadows of the body. The act of learning for them, therefore is nothing more than a remembering, a return ascension towards the place from which they had first departed.

Ibn-Arabi who wrote a book on "The Hundred Names of God" used circles to expound his system , which is singularly close to that of "Dignitates Divinae" by Raymond Lully, who is considered as an initiate and precursor to the Rose-Croix.

Rosicrucian theurgy hardly differs from that of the Sufis although the Sufis derive a very rich angelology from the Koran. At the side of the Cherubim is a more elevated angel named al-Nun who symbolizes Divine Knowledge. He is placed in front of the celestial Tablet; under the Throne are placed the angels named al Qalam (the pens);

the angel al-Mudabbir ; the angels named al-Mufasssil are placed before the Imamu'l Mubin, (First Intelligence); the Ruh are the objects of Divine Knowledge..... The Sufi mystic when he reaches the degree of perfection is in contact with the angels. If by them he attains the knowledge of the worlds visible and invisible, it is by them also that he exercises a superhuman power over things, over humanity and over events, since the evoked angels here are no longer the simple messengers of God but the thought itself of God, in so far as it emanates from the Divine Essence through the First Created towards the metaphysical reality of things.

It is in this that the High Magic al sihrul ali resides . In "The Path of Divine Unity", the mystic Jili explains how by the use of a formula the mystic obtains from God that which he desires[24].

Notes:

[1] The French translation by E. Coro (Ed. Rhea, Paris 1921) comprises 63 pages . It is subtitled "The Travels of Christian Rozenkreutz." The Fama is attributed to John Valentin Andrea.

[2] C. Rosenkreutz is considered by many historians as a mythic personage. However Larousse gives as his dates 1378-1484.

[3] Fama,1921, p21-27.

[4] T. Mann, Der Islam, p 116

[5] P. KELLER, La question arabe, p17

[6] A.M GOICHON, La philosophie d'Avicenne et son influence en Europe medievale, 1944, p105

[7] Musawir fi tarik Lûbnâ, p28.

[8] Fama, p33-47. Does Damcar suggest a madrasat (University) whose name has been corrupted , perhaps Medina , where the occult sciences were held in honour.

[9] Fama, p 24

[10] Fama, p 24

[11] Fama, p 26

[12] C.B ROCKELMANN Gesb.der arabischen Literatur, t II

[13] CARA DE VAUX, Les penseurs de l'Islam, t IV , p 107.

[14] CARA DE VAUX, op cit. p 113

[15] R.A. NICHOLSON, Studies in Islamic Mysticism, 1921, p 79.

[16] G.VADJER, Introduction a la pensee juive au moyen age, 1947, p97.

[17] NICHOLSON, op cit , p 138

[18] BOUCHET, L'esoterisme mussulman , (Museen 1910)

[19] Fama , p 38

[20] La pensee at l'ouvre de Peladan , La philosophie Rosicrucienne, 1947 .

[21] GOICHON, Introduction a Avicenna , p 32

[22] He is the author of "al Insanu Kamil.... (The Perfect Man in the knowledge of Origins) a sufi work.

[23] NICHOLSON, op cit , p 103

[24] NICHOLSON, op cit , p 139

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The Bektashi Order of Dervishes By John Kingsley Birge

Published with the kind permission of the Alevi Bektashi Research Website, which is full of many more interesting articles on the subject and relative topics. (This is quoted from - BIRGE, John Kingsley : THE BEKTASHI ORDER OF DERVISHES, Luzac & Co., 1937, p. 13-21)

INTRODUCTORY FACTS

1. THE GENERAL PLACE OF DERVISH ORDERS IN TURKEY AND OTHER MOSLEM COUNTRIES

The study of mystic orders in Islam is one of particular importance if the Moslem world is to be adequately understood. The religion left by Muhammad very early developed in two directions. On the one hand it produced a rigid, scholastic theology with an inflexible religious law. At the same time, even from within the first two centuries, a tendency away from this fixed, external system showed its beginning and

quickly developed into individuals and groups who emphasized the ascetic life and the mystical approach to direct knowledge of God. As orthodox canonists and professional theologians objected to this tendency to "search the conscience" on the ground that the ultimate result would be in the direction of heresy, organized bands or brotherhoods began to develop, based on the fundamental idea that "the fervent practice of worship engenders in the soul graces (fawaid), immaterial and intelligible realities, and that the 'science of hearts' (ilm al kulub) will procure the soul an experimental wisdom (ma'rifa) (1)."

Although the article *Tarika* in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* makes the statement that "As a rule the number of persons affiliated to the brotherhoods in any particular Muslim country is not over three per cent. of the population," it appears certain that in Turkey and Albania, at least, the proportion of actual members and of those loosely affiliated is far greater. When the writer first visited Turkey in 1913 he went about under the impression he had received from books that Turkey was a Sunni (i.e. from the Muhammadan point of view orthodox) country. He quickly found to his surprise that an enormous proportion of the people not only were affiliated with dervish brotherhoods, but even the leaders who appeared on Friday as Imams in the formal worship (namaz) in the mosque, were on other days to be found acting as Şeyh's (Shaikhs) in dervish tekkes. (2) During Muharrem, the month when Shi'ites especially remember the death of Huseyin and the early injustice done Ali and his family in taking the Caliphate from them, the writer visited tekke after tekke, and found in them all dervishes passionately mourning the death of Hasan and Hüseyin. In discussing this matter later with one of Turkey's greatest scholars the writer expressed the impression that the Turkish people while outwardly Sunni were, under cover of their dervish brotherhoods, partially Shi'ite, at least in their tendencies, and certainly mystical rather than orthodox. The scholar replied that there in there in Constantinople where the proportion was presumably less than the rest of the country, probably sixty per cent. of the people belonged directly or indirectly to dervish fraternities. He pointed out that in Christian countries we had in church history experienced our persecutions, Catholics killing Protestants and vice versa, but that there was a certain moral advantage in this. Deep sincerity, he said, lay behind these persecutions. Whereas, in Moslem lands, he continued, the practice of takiye, dissimulation, had grown up to make possible a man's continuing his standing as an orthodox member of a mystic fraternity which emphasized an experimental rather than a traditional and formal approach to reality.

In Turkey, therefore, this tendency to group life in a brotherhood of those seeking a direct knowledge of God must be recognised as a widespread tendency lying sometimes beneath the surface, but influencing probably the lives of a large majority of the people.

In general, the ideology of such groups has come from Arabic and Persian sources, the more learned among the dervish leaders being well able to read and to write in these languages. The most important immediate sources of ideas for all the Turkish dervish orders have been the *Mesnevi*, a great poem written in Persian in the thirteenth

century by Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi, the patron saint of the Mevlevi dervish order, and two Arabic works *Futuhâtı Mekkiye* and *Fususul Hikâm* by Muhyiddini Arabi (1165-1240). Lying as a foundation underneath the system developed by the influence of these books has been the common belief and practice of the Turkish people with their inherited customs from the Asiatic past. Certain orders, of which the Mevlevi's are the outstanding example, grew up chiefly in urban centres, as aristocratic, intellectual fraternities, especially attracting members from the upper classes on grounds largely of aesthetic appeal. Other groups, of which the Bektashis are the notable exponent, developed directly out of the life of the people. On the surface in these latter groups, lies the Islam which became the accepted religion of the people. Underneath have lain, all down through Ottoman history, customs and practices which came originally from the ethnic life of the various peoples who mingled together on the frontiers in the thirteenth century, and from amongst whom grew up a natural religion of the people.

2. THE PLACE OF THE BEKTASHI ORDER IN TURKISH LIFE

Among the many Dervish fraternities which have exercised their influence over the lives of a large proportion of the Turkish people of the Ottoman Empire the Bektashis have held a unique place. From the point of view of mere numbers they have been significant. The Bektashis themselves estimate their numbers at about seven million. Ali Turabi Baba, postnişin of the Bektashi tekke on Mt. Tomori in Albania writing in his *Historija E Bektashinjet* (3) says that before the destruction of the Janissaries in 1826 and the accompanying abolition of the Bektashi Order, annual statistics were kept, and that these figures showed the number Bektashis to be 7,370,000 seven million being in Anatolia, 100,000 in Albania, 120,000 in Stambul and the remainder scattered through Irak, Crete, Macedonia and other sections especially of the Balkans. In October 1933 Niyazi Dedei the head of the officially recognised Bektashi community of Albania, gave me personally his estimate that in the old Turkish Empire there were 7,500,000 Bektashis not counting the more or less loosely affiliated Kizilbash. There were in the Eastern Provinces of Turkey alone, he said, 1,500,000. In Albania he estimated there were 200,000 or twenty per cent. of the population. The English traveller and historian, Rycaut, writing in the seventeenth century, says that the Bektashis "are now grown into that vast multitude as is almost impossible to extirpate them." He quotes his teacher as saying that Bektash had many millions of followers. (4) A more recent observer, Besim Atalay, delegate from Aksaray in the Grand National Assembly, writing in 1340 (1924) estimates their numbers at 1,500,000. (5) including apparently the Kizilbash and Tahtajis in this figure. If we take the lowest figure given by any observer, approximately ten per cent. of the population of Turkey were directly or indirectly under the influence of this Order. (6)

Not a mystical fraternity alone, the Bektashis have played their important military role all through Ottoman history down to 1826 through their intimate connection, apparently from the beginning, with the Janissary Army corps. Village groups scattered throughout Anatolia, under the names Kizilbash (Red heads), Tahtaci's, Abdal's,

Çepni's, in ways that will be later enumerated, are related intimately with the Bektashi organization by belief and tradition and religious ceremony and often in organization well.

Perhaps the most important justification, however, for studying the Bektashi Order is the fact, generally recognized by all students of Turkish culture to-day, that all down through Ottoman history, when the orthodox religious life of the people was under dominant Arabic influence, when the classic literature in vogue in palace circles was Persian, and when even a great mystic order such as the Mevlevi's, based its belief and practice on a book written entirely in Persian, the Bektashis consistently held to the Turkish language and perpetuated in their belief and practice some at least of the pre-Islamic elements of Turkish culture. A Turkish investigator in 1926, writing in the official magazine of the national culture society called the Turkish Ocak, makes the claim that the Turkish national ideal never was able to find its expression in the Arab internationalism, but did find it in the tekkes or lodge rooms of the Alevi orders of which the Bektashis and village groups related to them are chief examples. In the secret practices of those religious groups alone was "national freedom" to be found. (7) The very aim, he says, of the founders of these groups, was to preserve the Turkish tongue and race and blood. (8)

That this point of view, while extreme, is not that of an isolated individual is shown by the fact that in 1930 the Department of the Republic printed 3,000 copies of a book called Bektashi Poets (9) containing biographical sketches and selections from the religious verse of 180 Bektashi poets. In recent years every history of Turkish literature written from school use has emphasized for each century "Bektashi Literature" because in that, more than in any other type of writing, the original Turkish language and Turkish literary forms were used and Turkish national customs and points of view reflected.

3. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF THE BEKTASHI ORDER

Modern interest on the part of scholars in the Bektashi Order may be said to go back to the great history of Turkey written by Von Hammer. In that history publicity is given to the tradition of the first blessing of the Janissary soldiers at their beginning by Haji Bektash Veli. (10) The first attempt to write of the order itself and its practices came in 1868 when Brown's book, *The Dervishes or Oriental Spiritualism*, appeared. An exceedingly valuable, but uncritical, collection of material having to do with the beliefs and practices and symbols of the Bektashi as well as of other dervish orders, this book has recently been printed in a new edition with notes, index and better arrangement by Pose. (11) Unsuspected new light was thrown on the beliefs of the Bektashi Order when, in the spring of 1897, Prof. Edward G. Browne spent an Easter vacation in Paris studying in the Bibliotheque Nationale two manuscripts containing several treaties having to do with an obscure sect called the Hurufis. The results of this study were published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for January 1898, and in a second article in the same journal in the July number of 1907, Prof. Browne reported further

discoveries. Stirred with interest in the Hurufi sect by his studies in Paris in 1897, he had ordered his bookseller to procure for him from the Orient available Hurufi texts. To his surprise, the treaties of an order thought to have been long dead turned up in quantities revealing that they were in use in some present-day quarter. On inquiry, it was discovered that they came from the Bektashis, and that in the present-day Bektashi Order the doctrines of Fazlullah, the founder of the Hurufi sect, were being perpetuated.

In 1908 there appeared in Germany the first attempt at a critical study of the Bektashis. Prof. Jacob in his *Beitrage zur Kenntnis des Derwisch-Ordens der Bektaschis*, not only examined the history and spread of the Bektaschis, criticizing, among other things, the tradition that Haji Bektash Veli could have given his blessing in person at the time of the founding of the Janissary army corps, but also added a translation of a Turkish book which appeared in 1873 (1290) called *Kâşif ul esrar ve Def ul eşrar*, Discoverer of Secrets and Rejector of Evils, a bitter attack on the Bektashis, especially on account of their acceptance of Hurufi doctrines. Jacob followed up this study with his book *Die Bektaschijje*, published in 1909, containing a careful analysis of all the material, oriental and occidental, then available bearing on the Bektashi Order. In this book he gave a special attention to a study of the sources, Christian, Shi'ite, Gnostic and Pagan from which the Bektashis had received doctrines or practices.

Basing his studies on personal travel and investigation in Turkey, the English classicist, F. W. Hasluck, published in the years from 1911 on, especially in the *Annals of the British School at Athens*, interesting studies of the Bektashis, their geographic distribution, their methods of propaganda, and the relation their sacred places to Christian sacred places. These studies were translated into Turkish (12) in 1928. Later, supplementing these personal investigations on the field by a reading of every European book bearing on the subject Hasluck gathered a mass of material which, after his death, his wife published in 1929 under the title, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*. In these studies Hasluck examined the European sources for an understanding of the founding of the Janissaries and concluded that the Haji Bektash Veli tradition in connection therewith could not be true. He tended to find in Fazlullah Hurufi the real founder of the Bektashi Order, and to doubt even the historicity of Haji Bektash Veli's existence (13) except as a possible tribal ancestor who contributed only his name.

In the meantime Turkish scholars had been at work on the Turkish sources. In 1918 Prof. Dr. Köprülü Zade Fuat Bey (14) of the University of Istanbul published his important *First Mystics in Turkish Literature*, (15) devoting considerable space to the traditions of Haji Bektash Veli and to a critical study of the historic facts. Writing in 1924, Hilmi Ziya, a professor in the Galata Saray school, (16) noted in the *Mihrap* magazine (17) that the study of Haji Bektash Veli having begun in tradition, had passed in the critical stage to an excessive denial of his influence, even of his existence, and that the pendulum was now swinging back to give a more truly historical picture of the founder of the Bektashi order. In that article he announced the discovery of a copy of a work dated 812 (1409), throwing possible light not only on Haji Bektash Veli's existence but upon his teachings as well. (18) In October 1923 Prof. Fuat Bey delivered at the International Congress of the History of Religions in Paris a most important address on the Origins of

Bektashiism. In this he criticized the work heretofore done on the Bektashis, pointing out the necessity of studying the religious history of Anatolia for an understanding of the background of all the dervish orders. He reported new historical evidence discovered since the publishing of his "Early Mystics" not only establishing more definitely the historical character of Haji Bektash Veli, but also revealing apparently authentic teachings of the master. (19)

Supplementing the direct work of critical scholars an important research has of recent years been made into the life, the doctrines and the practices of the Alevi or so-called village Bektashi groups. In the Magazine of the Theological Department of the University during the years 1928 to 1930 Prof. Yusuf Ziya Bey published a most interesting account of personal visits among the Alevi villages around Eski Şehir in search of an intimate enough knowledge of Alevi life and thought so that visits in the role of an actual Alevi might be made to the Tahtaci villages near Smyrna. (20) The result of these studies from actual life furnishes a fund of information that is of special value in establishing the actual relation of these village Alevi groups with the Bektashi Order, its doctrines and its practices.

In contrast to others of the dervish orders of Turkey such as the Mevlevi or Whirling Dervishes and the Rukai or Howling Dervishes, the Bektashis have no public service of worship. In fact, the entire ritual of the Bektashi Order is guarded with such absolute secrecy and the beliefs are so obviously kept in concealment from the public understanding that there has long prevailed in Turkey a great curiosity as to the Bektashi Secret. Books and articles have been written in an attempt to discover the elusive mystery. Besim Atalay's *Bektaşilik ve Edebiyatı* (21) and Ahmet Rifki's *Bektaşî Sırrı*, (22) (The Bektashi Secret) are among the more important of these, both being attempts at fair appraisal of the Order. Ziya Bey's "Bektaşilik" in the columns of the daily newspaper, *Yeni Gün*, (23) is an excellent study by a Bektashi himself, presenting an account of the history, beliefs and practices from the Bektashi point of view. The articles end with a point of view in agreement with that often expressed by Bektashis since the Republic of Turkey abolished all dervish orders. Since the Republic, they say, has by government action accomplished what the Bektashis long stood for - abolition of the Caliphate, freedom of women from the veil and social restraints, putting an end to the fanaticism of religious leaders - there is no longer need for the continuance of the order within the borders of the Republic.

As if to offset the favourable reports of curious students, and as a natural result perhaps of an unorthodox doctrine kept secret, there have appeared in recent years, particularly since November 1925, when all dervish lodges were closed, many articles in depreciation of the Bektashis. Their secret is shown to be something contrary to both religion and morality. (24) The important novel, *Nur Baba*, by one of Turkey's greatest writers, Yakup Kadri, himself at one time a Bektashi, appeared first in newspaper columns then in two editions in book form, (25) and is an amazingly frank treatment of abuses, written before the dervish orders were abolished, in the hope of aiding a needed reform.

4. THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

It is this order with its mystery which has challenged the attention of students for centuries, with its intimate connection with Turkey's military history, and her social and literary culture, an order of which descriptions have been written in high praise and in bitter condemnation, that we are in these pages to attempt to study. Our aim will be neither to praise nor to condemn the order, but to study it objectively, with the particular purpose of trying as best a sympathetic outsider may, to see life and its problems, the mystery of the universe and its explanation, as a Bektashi himself sees them. It is hoped that this study will serve as a sufficiently comprehensive exposition of the beliefs and practices of the order, and of the common references in Bektashi literature, so that it may be an introduction to the intelligent reading of Bektashi poetry and other literary expressions. Only in a secondary way is the study interested in showing relations with Islam in general and with other religious origins. Numerous resemblances to other religious systems will be pointed out, but the writer is frankly skeptical of any attempt to trace dogmatically the origin of a particular belief and practice to its exact and single source. Both beliefs and practices have frequently been the result of influences from different directions combining in a new form where the common elements have been retained or differing elements so changed as to attract a very mixed population, making each group find something familiar to that which has been already known.

Although this study is chiefly an attempt to get at the beliefs and practices of the Bektashis as such are explained in their own literature and in manuscript manuals actually used by their leaders, it has seemed advisable also to set forth at the beginning such facts as are known about the history and origin of the order. This is all the more necessary since the writer believes that previous studies by European scholars have been misleading. New material discovered by Turkish scholars has thrown new light on this very obscure but significant page of history. Much investigation needs yet to be made, however, before the full story of the origin of the Bektashis and of the part they have played in Ottoman history can be adequately understood.

Notes:

(In his book Birge, notes given in every pages starting from number 1, but we give numbers continiously for all pages. Editors)

(1) Encyclopaedia of Islam, article Tasawwuf.

(2) A Tekke is a dervish place of gathering for worship and instruction.

(3) Historija E Pergjitheshme E Bektashinjvet prej Ate Ali Turabiut. Tirane, 1929. Page 64.

(4) The Present State of the Ottoman Empire by Paul Rycaut, London, 1668. Page 149.

(5) Bektaşilik ve Edebiyatı, Besim Atalay. İstanbul, 1340. Page 5.

(6) Hasluck in Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans, page 161, gives 80,000 as the number of Bektashis in Albania, and says that Bektashis themselves claim 3,000,000 as their total number.

(7) Türk Yurdu, no. 21, Eylül 1926, article by Baha Sait on Türkiyede Alevi Zümreleri. Page 204.

(8) Ibid. page 207.

(9) Bektaşî Şairleri, Sadettin Nüzhet, İstanbul, 1930.

(10) Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches; Pesth, 1834, Vol. I, page 97.

(11) The Darvishes, Oxford Press, 1927.

(12) Bektaşilik Tetkikleri, İstanbul, 1928.

(13) Hasluck, Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans, pages 341 and 488.

(14) In accordance with the law requiring choice and registration of family names, this name was changed to M. Fuad Köprülü in 1936.

(15) Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar.

(16) Now on the Faculty of the University of İstanbul.

(17) Temmuz 1340, no. 15, 16, page 515.

(18) Temmuz 1340, no. 15, 16, page 517.

(19) Les Origines du Bektachisme, Extrait des Acts du Congres International d'Histoire des Religions. Paris, 1926. Article Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri in Türk Yurdu, no: 8, 1341.

(20) İlahiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası, nos. 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, years 1928-1930. An earlier study into a similar subject had been made in 1891 by V. Luschan: "Die Tahtadji und andere Reste der der Alten Bevölkerung Lykiens" in Archiv. für Anthropologie, 19.Pd., Braunschweig 1891.

(21) Published in İstanbul in 1340 (1924).

(22) Published in Istanbul in 1325-1327 (1909-1911)

(23) Forty installments, from Jan. 26th, 1931 to March 8th, 1931.

(24) See, for example, the articles in Büyük Gazette, Nos. 1-26, November 1926-March 1927.

(25) Second Edition, Istanbul, 1923.

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madde işareti

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madde işareti More Arthurian and Grail

Sacred Texts Egypt
THE BOOK OF THE DEAD
The Papyrus of Ani
by
E. A. WALLIS BUDGE
[1895]

Introduction Translation

Because of the substantial amount of hieroglyphics interspersed in the original text, I have omitted the #### 'glyph' placeholder where context permits, for readability. Only actual illustrations have been inserted into the file. Due to space considerations the interlinear translation, which is primarily of interest to students of Ancient Egyptian, will not be posted. This should not be a hardship, since the Dover reprint edition is still in print and widely available.

The file above, which appears at on the Internet at Sacred-Texts for the first time is a faithful e-text of the 1895 edition of the E.A. Wallace Budge translation of the Egyptian Book of the Dead.

In November of 2000 I inventoried my library and found that I was missing Budge's Book of the Dead. So when a copy of the Dover reprint came up at the local used bookstore, I purchased it. To my dismay, the version of the text widely posted on the Internet did not seem to match the Dover reprint of the 1895 version.

According to John Mark Ockerbloom, the proprietor of the excellent Online Books Page, the version circulating on the Internet is a highly edited version of Budge from a much later date (1913). He writes:

"I did a little legwork, and it appears that the "mystery text" is in fact from the Medici Society edition of 1913. According to a 1960 reprint by University Books, for this edition "The translation was rewritten... [and the] greater part of the Introduction was also rewritten by Sir Wallis, who concluded a preface to it with the pleased words, 'and the entire work thus becomes truly a "New Edition"'. It's unclear whether Budge himself did the rewrite of the translation, but it's clear that he at least claims responsibility for it, and it does appear to draw fairly heavily on his earlier translation."

Thanks to Mr. Ockerbloom for clearing up this mystery.

In any case, the version now at sacred-texts is a completely new e-text, which I believe to be a much better version of this text.

Title Page
Preface

Contents

Introduction

The Versions Of The Book Of The Dead.

The Legend Of Osiris.

The Doctrine Of Eternal Life.

The Egyptians' Ideas Of God.

The Legend Of Ra And Isis.

The Abode Of The Blessed.

The Gods Of The Book Of The Dead.

The Principal Geographical And Mythological Places In The Book Of The Dead.

Funeral Ceremonies.

The Papyrus Of Ani.

Translation

Plate I.

Plate II.

Plate III.

Plate IV.

Plates V. and VI.

Plates VII.-X.

Plates XI. and XII.

Plate XIII.

Plate XIV.

Plate XV.

Plate XVI.

Plate XVII.

Plate XVIII.

Plate XIX.

Plate XX.

Plate XXI.

Plate XXII.

Plate XXIII. and Plate XXIV.

Plate XXV.

Plate XXVI.

Plate XXVII.

Plate XXVIII.

Plates XXIX. and XXX.

Plates XXXI. and XXXII.

Plate XXXII.

Plate XXXIII.

Plates XXXIII and XXXIV.

Plates XXXV. and XXXVI.

Plate XXXVII.

Sacred Texts | Egyptian

« Previous: Introduction to the Egyptian Book of the Dead Index Next: Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life: Title Page »

Sacred Texts Egypt
EGYPTIAN IDEAS OF THE FUTURE LIFE
By Sir Wallis Budge
[1900]
Title Page
Preface
Contents
Chapter I: The Belief in God Almighty
Chapter II: Osiris the God of the Resurrection
Chapter III. The "Gods" of the Egyptians
Chapter VI: The Judgment of the Dead
Chapter V: The Resurrection and Immortality

Sacred Texts | Egyptian
« Previous: Errata Index Next: The Egyptian Heaven and Hell: Title Page »

Sacred Texts Egypt
Egyptian Magic
by E. A. Wallis Budge

[1901]
Title Page
Preface
Contents
Chapter I: Antiquity of Magical Practices in Egypt
Chapter II. Magical Stones or Amulets
Chapter III. Magical Figures
Chapter IV. Magical Pictures and Formulæ, Spells, Etc.
Chapter V. Magical Names
Chapter VI. Magical Ceremonies
Chapter VII. Demoniactal Possession, Dreams, Ghosts, Lucky and Unlucky Days,
Horoscopes, Prognostications, Transformations, and the Worship of Animals

Sacred Texts | Egyptian
« Previous: Egyptian Magic: Chapter VII. Demoniactal Possession, Dream... Index
Next: Egyptian Mythology and Egyptian Christianity: Title Page »

Sacred Texts Egypt

Legends of the Gods
The Egyptian Texts, edited with Translations
by E. A. Wallis Budge

[1912]

Title Page

Preface

Contents

List of Plates and Illustrations

Introduction

Summary: I. The Legend of the God Neb-er-tcher, and the History of Creation

Summary: II. The Legend of the Destruction of Mankind

Summary: III. The Legend Of Ra and Isis.

Summary: IV: The Legend of Heru-Behutet and the Winged Disk

Summary: V. Legend of the Birth of Horus, Son of Isis and Osiris.

Summary: VI. A Legend of Khensu Nefer-hetep and the Princess of Bekhten

Summary: VII. A Legend Of Khnemu And Of A Seven Years' Famine

Summary: VIII. The Legend of the Death and Resurrection of Horus, and Other Magical Texts

Summary: IX: The History of Isis and Osiris

Legends of Egyptian Gods

The History Of Creation--A.

The History of Creation--B.

The Legend of the Destruction of Mankind, Chapter I.

The Legend of the Destruction of Mankind, Chapter II.

The Legend Of The Destruction Of Mankind, Chapter III.

The Legend Of The Destruction Of Mankind, Chapter IV.

The Legend Of The Destruction Of Mankind, Chapter V.

The Legend Of Ra And Isis.

The Legend Of Horus Of Behutet And The Winged Disk.

A Hymn To Osiris And A Legend Of The Origin Of Horus.

A Legend of Ptah Nefer-Hetep and the Princess of Bekhten

A Legend of the God Khnemu and of a Seven Years' Famine

The Legend of the Death of Horus

I.--Incantations Against Reptiles and Noxious Creatures In General

The Chapter of Casting a Spell on the Cat

Another Chapter

II.--The Narrative of Isis

The History of Isis and Osiris

Section I

Section II

Section III

Section IV

Section V

Section VI

Section VII.

Section VIII.

Section IX

Section X

Section XI.

Section XII.
Section XIII.
Section XIV.
Section XV.
Section XVI.
Section XVII.
Section XVIII.
Section XIX.
Section XX.
Section XXI.
Section XXII. First Explanation of the Story
Section XXIII
Section XXIV
Section XXV: Second Explanation of the Story
Section XXVI
Section XXVII
Section XXX
Section XXXI
Section XXXII: Third Explanation of the Story
Sections XXXIII and XXXIV
Section XXXVI
Section XXXVIII
Section XXXIX
Section XL
Section XLI and XLII: Fourth Explanation of the Story
Section XLIII
Section XLIV, etc.: Fifth Explanation of the Story

Sacred Texts | Egyptian

« Previous: File Moved! Index Next: Legends of the Gods, The Egyptian Texts: Title Page »

Sacred Texts Egypt Buy this Book on Kindle

Pastime in Ancient Egypt, by Lawrence Alma-Tadema [19th c.] (Public Domain Image)

Egyptian Myth and Legend

by Donald Mackenzie

[1907]

[Contents](#) [Start Reading](#) [Page Index](#) [Text \[Zipped\]](#)

This highly readable book covers Egyptian religion, history, and culture through its entire civilization. We are accustomed to history measured in decades or centuries. Egypt requires thinking in terms of millenia. There was not one monolithic Egyptian belief system; it went through profound changes over time; this book describes this evolution in great detail. Mackenzie includes many extracts from religious texts, folk tales, and historical documents.

Title Page
Preface
Contents
Introduction
Chapter I: Creation Legend of Sun Worshipers
Chapter II: The Tragedy of Osiris
Chapter III: Dawn of Civilization
Chapter IV: The Peasant who became King
Chapter V: Racial Myths in Egypt and Europe
Chapter VI: The City of the Elf God
Chapter VII: Death and the Judgment
Chapter VIII: The Religion of the Stone Workers
Chapter IX: A Day in Old Memphis
Chapter X: The Great Pyramid Kings
Chapter XI: Folk Tales of Fifty Centuries
Chapter XII: Triumph of the Sun God
Chapter XIII: Fall of the Old Kingdom
Chapter XIV: Father Gods and Mother Goddesses
Plate I: The Girl Wife and the Bata Bull
Plate II: The Farmer Plunders the Peasant
Plate III: Senuhet Slays the Warrior of Tonu
Plate IV: Queen Ahmes (Wife Of Thothmes I), Mother of the Famous Queen Hatshepsut
Plate V: Luring the Doom Serpent
Plate V: Fowling Scene
Plate VI: Farm Scene: The Counting and Inspection of the Geese
Plate VII: Pastime in Ancient Egypt Three Thousand Years Ago
Chapter XV: The Rise of Amon
Chapter XVI: Tale of the Fugitive Prince
Chapter XVII: Egypt's Golden Age
Chapter XVIII: Myths and Lays of the Middle Kingdom
Chapter XIX: The Island of Enchantment
Chapter XX: The Hyksos and their Strange God
Chapter XXI: Joseph and the Exodus
Chapter XXII: Amon, the God of Empire
Chapter XXIII: Tale of the Doomed Prince
Chapter XXIV: Changes in Social and Religious Life
Chapter XXV: Amenhotep the Magnificent and Queen Tiye
Chapter XXVI: The Religious Revolt of the Poet King
Chapter XXVII: The Empire of Rameses and the Homeric Age
Chapter XXVIII: Egypt and the Hebrew Monarchy
Chapter XXIX: The Restoration and the End

Sacred Texts | Egyptian

« Previous: Egyptian Myth and Legend: Chapter XXIX: The Restoration a...

Index

Next: Egyptian Myth and Legend: Page Index »

Sacred Texts Egypt
Egyptian Mythology and Egyptian Christianity
by Samuel Sharpe
London J.R. Smith
[1863]

This short work on Egyptian religion from the middle of the 19th Century was written at a time when the subject was just beginning to be understood by modern scholars, due to the recent decipherment of the hieroglyphs. Although scholarly and thorough, the information in this text should be cross-checked with later works. The best part may be the funky illustrations, all of which are in the public domain.

[Title Page](#)

[Contents](#)

[The Egyptian Mythology](#)

[The Religion of Upper Egypt](#)

[The Religion of Lower Egypt](#)

[The Religion Under the Persian Conquerors](#)

[The Religion Under the Ptolemies](#)

[The Religion Under the Romans](#)

[Christianity Under the Roman Emperors](#)

[Christianity Under the Byzantine Emperors](#)

[List of Woodcuts](#)

[Author's Afterword](#)

[Sacred Texts | Egyptian](#)

[« Previous: Egyptian Mythology and Egyptian Christianity: Author's Af...](#) [Index](#) [Next: Egyptian Myth and Legend: Title Page »](#)

THE BRITISH ACADEMY

LEGENDS OF BABYLON AND EGYPT
IN RELATION TO HEBREW TRADITION

BY

LEONARD W. KING, M.A., LITT.D., F.S.A.

Assistant Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities
in the British Museum
Professor in the University of London
King's College

THE SCHWEICH LECTURES 1916

PREPARER'S NOTE

This text was prepared from a 1920 edition of the book, hence the references to dates after 1916 in some places.

Greek text has been transliterated within brackets "{}" using an Oxford English Dictionary alphabet table. Diacritical marks have been lost.

PREFACE

In these lectures an attempt is made, not so much to restate familiar facts, as to accommodate them to new and supplementary evidence which has been published in America since the outbreak of the war. But even without the excuse of recent discovery, no apology would be needed for any comparison or contrast of Hebrew tradition with the mythological and legendary beliefs of Babylon and Egypt. Hebrew achievements in the sphere of religion and ethics are only thrown into stronger relief when studied against their contemporary background.

The bulk of our new material is furnished by some early texts, written towards the close of the third millennium B.C. They incorporate traditions which extend in unbroken outline from their own period into the remote ages of the past, and claim to trace the history of man back to his creation. They represent the early national traditions of the Sumerian people, who preceded the Semites as the ruling race in Babylonia; and incidentally they necessitate a revision of current views with regard to the cradle of Babylonian civilization. The most remarkable of the new documents is one which relates in poetical narrative an account of the Creation, of Antediluvian history, and of the Deluge. It thus exhibits a close resemblance in structure to the corresponding Hebrew traditions, a resemblance that is not shared by the Semitic-Babylonian Versions at present known. But in matter the Sumerian tradition is more primitive than any of the Semitic versions. In spite of the fact that the text appears to have reached us in a magical setting, and to some extent in epitomized form, this early document enables us to tap the stream of tradition at a point far

above any at which approach has hitherto been possible.

Though the resemblance of early Sumerian tradition to that of the Hebrews is striking, it furnishes a still closer parallel to the summaries preserved from the history of Berossus. The huge figures incorporated in the latter's chronological scheme are no longer to be treated as a product of Neo-Babylonian speculation; they reappear in their original surroundings in another of these early documents, the Sumerian Dynastic List. The sources of Berossus had inevitably been semitized by Babylon; but two of his three Antediluvian cities find their place among the five of primitive Sumerian belief, and two of his ten Antediluvian kings rejoin their Sumerian prototypes. Moreover, the recorded ages of Sumerian and Hebrew patriarchs are strangely alike. It may be added that in Egypt a new fragment of the Palermo Stele has enabled us to verify, by a very similar comparison, the accuracy of Manetho's sources for his prehistoric period, while at the same time it demonstrates the way in which possible inaccuracies in his system, deduced from independent evidence, may have arisen in remote antiquity. It is clear that both Hebrew and Hellenistic traditions were modelled on very early lines.

Thus our new material enables us to check the age, and in some measure the accuracy, of the traditions concerning the dawn of history which the Greeks reproduced from native sources, both in Babylonia and Egypt, after the conquests of Alexander had brought the Near East within the range of their intimate acquaintance. The third body of tradition, that of the Hebrews, though unbacked by the prestige of secular achievement, has, through incorporation in the canons of two great religious systems, acquired an authority which the others have not enjoyed. In re-examining the sources of all three accounts, so far as they are affected by the new discoveries, it will be of interest to observe how the same problems were solved in antiquity by very different races, living under widely divergent conditions, but within easy reach of one another. Their periods of contact, ascertained in history or suggested by geographical considerations, will prompt the further question to what extent each body of belief was evolved in independence of the others. The close correspondence that has long been recognized and is now confirmed between the Hebrew and the Semitic-Babylonian systems, as compared with that of Egypt, naturally falls within the scope of our enquiry.

Excavation has provided an extraordinarily full archaeological commentary to the legends of Egypt and Babylon; and when I received the invitation to deliver the Schweich Lectures for 1916, I was reminded of the terms of the Bequest and was asked to emphasize the archaeological side of the subject. Such material illustration was

also calculated to bring out, in a more vivid manner than was possible with purely literary evidence, the contrasts and parallels presented by Hebrew tradition. Thanks to a special grant for photographs from the British Academy, I was enabled to illustrate by means of lantern slides many of the problems discussed in the lectures; and it was originally intended that the photographs then shown should appear as plates in this volume. But in view of the continued and increasing shortage of paper, it was afterwards felt to be only right that all illustrations should be omitted. This very necessary decision has involved a recasting of certain sections of the lectures as delivered, which in its turn has rendered possible a fuller treatment of the new literary evidence. To the consequent shifting of interest is also due a transposition of names in the title. On their literary side, and in virtue of the intimacy of their relation to Hebrew tradition, the legends of Babylon must be given precedence over those of Egypt.

For the delay in the appearance of the volume I must plead the pressure of other work, on subjects far removed from archaeological study and affording little time and few facilities for a continuance of archaeological and textual research. It is hoped that the insertion of references throughout, and the more detailed discussion of problems suggested by our new literary material, may incline the reader to add his indulgence to that already extended to me by the British Academy.

L. W. KING.

LEGENDS OF BABYLON AND EGYPT IN RELATION TO HEBREW TRADITION

LECTURE I

EGYPT, BABYLON, AND PALESTINE, AND SOME TRADITIONAL ORIGINS OF CIVILIZATION

At the present moment most of us have little time or thought to spare for subjects not connected directly or indirectly with the war. We have put aside our own interests and studies; and after the war we shall all have a certain amount of leeway to make up in acquainting ourselves with what has been going on in countries not yet involved in the great struggle. Meanwhile the most we can do is to glance for a

moment at any discovery of exceptional interest that may come to light.

The main object of these lectures will be to examine certain Hebrew traditions in the light of new evidence which has been published in America since the outbreak of the war. The evidence is furnished by some literary texts, inscribed on tablets from Nippur, one of the oldest and most sacred cities of Babylonia. They are written in Sumerian, the language spoken by the non-Semitic people whom the Semitic Babylonians conquered and displaced; and they include a very primitive version of the Deluge story and Creation myth, and some texts which throw new light on the age of Babylonian civilization and on the area within which it had its rise. In them we have recovered some of the material from which Berossus derived his dynasty of Antediluvian kings, and we are thus enabled to test the accuracy of the Greek tradition by that of the Sumerians themselves. So far then as Babylonia is concerned, these documents will necessitate a re-examination of more than one problem.

The myths and legends of ancient Egypt are also to some extent involved. The trend of much recent anthropological research has been in the direction of seeking a single place of origin for similar beliefs and practices, at least among races which were bound to one another by political or commercial ties. And we shall have occasion to test, by means of our new data, a recent theory of Egyptian influence. The Nile Valley was, of course, one of the great centres from which civilization radiated throughout the ancient East; and, even when direct contact is unproved, Egyptian literature may furnish instructive parallels and contrasts in any study of Western Asiatic mythology. Moreover, by a strange coincidence, there has also been published in Egypt since the beginning of the war a record referring to the reigns of predynastic rulers in the Nile Valley. This, like some of the Nippur texts, takes us back to that dim period before the dawn of actual history, and, though the information it affords is not detailed like theirs, it provides fresh confirmation of the general accuracy of Manetho's sources, and suggests some interesting points for comparison.

But the people with whose traditions we are ultimately concerned are the Hebrews. In the first series of Schweich Lectures, delivered in the year 1908, the late Canon Driver showed how the literature of Assyria and Babylon had thrown light upon Hebrew traditions concerning the origin and early history of the world. The majority of the cuneiform documents, on which he based his comparison, date from a period no earlier than the seventh century B.C., and yet it was clear that the texts themselves, in some form or other, must have descended

from a remote antiquity. He concluded his brief reference to the Creation and Deluge Tablets with these words: "The Babylonian narratives are both polytheistic, while the corresponding biblical narratives (Gen. i and vi-xi) are made the vehicle of a pure and exalted monotheism; but in spite of this fundamental difference, and also variations in detail, the resemblances are such as to leave no doubt that the Hebrew cosmogony and the Hebrew story of the Deluge are both derived ultimately from the same original as the Babylonian narratives, only transformed by the magic touch of Israel's religion, and infused by it with a new spirit." [1] Among the recently published documents from Nippur we have at last recovered one at least of those primitive originals from which the Babylonian accounts were derived, while others prove the existence of variant stories of the world's origin and early history which have not survived in the later cuneiform texts. In some of these early Sumerian records we may trace a faint but remarkable parallel with the Hebrew traditions of man's history between his Creation and the Flood. It will be our task, then, to examine the relations which the Hebrew narratives bear both to the early Sumerian and to the later Babylonian Versions, and to ascertain how far the new discoveries support or modify current views with regard to the contents of those early chapters of Genesis.

[1] Driver, /Modern Research as illustrating the Bible/ (The Schweich Lectures, 1908), p. 23.

I need not remind you that Genesis is the book of Hebrew origins, and that its contents mark it off to some extent from the other books of the Hebrew Bible. The object of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua is to describe in their origin the fundamental institutions of the national faith and to trace from the earliest times the course of events which led to the Hebrew settlement in Palestine. Of this national history the Book of Genesis forms the introductory section. Four centuries of complete silence lie between its close and the beginning of Exodus, where we enter on the history of a nation as contrasted with that of a family. [1] While Exodus and the succeeding books contain national traditions, Genesis is largely made up of individual biography. Chapters xii-I are concerned with the immediate ancestors of the Hebrew race, beginning with Abram's migration into Canaan and closing with Joseph's death in Egypt. But the aim of the book is not confined to recounting the ancestry of Israel. It seeks also to show her relation to other peoples in the world, and probing still deeper into the past it describes how the earth itself was prepared for man's habitation. Thus the patriarchal biographies are preceded, in chapters i-xi, by an account of the original of the world, the beginnings of civilization, and the distribution of the various races of mankind. It is, of course, with certain parts of this

first group of chapters that such striking parallels have long been recognized in the cuneiform texts.

[1] Cf., e.g., Skinner, /A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis/ (1912), p. ii f.; Driver, /The Book of Genesis/, 10th ed. (1916), pp. 1 ff.; Ryle, /The Book of Genesis/ (1914), pp. x ff.

In approaching this particular body of Hebrew traditions, the necessity for some caution will be apparent. It is not as though we were dealing with the reported beliefs of a Malayan or Central Australian tribe. In such a case there would be no difficulty in applying a purely objective criticism, without regard to ulterior consequences. But here our own feelings are involved, having their roots deep in early associations. The ground too is well trodden; and, had there been no new material to discuss, I think I should have preferred a less contentious theme. The new material is my justification for the choice of subject, and also the fact that, whatever views we may hold, it will be necessary for us to assimilate it to them. I shall have no hesitation in giving you my own reading of the evidence; but at the same time it will be possible to indicate solutions which will probably appeal to those who view the subject from more conservative standpoints. That side of the discussion may well be postponed until after the examination of the new evidence in detail. And first of all it will be advisable to clear up some general aspects of the problem, and to define the limits within which our criticism may be applied.

It must be admitted that both Egypt and Babylon bear a bad name in Hebrew tradition. Both are synonymous with captivity, the symbols of suffering endured at the beginning and at the close of the national life. And during the struggle against Assyrian aggression, the disappointment at the failure of expected help is reflected in prophecies of the period. These great crises in Hebrew history have tended to obscure in the national memory the part which both Babylon and Egypt may have played in moulding the civilization of the smaller nations with whom they came in contact. To such influence the races of Syria were, by geographical position, peculiarly subject. The country has often been compared to a bridge between the two great continents of Asia and Africa, flanked by the sea on one side and the desert on the other, a narrow causeway of highland and coastal plain connecting the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates.[1] For, except on the frontier of Egypt, desert and sea do not meet. Farther north the Arabian plateau is separated from the Mediterranean by a double mountain chain, which runs south from the Taurus at varying elevations, and encloses in its lower course the remarkable depression of the Jordan Valley, the Dead Sea, and the `Arabah. The Judæan hills

and the mountains of Moab are merely the southward prolongation of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, and their neighbourhood to the sea endows this narrow tract of habitable country with its moisture and fertility. It thus formed the natural channel of intercourse between the two earliest centres of civilization, and was later the battle-ground of their opposing empires.

[1] See G. A. Smith, */Historical Geography of the Holy Land/*, pp. 5 ff., 45 ff., and Myres, */Dawn of History/*, pp. 137 ff.; and cf. Hogarth, */The Nearer East/*, pp. 65 ff., and Reclus, */Nouvelle Géographie universelle/*, t. IX, pp. 685 ff.

The great trunk-roads of through communication run north and south, across the eastern plateaus of the Haurân and Moab, and along the coastal plains. The old highway from Egypt, which left the Delta at Pelusium, at first follows the coast, then trends eastward across the plain of Esdraelon, which breaks the coastal range, and passing under Hermon runs northward through Damascus and reaches the Euphrates at its most westerly point. Other through tracks in Palestine ran then as they do to-day, by Beesheba and Hebron, or along the `Arabah and west of the Dead Sea, or through Edom and east of Jordan by the present Hajj route to Damascus. But the great highway from Egypt, the most westerly of the trunk-roads through Palestine, was that mainly followed, with some variant sections, by both caravans and armies, and was known by the Hebrews in its southern course as the "Way of the Philistines" and farther north as the "Way of the East".

The plain of Esraelon, where the road first trends eastward, has been the battle-ground for most invaders of Palestine from the north, and though Egyptian armies often fought in the southern coastal plain, they too have battled there when they held the southern country. Megiddo, which commands the main pass into the plain through the low Samaritan hills to the southeast of Carmel, was the site of Thothmes III's famous battle against a Syrian confederation, and it inspired the writer of the Apocalypse with his vision of an Armageddon of the future. But invading armies always followed the beaten track of caravans, and movements represented by the great campaigns were reflected in the daily passage of international commerce.

With so much through traffic continually passing within her borders, it may be matter for surprise that far more striking evidence of its cultural effect should not have been revealed by archaeological research in Palestine. Here again the explanation is mainly of a geographical character. For though the plains and plateaus could be crossed by the trunk-roads, the rest of the country is so broken up by mountain and valley that it presented few facilities either to foreign

penetration or to external control. The physical barriers to local intercourse, reinforced by striking differences in soil, altitude, and climate, while they precluded Syria herself from attaining national unity, always tended to protect her separate provinces, or "kingdoms," from the full effects of foreign aggression. One city-state could be traversed, devastated, or annexed, without in the least degree affecting neighbouring areas. It is true that the population of Syria has always been predominantly Semitic, for she was on the fringe of the great breeding-ground of the Semitic race and her landward boundary was open to the Arabian nomad. Indeed, in the whole course of her history the only race that bade fair at one time to oust the Semite in Syria was the Greek. But the Greeks remained within the cities which they founded or rebuilt, and, as Robertson Smith pointed out, the death-rate in Eastern cities habitually exceeds the birth-rate; the urban population must be reinforced from the country if it is to be maintained, so that the type of population is ultimately determined by the blood of the peasantry.[1] Hence after the Arab conquest the Greek elements in Syria and Palestine tended rapidly to disappear. The Moslem invasion was only the last of a series of similar great inroads, which have followed one another since the dawn of history, and during all that time absorption was continually taking place from desert tribes that ranged the Syrian border. As we have seen, the country of his adoption was such as to encourage the Semitic nomad's particularism, which was inherent in his tribal organization. Thus the predominance of a single racial element in the population of Palestine and Syria did little to break down or overstep the natural barriers and lines of cleavage.

[1] See Robertson Smith, */Religion of the Semites/*, p. 12 f.; and cf. Smith, */Hist. Geogr./*, p. 10 f.

These facts suffice to show why the influence of both Egypt and Babylon upon the various peoples and kingdoms of Palestine was only intensified at certain periods, when ambition for extended empire dictated the reduction of her provinces in detail. But in the long intervals, during which there was no attempt to enforce political control, regular relations were maintained along the lines of trade and barter. And in any estimate of the possible effect of foreign influence upon Hebrew thought, it is important to realize that some of the channels through which in later periods it may have acted had been flowing since the dawn of history, and even perhaps in prehistoric times. It is probable that Syria formed one of the links by which we may explain the Babylonian elements that are attested in prehistoric Egyptian culture.[1] But another possible line of advance may have been by way of Arabia and across the Red Sea into Upper Egypt.

[1] Cf. /Sumer and Akkad/, pp. 322 ff.; and for a full discussion of the points of resemblance between the early Babylonian and Egyptian civilizations, see Sayce, /The Archaeology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions/, chap. iv, pp. 101 ff.

The latter line of contact is suggested by an interesting piece of evidence that has recently been obtained. A prehistoric flint knife, with a handle carved from the tooth of a hippopotamus, has been purchased lately by the Louvre,[1] and is said to have been found at Gebel el-`Arak near Naga` Hamâdi, which lies on the Nile not far below Koptos, where an ancient caravan-track leads by Wâdi Hammâmât to the Red Sea. On one side of the handle is a battle-scene including some remarkable representations of ancient boats. All the warriors are nude with the exception of a loin girdle, but, while one set of combatants have shaven heads or short hair, the others have abundant locks falling in a thick mass upon the shoulder. On the other face of the handle is carved a hunting scene, two hunters with dogs and desert animals being arranged around a central boss. But in the upper field is a very remarkable group, consisting of a personage struggling with two lions arranged symmetrically. The rest of the composition is not very unlike other examples of prehistoric Egyptian carving in low relief, but here attitude, figure, and clothing are quite un-Egyptian. The hero wears a sort of turban on his abundant hair, and a full and rounded beard descends upon his breast. A long garment clothes him from the waist and falls below the knees, his muscular calves ending in the claws of a bird of prey. There is nothing like this in prehistoric Egyptian art.

[1] See Bénédict, "Le couteau de Gebel al-`Arak", in /Foundation Eugène Piot, Mon. et. Mém./, XXII. i. (1916).

Perhaps Monsieur Bénédict is pressing his theme too far when he compares the close-cropped warriors on the handle with the shaven Sumerians and Elamites upon steles from Telloh and Susa, for their loin-girdles are African and quite foreign to the Euphrates Valley. And his suggestion that two of the boats, flat-bottomed and with high curved ends, seem only to have navigated the Tigris and Euphrates,[1] will hardly command acceptance. But there is no doubt that the heroic personage upon the other face is represented in the familiar attitude of the Babylonian hero Gilgamesh struggling with lions, which formed so favourite a subject upon early Sumerian and Babylonian seals. His garment is Sumerian or Semitic rather than Egyptian, and the mixture of human and bird elements in the figure, though not precisely paralleled at this early period, is not out of harmony with Mesopotamian or Susan tradition. His beard, too, is quite different from that of the Libyan desert tribes which the early Egyptian kings

adopted. Though the treatment of the lions is suggestive of proto-Elamite rather than of early Babylonian models, the design itself is unmistakably of Mesopotamian origin. This discovery intensifies the significance of other early parallels that have been noted between the civilizations of the Euphrates and the Nile, but its evidence, so far as it goes, does not point to Syria as the medium of prehistoric intercourse. Yet then, as later, there can have been no physical barrier to the use of the river-route from Mesopotamia into Syria and of the tracks thence southward along the land-bridge to the Nile's delta.

[1] Op. cit., p. 32.

In the early historic periods we have definite evidence that the eastern coast of the Levant exercised a strong fascination upon the rulers of both Egypt and Babylonia. It may be admitted that Syria had little to give in comparison to what she could borrow, but her local trade in wine and oil must have benefited by an increase in the through traffic which followed the working of copper in Cyprus and Sinai and of silver in the Taurus. Moreover, in the cedar forests of Lebanon and the north she possessed a product which was highly valued both in Egypt and the treeless plains of Babylonia. The cedars procured by Sneferu from Lebanon at the close of the IIIrd Dynasty were doubtless floated as rafts down the coast, and we may see in them evidence of a regular traffic in timber. It has long been known that the early Babylonian king Sharru-kin, or Sargon of Akkad, had pressed up the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, and we now have information that he too was fired by a desire for precious wood and metal. One of the recently published Nippur inscriptions contains copies of a number of his texts, collected by an ancient scribe from his statues at Nippur, and from these we gather additional details of his campaigns. We learn that after his complete subjugation of Southern Babylonia he turned his attention to the west, and that Enlil gave him the lands "from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea", i.e. from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. Fortunately this rather vague phrase, which survived in later tradition, is restated in greater detail in one of the contemporary versions, which records that Enlil "gave him the upper land, Mari, Iarmuti, and Ibla, as far as the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountains".[1]

[1] See Poebel, /Historical Texts/ (Univ. of Penns. Mus. Publ., Bab. Sect., Vol. IV, No. 1, 1914), pp. 177 f., 222 ff.

Mari was a city on the middle Euphrates, but the name may here signify the district of Mari which lay in the upper course of Sargon's march. Now we know that the later Sumerian monarch Gudea obtained his cedar

beams from the Amanus range, which he names /Amanum/ and describes as the "cedar mountains".[1] Doubtless he felled his trees on the eastern slopes of the mountain. But we may infer from his texts that Sargon actually reached the coast, and his "Cedar Forest" may have lain farther to the south, perhaps as far south as the Lebanon. The "Silver Mountains" can only be identified with the Taurus, where silver mines were worked in antiquity. The reference to Iarmuti is interesting, for it is clearly the same place as Iarimuta or Iarimmuta, of which we find mention in the Tell el-Amarna letters. From the references to this district in the letters of Rib-Adda, governor of Byblos, we may infer that it was a level district on the coast, capable of producing a considerable quantity of grain for export, and that it was under Egyptian control at the time of Amenophis IV. Hitherto its position has been conjecturally placed in the Nile Delta, but from Sargon's reference we must probably seek it on the North Syrian or possibly the Cilician coast. Perhaps, as Dr. Poebel suggests, it was the plain of Antioch, along the lower course and at the mouth of the Orontes. But his further suggestion that the term is used by Sargon for the whole stretch of country between the sea and the Euphrates is hardly probable. For the geographical references need not be treated as exhaustive, but as confined to the more important districts through which the expedition passed. The district of Ibla which is also mentioned by Narâm-Sin and Gudea, lay probably to the north of Iarmuti, perhaps on the southern slopes of Taurus. It, too, we may regard as a district of restricted extent rather than as a general geographical term for the extreme north of Syria.

[1] Thureau-Dangin, /Les inscriptions de Sumer de d'Akkad/, p. 108 f., Statue B, col. v. 1. 28; Germ. ed., p. 68 f.

It is significant that Sargon does not allude to any battle when describing this expedition, nor does he claim to have devastated the western countries.[1] Indeed, most of these early expeditions to the west appear to have been inspired by motives of commercial enterprise rather than of conquest. But increase of wealth was naturally followed by political expansion, and Egypt's dream of an Asiatic empire was realized by Pharaohs of the XVIIIth Dynasty. The fact that Babylonian should then have been adopted as the medium of official intercourse in Syria points to the closeness of the commercial ties which had already united the Euphrates Valley with the west. Egyptian control had passed from Canaan at the time of the Hebrew settlement, which was indeed a comparatively late episode in the early history of Syria. Whether or not we identify the Khabiri with the Hebrews, the character of the latter's incursion is strikingly illustrated by some of the Tell el-Amarna letters. We see a nomad folk pressing in upon settled peoples and gaining a foothold here and there.[2]

[1] In some versions of his new records Sargon states that "5,400 men daily eat bread before him" (see Poebel, *op. cit.*, p. 178); though the figure may be intended to convey an idea of the size of Sargon's court, we may perhaps see in it a not inaccurate estimate of the total strength of his armed forces.

[2] See especially Professor Burney's forthcoming commentary on Judges (*passim*), and his forthcoming Schweich Lectures (now delivered, in 1917).

The great change from desert life consists in the adoption of agriculture, and when once that was made by the Hebrews any further advance in economic development was dictated by their new surroundings. The same process had been going on, as we have seen, in Syria since the dawn of history, the Semitic nomad passing gradually through the stages of agricultural and village life into that of the city. The country favoured the retention of tribal exclusiveness, but ultimate survival could only be purchased at the cost of some amalgamation with their new neighbours. Below the surface of Hebrew history these two tendencies may be traced in varying action and reaction. Some sections of the race engaged readily in the social and commercial life of Canaanite civilization with its rich inheritance from the past. Others, especially in the highlands of Judah and the south, at first succeeded in keeping themselves remote from foreign influence. During the later periods of the national life the country was again subjected, and in an intensified degree, to those forces of political aggression from Mesopotamia and Egypt which we have already noted as operating in Canaan. But throughout the settled Hebrew community as a whole the spark of desert fire was not extinguished, and by kindling the zeal of the Prophets it eventually affected nearly all the white races of mankind.

In his Presidential Address before the British Association at Newcastle,[1] Sir Arthur Evans emphasized the part which recent archaeology has played in proving the continuity of human culture from the most remote periods. He showed how gaps in our knowledge had been bridged, and he traced the part which each great race had taken in increasing its inheritance. We have, in fact, ample grounds for assuming an interchange, not only of commercial products, but, in a minor degree, of ideas within areas geographically connected; and it is surely not derogatory to any Hebrew writer to suggest that he may have adopted, and used for his own purposes, conceptions current among his contemporaries. In other words, the vehicle of religious ideas may well be of composite origin; and, in the course of our study of early Hebrew tradition, I suggest that we hold ourselves justified in

applying the comparative method to some at any rate of the ingredients which went to form the finished product. The process is purely literary, but it finds an analogy in the study of Semitic art, especially in the later periods. And I think it will make my meaning clearer if we consider for a moment a few examples of sculpture produced by races of Semitic origin. I do not suggest that we should regard the one process as in any way proving the existence of the other. We should rather treat the comparison as illustrating in another medium the effect of forces which, it is clear, were operative at various periods upon races of the same stock from which the Hebrews themselves were descended. In such material products the eye at once detects the Semite's readiness to avail himself of foreign models. In some cases direct borrowing is obvious; in others, to adapt a metaphor from music, it is possible to trace extraneous /motifs/ in the design.[2]

[1] "New Archaeological Lights on the Origins of Civilization in Europe," British Association, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1916.

[2] The necessary omission of plates, representing the slides shown in the lectures, has involved a recasting of most passages in which points of archaeological detail were discussed; see Preface. But the following paragraphs have been retained as the majority of the monuments referred to are well known.

Some of the most famous monuments of Semitic art date from the Persian and Hellenistic periods, and if we glance at them in this connexion it is in order to illustrate during its most obvious phase a tendency of which the earlier effects are less pronounced. In the sarcophagus of the Sidonian king Eshmu-`azar II, which is preserved in the Louvre,[1] we have indeed a monument to which no Semitic sculptor can lay claim. Workmanship and material are Egyptian, and there is no doubt that it was sculptured in Egypt and transported to Sidon by sea. But the king's own engravers added the long Phoenician inscription, in which he adjures princes and men not to open his resting-place since there are no jewels therein, concluding with some potent curses against any violation of his tomb. One of the latter implores the holy gods to deliver such violators up "to a mighty prince who shall rule over them", and was probably suggested by Alexander's recent occupation of Sidon in 332 B.C. after his reduction and drastic punishment of Tyre. King Eshmun-`zar was not unique in his choice of burial in an Egyptian coffin, for he merely followed the example of his royal father, Tabnîth, "priest of `Ashtart and king of the Sidonians", whose sarcophagus, preserved at Constantinople, still bears in addition to his own epitaph that of its former occupant, a certain Egyptian general Penptah. But more instructive than these borrowed memorials is

a genuine example of Phoenician work, the stele set up by Yehaw-milk, king of Byblos, and dating from the fourth or fifth century B.C.[2] In the sculptured panel at the head of the stele the king is represented in the Persian dress of the period standing in the presence of `Ashtart or Astarte, his "Lady, Mistress of Byblos". There is no doubt that the stele is of native workmanship, but the influence of Egypt may be seen in the technique of the carving, in the winged disk above the figures, and still more in the representation of the goddess in her character as the Egyptian Hathor, with disk and horns, vulture head-dress and papyrus-sceptre. The inscription records the dedication of an altar and shrine to the goddess, and these too we may conjecture were fashioned on Egyptian lines.

[1] /Corp. Inscr. Semit./, I. i, tab. II.

[2] /C.I.S./, I. i, tab. I.

The representation of Semitic deities under Egyptian forms and with Egyptian attributes was encouraged by the introduction of their cults into Egypt itself. In addition to Astarte of Byblos, Ba`al, Anath, and Reshef were all borrowed from Syria in comparatively early times and given Egyptian characters. The conical Syrian helmet of Reshef, a god of war and thunder, gradually gave place to the white Egyptian crown, so that as Reshefpu he was represented as a royal warrior; and Qadesh, another form of Astarte, becoming popular with Egyptian women as a patroness of love and fecundity, was also sometimes modelled on Hathor.[1]

[1] See W. Max Müller, /Egyptological Researches/, I, p. 32 f., pl. 41, and S. A. Cook, /Religion of Ancient Palestine/, pp. 83 ff.

Semitic colonists on the Egyptian border were ever ready to adopt Egyptian symbolism in delineating the native gods to whom they owed allegiance, and a particularly striking example of this may be seen on a stele of the Persian period preserved in the Cairo Museum.[1] It was found at Tell Defenneh, on the right bank of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, close to the old Egyptian highway into Syria, a site which may be identified with that of the biblical Tahpanhes and the Daphnae of the Greeks. Here it was that the Jewish fugitives, fleeing with Jeremiah after the fall of Jerusalem, founded a Jewish colony beside a flourishing Phoenician and Aramaean settlement. One of the local gods of Tahpanhes is represented on the Cairo monument, an Egyptian stele in the form of a naos with the winged solar disk upon its frieze. He stands on the back of a lion and is clothed in Asiatic costume with the high Syrian tiara crowning his abundant hair. The Syrian workmanship is obvious, and the Syrian character of the cult may be

recognized in such details as the small brazen fire-altar before the god, and the sacred pillar which is being anointed by the officiating priest. But the god holds in his left hand a purely Egyptian sceptre and in his right an emblem as purely Babylonian, the weapon of Marduk and Gilgamesh which was also wielded by early Sumerian kings.

[1] Müller, op. cit., p. 30 f., pl. 40. Numismatic evidence exhibits a similar readiness on the part of local Syrian cults to adopt the veneer of Hellenistic civilization while retaining in great measure their own individuality; see Hill, "Some Palestinian Cults in the Graeco-Roman Age", in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. V (1912).

The Elephantine papyri have shown that the early Jews of the Diaspora, though untrammelled by the orthodoxy of Jerusalem, maintained the purity of their local cult in the face of considerable difficulties. Hence the gravestones of their Aramaean contemporaries, which have been found in Egypt, can only be cited to illustrate the temptations to which they were exposed.[1] Such was the memorial erected by Abseli to the memory of his parents, Abbâ and Ahatbû, in the fourth year of Xerxes, 481 B.C.[2] They had evidently adopted the religion of Osiris, and were buried at Saqqârah in accordance with the Egyptian rites. The upper scene engraved upon the stele represents Abbâ and his wife in the presence of Osiris, who is attended by Isis and Nephthys; and in the lower panel is the funeral scene, in which all the mourners with one exception are Asiatics. Certain details of the rites that are represented, and mistakes in the hieroglyphic version of the text, prove that the work is Aramaean throughout.[3]

[1] It may be admitted that the Greek platonized cult of Isis and Osiris had its origin in the fusion of Greeks and Egyptians which took place in Ptolemaic times (cf. Scott-Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt*, p. 33 f.). But we may assume that already in the Persian period the Osiris cult had begun to acquire a tinge of mysticism, which, though it did not affect the mechanical reproduction of the native texts, appealed to the Oriental mind as well as to certain elements in Greek religion. Persian influence probably prepared the way for the Platonic exegesis of the Osiris and Isis legends which we find in Plutarch; and the latter may have been in great measure a development, and not, as is often assumed, a complete misunderstanding of the later Egyptian cult.

[2] *C.I.S.*, II. i, tab. XI, No. 122.

[3] A very similar monument is the Carpentras Stele (*C.I.S.*, II. i, tab. XIII, No. 141), commemorating Taba, daughter of Tahapi, an

Aramaean lady who was also a convert to Osiris. It is rather later than that of Abbâ and his wife, since the Aramaic characters are transitional from the archaic to the square alphabet; see Driver, /Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel/, pp. xviii ff., and Cooke, /North Semitic Inscriptions/, p. 205 f. The Vatican Stele (op. cit. tab. XIV. No. 142), which dates from the fourth century, represents inferior work.

If our examples of Semitic art were confined to the Persian and later periods, they could only be employed to throw light on their own epoch, when through communication had been organized, and there was consequently a certain pooling of commercial and artistic products throughout the empire.[1] It is true that under the Great King the various petty states and provinces were encouraged to manage their own affairs so long as they paid the required tribute, but their horizon naturally expanded with increase of commerce and the necessity for service in the king's armies. At this time Aramaic was the speech of Syria, and the population, especially in the cities, was still largely Aramaean. As early as the thirteenth century sections of this interesting Semitic race had begun to press into Northern Syria from the middle Euphrates, and they absorbed not only the old Canaanite population but also the Hittite immigrants from Cappadocia. The latter indeed may for a time have furnished rulers to the vigorous North Syrian principalities which resulted from this racial combination, but the Aramaean element, thanks to continual reinforcement, was numerically dominant, and their art may legitimately be regarded as in great measure a Semitic product. Fortunately we have recovered examples of sculpture which prove that tendencies already noted in the Persian period were at work, though in a minor degree, under the later Assyrian empire. The discoveries made at Zinjirli, for example, illustrate the gradually increasing effect of Assyrian influence upon the artistic output of a small North Syrian state.

[1] Cf. Bevan, /House of Seleucus/, Vol. I, pp. 5, 260 f. The artistic influence of Mesopotamia was even more widely spread than that of Egypt during the Persian period. This is suggested, for example, by the famous lion-weight discovered at Abydos in Mysia, the town on the Hellespont famed for the loves of Hero and Leander. The letters of its Aramaic inscription (/C.I.S./, II. i, tab. VII, No. 108) prove by their form that it dates from the Persian period, and its provenance is sufficiently attested. Its weight moreover suggests that it was not merely a Babylonian or Persian importation, but cast for local use, yet in design and technique it is scarcely distinguishable from the best Assyrian work of the seventh century.

This village in north-western Syria, on the road between Antioch and Mar`ash, marks the site of a town which lay near the southern border or just within the Syrian district of Sam'al. The latter is first mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions by Shalmaneser III, the son and successor of the great conqueror, Ashur-nasir-pal; and in the first half of the eighth century, though within the radius of Assyrian influence, it was still an independent kingdom. It is to this period that we must assign the earliest of the inscribed monuments discovered at Zenjirli and its neighbourhood. At Gerjin, not far to the north-west, was found the colossal statue of Hadad, chief god of the Aramaeans, which was fashioned and set up in his honour by Panammu I, son of Qaral and king of Ya'di.[1] In the long Aramaic inscription engraved upon the statue Panammu records the prosperity of his reign, which he ascribes to the support he has received from Hadad and his other gods, El, Reshef, Rekub-el, and Shamash. He had evidently been left in peace by Assyria, and the monument he erected to his god is of Aramaean workmanship and design. But the influence of Assyria may be traced in Hadad's beard and in his horned head-dress, modelled on that worn by Babylonian and Assyrian gods as the symbol of divine power.

[1] See F. von Luschan, */Sendschirli/,* I. (1893), pp. 49 ff., pl. vi; and cf. Cooke, */North Sem. Inscr./*, pp. 159 ff. The characters of the inscription on the statue are of the same archaic type as those of the Moabite Stone, though unlike them they are engraved in relief; so too are the inscriptions of Panammu's later successor Bar-rekub (see below). Gerjin was certainly in Ya'di, and Winckler's suggestion that Zenjirli itself also lay in that district but near the border of Sam'al may be provisionally accepted; the occurrence of the names in the inscriptions can be explained in more than one way (see Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 183).

The political changes introduced into Ya'di and Sam'al by Tiglath-pileser IV are reflected in the inscriptions and monuments of Bar-rekub, a later king of the district. Internal strife had brought disaster upon Ya'di and the throne had been secured by Panammu II, son of Bar-sur, whose claims received Assyrian support. In the words of his son Bar-rekub, "he laid hold of the skirt of his lord, the king of Assyria", who was gracious to him; and it was probably at this time, and as a reward for his loyalty, that Ya'di was united with the neighbouring district of Sam'al. But Panammu's devotion to his foreign master led to his death, for he died at the siege of Damascus, in 733 or 732 B.C., "in the camp, while following his lord, Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria". His kinsfolk and the whole camp bewailed him, and his body was sent back to Ya'di, where it was interred by his son, who set up an inscribed statue to his memory. Bar-rekub followed in his father's footsteps, as he leads us to infer in his palace-inscription

found at Zenzirli: "I ran at the wheel of my lord, the king of Assyria, in the midst of mighty kings, possessors of silver and possessors of gold." It is not strange therefore that his art should reflect Assyrian influence far more strikingly than that of Panammu I. The figure of himself which he caused to be carved in relief on the left side of the palace-inscription is in the Assyrian style,[1] and so too is another of his reliefs from Zenzirli. On the latter Bar-rekub is represented seated upon his throne with eunuch and scribe in attendance, while in the field is the emblem of full moon and crescent, here ascribed to "Ba'al of Harran", the famous centre of moon-worship in Northern Mesopotamia.[2]

[1] /Sendschirli/, IV (1911), pl. lxvii. Attitude and treatment of robes are both Assyrian, and so is the arrangement of divine symbols in the upper field, though some of the latter are given under unfamiliar forms. The king's close-fitting peaked cap was evidently the royal headdress of Sam'al; see the royal figure on a smaller stele of inferior design, op. cit., pl. lxvi.

[2] Op. cit. pp. 257, 346 ff., and pl. ix. The general style of the sculpture and much of the detail are obviously Assyrian. Assyrian influence is particularly noticeable in Bar-rekub's throne; the details of its decoration are precisely similar to those of an Assyrian bronze throne in the British Museum. The full moon and crescent are not of the familiar form, but are mounted on a standard with tassels.

The detailed history and artistic development of Sam'al and Ya'di convey a very vivid impression of the social and material effects upon the native population of Syria, which followed the westward advance of Assyria in the eighth century. We realize not only the readiness of one party in the state to defeat its rival with the help of Assyrian support, but also the manner in which the life and activities of the nation as a whole were unavoidably affected by their action. Other Hittite-Aramaeans and Phoenician monuments, as yet undocumented with literary records, exhibit a strange but not unpleasing mixture of foreign /motifs/, such as we see on the stele from Amrith[1] in the inland district of Arvad. But perhaps the most remarkable example of Syrian art we possess is the king's gate recently discovered at Carchemish.[2] The presence of the hieroglyphic inscriptions points to the survival of Hittite tradition, but the figures represented in the reliefs are of Aramaean, not Hittite, type. Here the king is seen leading his eldest son by the hand in some stately ceremonial, and ranged in registers behind them are the younger members of the royal family, whose ages are indicated by their occupations.[3] The employment of basalt in place of limestone does not disguise the

sculptor's debt to Assyria. But the design is entirely his own, and the combined dignity and homeliness of the composition are refreshingly superior to the arrogant spirit and hard execution which mar so much Assyrian work. This example is particularly instructive, as it shows how a borrowed art may be developed in skilled hands and made to serve a purpose in complete harmony with its new environment.

[1] /Collection de Clercq/, t. II, pl. xxxvi. The stele is sculptured in relief with the figure of a North Syrian god. Here the winged disk is Egyptian, as well as the god's helmet with uraeus, and his loin-cloth; his attitude and his supporting lion are Hittite; and the lozenge-mountains, on which the lion stands, and the technique of the carving are Assyrian. But in spite of its composite character the design is quite successful and not in the least incongruous.

[2] Hogarth, /Carchemish/, Pt. I (1914), pl. B. 7 f.

[3] Two of the older boys play at knuckle-bones, others whip spinning-tops, and a little naked girl runs behind supporting herself with a stick, on the head of which is carved a bird. The procession is brought up by the queen-mother, who carries the youngest baby and leads a pet lamb.

Such monuments surely illustrate the adaptability of the Semitic craftsman among men of Phoenician and Aramaean strain. Excavation in Palestine has failed to furnish examples of Hebrew work. But Hebrew tradition itself justifies us in regarding this /trait/ as of more general application, or at any rate as not repugnant to Hebrew thought, when it relates that Solomon employed Tyrian craftsmen for work upon the Temple and its furniture; for Phoenician art was essentially Egyptian in its origin and general character. Even Eshmun-zar's desire for burial in an Egyptian sarcophagus may be paralleled in Hebrew tradition of a much earlier period, when, in the last verse of Genesis,[1] it is recorded that Joseph died, "and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt". Since it formed the subject of prophetic denunciation, I refrain for the moment from citing the notorious adoption of Assyrian customs at certain periods of the later Judaeon monarchy. The two records I have referred to will suffice, for we have in them cherished traditions, of which the Hebrews themselves were proud, concerning the most famous example of Hebrew religious architecture and the burial of one of the patriarchs of the race. A similar readiness to make use of the best available resources, even of foreign origin, may on analogy be regarded as at least possible in the composition of Hebrew literature.

[1] Gen. I. 26, assigned by critics to E.

We shall see that the problems we have to face concern the possible influence of Babylon, rather than of Egypt, upon Hebrew tradition. And one last example, drawn from the later period, will serve to demonstrate how Babylonian influence penetrated the ancient world and has even left some trace upon modern civilization. It is a fact, though one perhaps not generally realized, that the twelve divisions on the dials of our clocks and watches have a Babylonian, and ultimately a Sumerian, ancestry. For why is it we divide the day into twenty-four hours? We have a decimal system of reckoning, we count by tens; why then should we divide the day and night into twelve hours each, instead of into ten or some multiple of ten? The reason is that the Babylonians divided the day into twelve double-hours; and the Greeks took over their ancient system of time-division along with their knowledge of astronomy and passed it on to us. So if we ourselves, after more than two thousand years, are making use of an old custom from Babylon, it would not be surprising if the Hebrews, a contemporary race, should have fallen under her influence even before they were carried away as captives and settled forcibly upon her river-banks.

We may pass on, then, to the site from which our new material has been obtained--the ancient city of Nippur, in central Babylonia. Though the place has been deserted for at least nine hundred years, its ancient name still lingers on in local tradition, and to this day /Niffer/ or /Nuffar/ is the name the Arabs give the mounds which cover its extensive ruins. No modern town or village has been built upon them or in their immediate neighbourhood. The nearest considerable town is Dîwânîyah, on the left bank of the Hillah branch of the Euphrates, twenty miles to the south-west; but some four miles to the south of the ruins is the village of Sûq el-`Afej, on the eastern edge of the `Afej marshes, which begin to the south of Nippur and stretch away westward. Protected by its swamps, the region contains a few primitive settlements of the wild `Afej tribesmen, each a group of reed-huts clustering around the mud fort of its ruling sheikh. Their chief enemies are the Shammâr, who dispute with them possession of the pastures. In summer the marshes near the mounds are merely pools of water connected by channels through the reed-beds, but in spring the flood-water converts them into a vast lagoon, and all that meets the eye are a few small hamlets built on rising knolls above the water-level. Thus Nippur may be almost isolated during the floods, but the mounds are protected from the waters' encroachment by an outer ring of former habitation which has slightly raised the level of the encircling area. The ruins of the city stand from thirty to seventy feet above the plain, and in the north-eastern corner there rose,

before the excavations, a conical mound, known by the Arabs as /Bint el-Emîr/ or "The Princess". This prominent landmark represents the temple-tower of Enlil's famous sanctuary, and even after excavation it is still the first object that the approaching traveller sees on the horizon. When he has climbed its summit he enjoys an uninterrupted view over desert and swamp.

The cause of Nippur's present desolation is to be traced to the change in the bed of the Euphrates, which now lies far to the west. But in antiquity the stream flowed through the centre of the city, along the dry bed of the Shatt en-Nîl, which divides the mounds into an eastern and a western group. The latter covers the remains of the city proper and was occupied in part by the great business-houses and bazaars. Here more than thirty thousand contracts and accounts, dating from the fourth millennium to the fifth century B.C., were found in houses along the former river-bank. In the eastern half of the city was Enlil's great temple Ekur, with its temple-tower Imkharsag rising in successive stages beside it. The huge temple-enclosure contained not only the sacrificial shrines, but also the priests' apartments, store-chambers, and temple-magazines. Outside its enclosing wall, to the south-west, a large triangular mound, christened "Tablet Hill" by the excavators, yielded a further supply of records. In addition to business-documents of the First Dynasty of Babylon and of the later Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian periods, between two and three thousand literary texts and fragments were discovered here, many of them dating from the Sumerian period. And it is possible that some of the early literary texts that have been published were obtained in other parts of the city.

No less than twenty-one different strata, representing separate periods of occupation, have been noted by the American excavators at various levels within the Nippur mounds,[1] the earliest descending to virgin soil some twenty feet below the present level of the surrounding plain. The remote date of Nippur's foundation as a city and cult-centre is attested by the fact that the pavement laid by Narâm-Sin in the south-eastern temple-court lies thirty feet above virgin soil, while only thirty-six feet of superimposed /débris/ represent the succeeding millennia of occupation down to Sassanian and early Arab times. In the period of the Hebrew captivity the city still ranked as a great commercial market and as one of the most sacred repositories of Babylonian religious tradition. We know that not far off was Tel-abib, the seat of one of the colonies of Jewish exiles, for that lay "by the river of Chebar", [2] which we may identify with the Kabaru Canal in Nippur's immediate neighbourhood. It was "among the captives by the river Chebar" that Ezekiel lived and prophesied, and it was on Chebar's banks that he saw his first vision of the

Cherubim.[3] He and other of the Jewish exiles may perhaps have mingled with the motley crowd that once thronged the streets of Nippur, and they may often have gazed on the huge temple-tower which rose above the city's flat roofs. We know that the later population of Nippur itself included a considerable Jewish element, for the upper strata of the mounds have yielded numerous clay bowls with Hebrew, Mandaean, and Syriac magical inscriptions;[4] and not the least interesting of the objects recovered was the wooden box of a Jewish scribe, containing his pen and ink-vessel and a little scrap of crumbling parchment inscribed with a few Hebrew characters.[5]

[1] See Hilprecht, */Explorations in Bible Lands/*, pp. 289 ff., 540 ff.; and Fisher, */Excavations at Nippur/*, Pt. I (1905), Pt. II (1906).

[2] Ezek. iii. 15.

[3] Ezek. i. 1, 3; iii. 23; and cf. x. 15, 20, 22, and xliii. 3.

[4] See J. A. Montgomery, */Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur/*, 1913

[5] Hilprecht, */Explorations/*, p. 555 f.

Of the many thousands of inscribed clay tablets which were found in the course of the expeditions, some were kept at Constantinople, while others were presented by the Sultan Abdul Hamid to the excavators, who had them conveyed to America. Since that time a large number have been published. The work was necessarily slow, for many of the texts were found to be in an extremely bad state of preservation. So it happened that a great number of the boxes containing tablets remained until recently still packed up in the store-rooms of the Pennsylvania Museum. But under the present energetic Director of the Museum, Dr. G. B. Gordon, the process of arranging and publishing the mass of literary material has been "speeded up". A staff of skilled workmen has been employed on the laborious task of cleaning the broken tablets and fitting the fragments together. At the same time the help of several Assyriologists was welcomed in the further task of running over and sorting the collections as they were prepared for study. Professor Clay, Professor Barton, Dr. Langdon, Dr. Edward Chiera, and Dr. Arno Poebel have all participated in the work. But the lion's share has fallen to the last-named scholar, who was given leave of absence by John Hopkins University in order to take up a temporary appointment at the Pennsylvania Museum. The result of his labours was published by the Museum at the end of 1914.[1] The texts thus made available for study are of very varied interest. A great body of them

are grammatical and represent compilations made by Semitic scribes of the period of Hammurabi's dynasty for their study of the old Sumerian tongue. Containing, as most of them do, Semitic renderings of the Sumerian words and expressions collected, they are as great a help to us in our study of Sumerian language as they were to their compilers; in particular they have thrown much new light on the paradigms of the demonstrative and personal pronouns and on Sumerian verbal forms. But literary texts are also included in the recent publications.

[1] Poebel, /Historical Texts/ and /Historical and Grammatical Texts/ (Univ. of Penns. Mus. Publ., Bab. Sect., Vol. IV, No. 1, and Vol. V), Philadelphia, 1914.

When the Pennsylvania Museum sent out its first expedition, lively hopes were entertained that the site selected would yield material of interest from the biblical standpoint. The city of Nippur, as we have seen, was one of the most sacred and most ancient religious centres in the country, and Enlil, its city-god, was the head of the Babylonian pantheon. On such a site it seemed likely that we might find versions of the Babylonian legends which were current at the dawn of history before the city of Babylonia and its Semitic inhabitants came upon the scene. This expectation has proved to be not unfounded, for the literary texts include the Sumerian Deluge Version and Creation myth to which I referred at the beginning of the lecture. Other texts of almost equal interest consist of early though fragmentary lists of historical and semi-mythical rulers. They prove that Berossus and the later Babylonians depended on material of quite early origin in compiling their dynasties of semi-mythical kings. In them we obtain a glimpse of ages more remote than any on which excavation in Babylonia has yet thrown light, and for the first time we have recovered genuine native tradition of early date with regard to the cradle of Babylonian culture. Before we approach the Sumerian legends themselves, it will be as well to-day to trace back in this tradition the gradual merging of history into legend and myth, comparing at the same time the ancient Egyptian's picture of his own remote past. We will also ascertain whether any new light is thrown by our inquiry upon Hebrew traditions concerning the earliest history of the human race and the origins of civilization.

In the study of both Egyptian and Babylonian chronology there has been a tendency of late years to reduce the very early dates that were formerly in fashion. But in Egypt, while the dynasties of Manetho have been telescoped in places, excavation has thrown light on predynastic periods, and we can now trace the history of culture in the Nile Valley back, through an unbroken sequence, to its neolithic stage. Quite recently, too, as I mentioned just now, a fresh literary record

of these early predynastic periods has been recovered, on a fragment of the famous Palermo Stele, our most valuable monument for early Egyptian history and chronology. Egypt presents a striking contrast to Babylonia in the comparatively small number of written records which have survived for the reconstruction of her history. We might well spare much of her religious literature, enshrined in endless temple-inscriptions and papyri, if we could but exchange it for some of the royal annals of Egyptian Pharaohs. That historical records of this character were compiled by the Egyptian scribes, and that they were as detailed and precise in their information as those we have recovered from Assyrian sources, is clear from the few extracts from the annals of Thothmes III's wars which are engraved on the walls of the temple at Karnak.[1] As in Babylonia and Assyria, such records must have formed the foundation on which summaries of chronicles of past Egyptian history were based. In the Palermo Stele it is recognized that we possess a primitive chronicle of this character.

[1] See Breasted, /Ancient Records/, I, p. 4, II, pp. 163 ff.

Drawn up as early as the Vth Dynasty, its historical summary proves that from the beginning of the dynastic age onward a yearly record was kept of the most important achievements of the reigning Pharaoh. In this fragmentary but invaluable epitome, recording in outline much of the history of the Old Kingdom,[1] some interesting parallels have long been noted with Babylonian usage. The early system of time-reckoning, for example, was the same in both countries, each year being given an official title from the chief event that occurred in it. And although in Babylonia we are still without material for tracing the process by which this cumbrous method gave place to that of reckoning by regnal years, the Palermo Stele demonstrates the way in which the latter system was evolved in Egypt. For the events from which the year was named came gradually to be confined to the fiscal "numberings" of cattle and land. And when these, which at first had taken place at comparatively long intervals, had become annual events, the numbered sequence of their occurrence corresponded precisely to the years of the king's reign. On the stele, during the dynastic period, each regnal year is allotted its own space or rectangle,[2] arranged in horizontal sequence below the name and titles of the ruling king.

[1] Op. cit., I, pp. 57 ff.

[2] The spaces are not strictly rectangles, as each is divided vertically from the next by the Egyptian hieroglyph for "year".

The text, which is engraved on both sides of a great block of black

basalt, takes its name from the fact that the fragment hitherto known has been preserved since 1877 at the Museum of Palermo. Five other fragments of the text have now been published, of which one undoubtedly belongs to the same monument as the Palermo fragment, while the others may represent parts of one or more duplicate copies of that famous text. One of the four Cairo fragments[1] was found by a digger for /sebak/ at Mitrahîneh (Memphis); the other three, which were purchased from a dealer, are said to have come from Minieh, while the fifth fragment, at University College, is also said to have come from Upper Egypt,[2] though it was purchased by Professor Petrie while at Memphis. These reports suggest that a number of duplicate copies were engraved and set up in different Egyptian towns, and it is possible that the whole of the text may eventually be recovered. The choice of basalt for the records was obviously dictated by a desire for their preservation, but it has had the contrary effect; for the blocks of this hard and precious stone have been cut up and reused in later times. The largest and most interesting of the new fragments has evidently been employed as a door-sill, with the result that its surface is much rubbed and parts of its text are unfortunately almost undecipherable. We shall see that the earliest section of its record has an important bearing on our knowledge of Egyptian predynastic history and on the traditions of that remote period which have come down to us from the history of Manetho.

[1] See Gautier, */Le Musée Égyptien/*, III (1915), pp. 29 ff., pl. xxiv ff., and Foucart, */Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale/*, XII, ii (1916), pp. 161 ff.; and cf. Gardiner, */Journ. of Egypt. Arch./*, III, pp. 143 ff., and Petrie, */Ancient Egypt/*, 1916, Pt. III, pp. 114 ff.

[2] Cf. Petrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, 120.

From the fragment of the stele preserved at Palermo we already knew that its record went back beyond the 1st Dynasty into predynastic times. For part of the top band of the inscription, which is there preserved, contains nine names borne by kings of Lower Egypt or the Delta, which, it had been conjectured, must follow the gods of Manetho and precede the "Worshippers of Horus", the immediate predecessors of the Egyptian dynasties.[1] But of contemporary rulers of Upper Egypt we had hitherto no knowledge, since the supposed royal names discovered at Abydos and assigned to the time of the "Worshippers of Horus" are probably not royal names at all.[2] With the possible exception of two very archaic slate palettes, the first historical memorials recovered from the south do not date from an earlier period than the beginning of the 1st Dynasty. The largest of the Cairo fragments now helps us to fill in this gap in our knowledge.

[1] See Breasted, */Anc. Rec./*, I, pp. 52, 57.

[2] Cf. Hall, */Ancient History of the Near East/*, p. 99 f.

On the top of the new fragment[1] we meet the same band of rectangles as at Palermo,[2] but here their upper portions are broken away, and there only remains at the base of each of them the outlined figure of a royal personage, seated in the same attitude as those on the Palermo stone. The remarkable fact about these figures is that, with the apparent exception of the third figure from the right,[3] each wears, not the Crown of the North, as at Palermo, but the Crown of the South. We have then to do with kings of Upper Egypt, not the Delta, and it is no longer possible to suppose that the predynastic rulers of the Palermo Stele were confined to those of Lower Egypt, as reflecting northern tradition. Rulers of both halves of the country are represented, and Monsieur Gautier has shown,[4] from data on the reverse of the inscription, that the kings of the Delta were arranged on the original stone before the rulers of the south who are outlined upon our new fragment. Moreover, we have now recovered definite proof that this band of the inscription is concerned with predynastic Egyptian princes; for the cartouche of the king, whose years are enumerated in the second band immediately below the kings of the south, reads Athet, a name we may with certainty identify with Athothes, the second successor of Menes, founder of the 1st Dynasty, which is already given under the form Ateth in the Abydos List of Kings.[5] It is thus quite certain that the first band of the inscription relates to the earlier periods before the two halves of the country were brought together under a single ruler.

[1] Cairo No. 1; see Gautier, */Mus. Égypt./*, III, pl. xxiv f.

[2] In this upper band the spaces are true rectangles, being separated by vertical lines, not by the hieroglyph for "year" as in the lower bands; and each rectangle is assigned to a separate king, and not, as in the other bands, to a year of a king's reign.

[3] The difference in the crown worn by this figure is probably only apparent and not intentional; M. Foucart, after a careful examination of the fragment, concludes that it is due to subsequent damage or to an original defect in the stone; cf. */Bulletin/*, XII, ii, p. 162.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 32 f.

[5] In Manetho's list he corresponds to {Kenkenos}, the second

successor of Menes according to both Africanus and Eusebius, who assign the name Athothis to the second ruler of the dynasty only, the Teta of the Abydos List. The form Athothes is preserved by Eratosthenes for both of Menes' immediate successors.

Though the tradition of these remote times is here recorded on a monument of the Vth Dynasty, there is no reason to doubt its general accuracy, or to suppose that we are dealing with purely mythological personages. It is perhaps possible, as Monsieur Foucart suggests, that missing portions of the text may have carried the record back through purely mythical periods to Ptah and the Creation. In that case we should have, as we shall see, a striking parallel to early Sumerian tradition. But in the first extant portions of the Palermo text we are already in the realm of genuine tradition. The names preserved appear to be those of individuals, not of mythological creations, and we may assume that their owners really existed. For though the invention of writing had not at that time been achieved, its place was probably taken by oral tradition. We know that with certain tribes of Africa at the present day, who possess no knowledge of writing, there are functionaries charged with the duty of preserving tribal traditions, who transmit orally to their successors a remembrance of past chiefs and some details of events that occurred centuries before.[1] The predynastic Egyptians may well have adopted similar means for preserving a remembrance of their past history.

[1] M. Foucart illustrates this point by citing the case of the Bushongos, who have in this way preserved a list of no less than a hundred and twenty-one of their past kings; *op. cit.*, p. 182, and cf. Tordey and Joyce, "Les Bushongos", in *Annales du Musée du Congo Belge*, sér. III, t. II, fasc. i (Brussels, 1911).

Moreover, the new text furnishes fresh proof of the general accuracy of Manetho, even when dealing with traditions of this prehistoric age. On the stele there is no definite indication that these two sets of predynastic kings were contemporaneous rulers of Lower and Upper Egypt respectively; and since elsewhere the lists assign a single sovereign to each epoch, it has been suggested that we should regard them as successive representatives of the legitimate kingdom.[1] Now Manetho, after his dynasties of gods and demi-gods, states that thirty Memphite kings reigned for 1,790 years, and were followed by ten Thinite kings whose reigns covered a period of 350 years. Neglecting the figures as obviously erroneous, we may well admit that the Greek historian here alludes to our two pre-Menite dynasties. But the fact that he should regard them as ruling consecutively does not preclude the other alternative. The modern convention of arranging lines of contemporaneous rulers in parallel columns had not been evolved in

antiquity, and without some such method of distinction contemporaneous rulers, when enumerated in a list, can only be registered consecutively. It would be natural to assume that, before the unification of Egypt by the founder of the 1st Dynasty, the rulers of North and South were independent princes, possessing no traditions of a united throne on which any claim to hegemony could be based. On the assumption that this was so, their arrangement in a consecutive series would not have deceived their immediate successors. But it would undoubtedly tend in course of time to obliterate the tradition of their true order, which even at the period of the Vth Dynasty may have been completely forgotten. Manetho would thus have introduced no strange or novel confusion; and this explanation would of course apply to other sections of his system where the dynasties he enumerates appear to be too many for their period. But his reproduction of two lines of predynastic rulers, supported as it now is by the early evidence of the Palermo text, only serves to increase our confidence in the general accuracy of his sources, while at the same time it illustrates very effectively the way in which possible inaccuracies, deduced from independent data, may have arisen in quite early times.

[1] Foucart, loc. cit.

In contrast to the dynasties of Manetho, those of Berossus are so imperfectly preserved that they have never formed the basis of Babylonian chronology.[1] But here too, in the chronological scheme, a similar process of reduction has taken place. Certain dynasties, recovered from native sources and at one time regarded as consecutive, were proved to have been contemporaneous; and archaeological evidence suggested that some of the great gaps, so freely assumed in the royal sequence, had no right to be there. As a result, the succession of known rulers was thrown into truer perspective, and such gaps as remained were being partially filled by later discoveries. Among the latter the most important find was that of an early list of kings, recently published by Père Scheil[2] and subsequently purchased by the British Museum shortly before the war. This had helped us to fill in the gap between the famous Sargon of Akkad and the later dynasties, but it did not carry us far beyond Sargon's own time. Our archaeological evidence also comes suddenly to an end. Thus the earliest picture we have hitherto obtained of the Sumerians has been that of a race employing an advanced system of writing and possessed of a knowledge of metal. We have found, in short, abundant remains of a bronze-age culture, but no traces of preceding ages of development such as meet us on early Egyptian sites. It was a natural inference that the advent of the Sumerians in the Euphrates Valley was sudden, and that they had brought their highly developed culture with them from some region of Central or Southern Asia.

[1] While the evidence of Herodotus is extraordinarily valuable for the details he gives of the civilizations of both Egypt and Babylonia, and is especially full in the case of the former, it is of little practical use for the chronology. In Egypt his report of the early history is confused, and he hardly attempts one for Babylonia. It is probable that on such subjects he sometimes misunderstood his informants, the priests, whose traditions were more accurately reproduced by the later native writers Manetho and Berossus. For a detailed comparison of classical authorities in relation to both countries, see Griffith in Hogarth's *Authority and Archaeology*, pp. 161 ff.

[2] See *Comptes rendus*, 1911 (Oct.), pp. 606 ff., and *Rev. d'Assyr.*, IX (1912), p. 69.

The newly published Nippur documents will cause us to modify that view. The lists of early kings were themselves drawn up under the Dynasty of Nîsin in the twenty-second century B.C., and they give us traces of possibly ten and at least eight other "kingdoms" before the earliest dynasty of the known lists.[1] One of their novel features is that they include summaries at the end, in which it is stated how often a city or district enjoyed the privilege of being the seat of supreme authority in Babylonia. The earliest of their sections lie within the legendary period, and though in the third dynasty preserved we begin to note signs of a firmer historical tradition, the great break that then occurs in the text is at present only bridged by titles of various "kingdoms" which the summaries give; a few even of these are missing and the relative order of the rest is not assured. But in spite of their imperfect state of preservation, these documents are of great historical value and will furnish a framework for future chronological schemes. Meanwhile we may attribute to some of the later dynasties titles in complete agreement with Sumerian tradition. The dynasty of Ur-Engur, for example, which preceded that of Nîsin, becomes, if we like, the Third Dynasty of Ur. Another important fact which strikes us after a scrutiny of the early royal names recovered is that, while two or three are Semitic,[2] the great majority of those borne by the earliest rulers of Kish, Erech, and Ur are as obviously Sumerian.

[1] See Poebel, */Historical Texts/*, pp. 73 ff. and */Historical and Grammatical Texts/*, pl. ii-iv, Nos. 2-5. The best preserved of the lists is No. 2; Nos. 3 and 4 are comparatively small fragments; and of No. 5 the obverse only is here published for the first time, the contents of the reverse having been made known some years ago by Hilprecht (cf. */Mathematical, Metrological, and*

Chronological Tablets/, p. 46 f., pl. 30, No. 47). The fragments belong to separate copies of the Sumerian dynastic record, and it happens that the extant portions of their text in some places cover the same period and are duplicates of one another.

[2] Cf., e.g., two of the earliest kings of Kish, Galumum and Zugagib. The former is probably the Semitic-Babylonian word /kalumum/, "young animal, lamb," the latter /zukakîbum/, "scorpion"; cf. Poebel, /Hist. Texts/, p. 111. The occurrence of these names points to Semitic infiltration into Northern Babylonia since the dawn of history, a state of things we should naturally expect. It is improbable that on this point Sumerian tradition should have merely reflected the conditions of a later period.

It is clear that in native tradition, current among the Sumerians themselves before the close of the third millennium, their race was regarded as in possession of Babylonia since the dawn of history. This at any rate proves that their advent was not sudden nor comparatively recent, and it further suggests that Babylonia itself was the cradle of their civilization. It will be the province of future archaeological research to fill out the missing dynasties and to determine at what points in the list their strictly historical basis disappears. Some, which are fortunately preserved near the beginning, bear on their face their legendary character. But for our purpose they are none the worse for that.

In the first two dynasties, which had their seats at the cities of Kish and Erech, we see gods mingling with men upon the earth. Tammuz, the god of vegetation, for whose annual death Ezekiel saw women weeping beside the Temple at Jerusalem, is here an earthly monarch. He appears to be described as "a hunter", a phrase which recalls the death of Adonis in Greek mythology. According to our Sumerian text he reigned in Erech for a hundred years.

Another attractive Babylonian legend is that of Etana, the prototype of Icarus and hero of the earliest dream of human flight.[1] Clinging to the pinions of his friend the Eagle he beheld the world and its encircling stream recede beneath him; and he flew through the gate of heaven, only to fall headlong back to earth. He is here duly entered in the list, where we read that "Etana, the shepherd who ascended to heaven, who subdued all lands", ruled in the city of Kish for 635 years.

[1] The Egyptian conception of the deceased Pharaoh ascending to heaven as a falcon and becoming merged into the sun, which first occurs in the Pyramid texts (see Gardiner in Cumont's /Études

Syriennes/, pp. 109 ff.), belongs to a different range of ideas. But it may well have been combined with the Etana tradition to produce the funerary eagle employed so commonly in Roman Syria in representations of the emperor's apotheosis (cf. Cumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff., 115).

The god Lugal-banda is another hero of legend. When the hearts of the other gods failed them, he alone recovered the Tablets of Fate, stolen by the bird-god Zû from Enlil's palace. He is here recorded to have reigned in Erech for 1,200 years.

Tradition already told us that Erech was the native city of Gilgamesh, the hero of the national epic, to whom his ancestor Ut-napishtim related the story of the Flood. Gilgamesh too is in our list, as king of Erech for 126 years.

We have here in fact recovered traditions of Post-diluvian kings. Unfortunately our list goes no farther back than that, but it is probable that in its original form it presented a general correspondence to the system preserved from Berossus, which enumerates ten Antediluvian kings, the last of them Xisuthros, the hero of the Deluge. Indeed, for the dynastic period, the agreement of these old Sumerian lists with the chronological system of Berossus is striking. The latter, according to Syncellus, gives 34,090 or 34,080 years as the total duration of the historical period, apart from his preceding mythical ages, while the figure as preserved by Eusebius is 33,091 years.[1] The compiler of one of our new lists,[2] writing some 1,900 years earlier, reckons that the dynastic period in his day had lasted for 32,243 years. Of course all these figures are mythical, and even at the time of the Sumerian Dynasty of Nîsin variant traditions were current with regard to the number of historical and semi-mythical kings of Babylonia and the duration of their rule. For the earlier writer of another of our lists,[3] separated from the one already quoted by an interval of only sixty-seven years, gives 28,876[4] years as the total duration of the dynasties at his time. But in spite of these discrepancies, the general resemblance presented by the huge totals in the variant copies of the list to the alternative figures of Berossus, if we ignore his mythical period, is remarkable. They indicate a far closer correspondence of the Greek tradition with that of the early Sumerians themselves than was formerly suspected.

[1] The figure 34,090 is that given by Syncellus (ed. Dindorf, p. 147); but it is 34,080 in the equivalent which is added in "sars", &c. The discrepancy is explained by some as due to an intentional omission of the units in the second reckoning; others would regard 34,080 as the correct figure (cf. *Hist. of Bab.*, p. 114 f.). The

reading of ninety against eighty is supported by the 33,091 of Eusebius (/Chron. lib. pri./, ed. Schoene, col. 25).

[2] No. 4.

[3] No. 2.

[4] The figures are broken, but the reading given may be accepted with some confidence; see Poebel, /Hist. Inscr./, p. 103.

Further proof of this correspondence may be seen in the fact that the new Sumerian Version of the Deluge Story, which I propose to discuss in the second lecture, gives us a connected account of the world's history down to that point. The Deluge hero is there a Sumerian king named Ziusudu, ruling in one of the newly created cities of Babylonia and ministering at the shrine of his city-god. He is continually given the royal title, and the foundation of the Babylonian "kingdom" is treated as an essential part of Creation. We may therefore assume that an Antediluvian period existed in Sumerian tradition as in Berossus.[1] And I think Dr. Poebel is right in assuming that the Nippur copies of the Dynastic List begin with the Post-diluvian period.[2]

[1] Of course it does not necessarily follow that the figure assigned to the duration of the Antediluvian or mythical period by the Sumerians would show so close a resemblance to that of Berossus as we have already noted in their estimates of the dynastic or historical period. But there is no need to assume that Berossus' huge total of a hundred and twenty "sars" (432,000 years) is entirely a product of Neo-Babylonian speculation; the total 432,000 is explained as representing ten months of a cosmic year, each month consisting of twelve "sars", i.e. $12 \times 3600 = 43,200$ years. The Sumerians themselves had no difficulty in picturing two of their dynastic rulers as each reigning for two "ners" (1,200 years), and it would not be unlikely that "sars" were distributed among still earlier rulers; the numbers were easily written. For the unequal distribution of his hundred and twenty "sars" by Berossus among his ten Antediluvian kings, see Appendix II.

[2] The exclusion of the Antediluvian period from the list may perhaps be explained on the assumption that its compiler confined his record to "kingdoms", and that the mythical rulers who preceded them did not form a "kingdom" within his definition of the term. In any case we have a clear indication that an earlier period was included before the true "kingdoms", or dynasties, in an Assyrian copy of the list, a fragment of which is preserved in the British

Museum from the Library of Ashur-bani-pal at Nineveh; see /Chron. conc. Early Bab. Kings/ (Studies in East. Hist., II f.), Vol. I, pp. 182 ff., Vol. II, pp. 48 ff., 143 f. There we find traces of an extra column of text preceding that in which the first Kingdom of Kish was recorded. It would seem almost certain that this extra column was devoted to Antediluvian kings. The only alternative explanation would be that it was inscribed with the summaries which conclude the Sumerian copies of our list. But later scribes do not so transpose their material, and the proper place for summaries is at the close, not at the beginning, of a list. In the Assyrian copy the Dynastic List is brought up to date, and extends down to the later Assyrian period. Formerly its compiler could only be credited with incorporating traditions of earlier times. But the correspondence of the small fragment preserved of its Second Column with part of the First Column of the Nippur texts (including the name of "Enmennunna") proves that the Assyrian scribe reproduced an actual copy of the Sumerian document.

Though Professor Barton, on the other hand, holds that the Dynastic List had no concern with the Deluge, his suggestion that the early names preserved by it may have been the original source of Berossus' Antediluvian rulers[1] may yet be accepted in a modified form. In coming to his conclusion he may have been influenced by what seems to me an undoubted correspondence between one of the rulers in our list and the sixth Antediluvian king of Berossus. I think few will be disposed to dispute the equation

{Daonos poimon} = Etana, a shepherd.

Each list preserves the hero's shepherd origin and the correspondence of the names is very close, Daonos merely transposing the initial vowel of Etana.[2] That Berossus should have translated a Post-diluvian ruler into the Antediluvian dynasty would not be at all surprising in view of the absence of detailed correspondence between his later dynasties and those we know actually occupied the Babylonian throne. Moreover, the inclusion of Babylon in his list of Antediluvian cities should make us hesitate to regard all the rulers he assigns to his earliest dynasty as necessarily retaining in his list their original order in Sumerian tradition. Thus we may with a clear conscience seek equations between the names of Berossus' Antediluvian rulers and those preserved in the early part of our Dynastic List, although we may regard the latter as equally Post-diluvian in Sumerian belief.

[1] See the brief statement he makes in the course of a review of Dr. Poebel's volumes in the /American Journal of Semitic Languages and

Literature/, XXXI, April 1915, p. 225. He does not compare any of the names, but he promises a study of those preserved and a comparison of the list with Berossus and with Gen. iv and v. It is possible that Professor Barton has already fulfilled his promise of further discussion, perhaps in his /Archaeology and the Bible/, to the publication of which I have seen a reference in another connexion (cf. /Journ. Amer. Or. Soc., Vol. XXXVI, p. 291); but I have not yet been able to obtain sight of a copy.

- [2] The variant form {Daos} is evidently a mere contraction, and any claim it may have had to represent more closely the original form of the name is to be disregarded in view of our new equation.

This reflection, and the result already obtained, encourage us to accept the following further equation, which is yielded by a renewed scrutiny of the lists:

{'Ammenon} = Enmenunna.

Here Ammenon, the fourth of Berossus' Antediluvian kings, presents a wonderfully close transcription of the Sumerian name. The /n/ of the first syllable has been assimilated to the following consonant in accordance with a recognized law of euphony, and the resultant doubling of the /m/ is faithfully preserved in the Greek. Precisely the same initial component, /Enme/, occurs in the name Enmeduranki, borne by a mythical king of Sippar, who has long been recognized as the original of Berossus' seventh Antediluvian king, {Euedorakhos}.^[1] There too the original /n/ has been assimilated, but the Greek form retains no doubling of the /m/ and points to its further weakening.

- [1] Var. {Euedoreskhos}; the second half of the original name, Enmeduranki, is more closely preserved in /Edoranchus/, the form given by the Armenian translator of Eusebius.

I do not propose to detain you with a detailed discussion of Sumerian royal names and their possible Greek equivalents. I will merely point out that the two suggested equations, which I venture to think we may regard as established, throw the study of Berossus' mythological personages upon a new plane. No equivalent has hitherto been suggested for {Daonos}; but {'Ammenon} has been confidently explained as the equivalent of a conjectured Babylonian original, Ummânu, lit. "Workman". The fact that we should now have recovered the Sumerian original of the name, which proves to have no connexion in form or meaning with the previously suggested Semitic equivalent, tends to cast doubt on other Semitic equations proposed. Perhaps {'Amelon} or {'Amillarios} may after all not prove to be the equivalent of Amêlu,

"Man", nor {'Amempsinos} that of Amêl-Sin. Both may find their true equivalents in some of the missing royal names at the head of the Sumerian Dynastic List. There too we may provisionally seek {'Aloros}, the "first king", whose equation with Aruru, the Babylonian mother-goddess, never appeared a very happy suggestion.[1] The ingenious proposal,[2] on the other hand, that his successor, {'Alaparos}, represents a miscopied {'Adaparos}, a Greek rendering of the name of Adapa, may still hold good in view of Etana's presence in the Sumerian dynastic record. Ut-napishtim's title, Khasisatra or Atrakhasis, "the Very Wise", still of course remains the established equivalent of {'Xisouthros}; but for {'Otiartes} (? {'Opartes}), a rival to Ubar-Tutu, Ut-napishtim's father, may perhaps appear. The new identifications do not of course dispose of the old ones, except in the case of Ummânu; but they open up a new line of approach and provide a fresh field for conjecture.[3] Semitic, and possibly contracted, originals are still possible for unidentified mythical kings of Berossus; but such equations will inspire greater confidence, should we be able to establish Sumerian originals for the Semitic renderings, from new material already in hand or to be obtained in the future.

[1] Dr. Poebel (/Hist Inscr./, p. 42, n. 1) makes the interesting suggestion that {'Aloros} may represent an abbreviated and corrupt form of the name Lal-ur-alimma, which has come down to us as that of an early and mythical king of Nippur; see Rawlinson, /W.A.I./, IV, 60 (67), V, 47 and 44, and cf. /Sev. Tabl. of Creat./, Vol. I, p. 217, No. 32574, Rev., l. 2 f. It may be added that the sufferings with which the latter is associated in the tradition are perhaps such as might have attached themselves to the first human ruler of the world; but the suggested equation, though tempting by reason of the remote parallel it would thus furnish to Adam's fate, can at present hardly be accepted in view of the possibility that a closer equation to {'Aloros} may be forthcoming.

[2] Hommel, /Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch./, Vol. XV (1893), p. 243.

[3] See further Appendix II.

But it is time I read you extracts from the earlier extant portions of the Sumerian Dynastic List, in order to illustrate the class of document with which we are dealing. From them it will be seen that the record is not a tabular list of names like the well-known King's Lists of the Neo-Babylonian period. It is cast in the form of an epitomized chronicle and gives under set formulae the length of each king's reign, and his father's name in cases of direct succession to father

or brother. Short phrases are also sometimes added, or inserted in the sentence referring to a king, in order to indicate his humble origin or the achievement which made his name famous in tradition. The head of the First Column of the text is wanting, and the first royal name that is completely preserved is that of Galumum, the ninth or tenth ruler of the earliest "kingdom", or dynasty, of Kish. The text then runs on connectedly for several lines:

Galumum ruled for nine hundred years.

Zugagib ruled for eight hundred and forty years.

Arpi, son of a man of the people, ruled for seven hundred and twenty years.

Etana, the shepherd who ascended to heaven, who subdued all lands, ruled for six hundred and thirty-five years.[1]

Pili . . ., son of Etana, ruled for four hundred and ten years.

Enmenunna ruled for six hundred and eleven years.

Melamkish, son of Enmenunna, ruled for nine hundred years.

Barsalnunna, son of Enmenunna, ruled for twelve hundred years.

Mesza[. . .], son of Barsalnunna, ruled for [. . .] years.

[. . .], son of Barsalnunna, ruled for [. . .] years.

[1] Possibly 625 years.

A small gap then occurs in the text, but we know that the last two representatives of this dynasty of twenty-three kings are related to have ruled for nine hundred years and six hundred and twenty-five years respectively. In the Second Column of the text the lines are also fortunately preserved which record the passing of the first hegemony of Kish to the "Kingdom of Eanna", the latter taking its name from the famous temple of Anu and Ishtar in the old city of Erech. The text continues:

The kingdom of Kish passed to Eanna.

In Eanna, Meskingasher, son of the Sun-god, ruled as high priest and king for three hundred and twenty-five years. Meskingasher entered into[1] [. . .] and ascended to [. . .].

Enmerkar, son of Meskingasher, the king of Erech who built [. . .] with the people of Erech,[2] ruled as king for four hundred and twenty years.

Lugalbanda, the shepherd, ruled for twelve hundred years.

Dumuzi,[3], the hunter(?), whose city was . . ., ruled for a hundred years.

Gishbilgames,[4] whose father was A,[5] the high priest of Kullab, ruled for one hundred and twenty-six[6] years.

[. . .]lugal, son of Gishbilgames, ruled for [. . .] years.

[1] The verb may also imply descent into.

[2] The phrase appears to have been imperfectly copied by the scribe. As it stands the subordinate sentence reads "the king of Erech who built with the people of Erech". Either the object governed by the verb has been omitted, in which case we might restore some such phrase as "the city"; or, perhaps, by a slight transposition, we should read "the king who built Erech with the people of Erech". In any case the first building of the city of Erech, as distinguished from its ancient cult-centre Eanna, appears to be recorded here in the tradition. This is the first reference to Erech in the text; and Enmerkar's father was high priest as well as king.

[3] i.e. Tammuz.

[4] i.e. Gilgamesh.

[5] The name of the father of Gilgamesh is rather strangely expressed by the single sign for the vowel /a/ and must apparently be read as A. As there is a small break in the text at the end of this line, Dr. Poebel not unnaturally assumed that A was merely the first syllable of the name, of which the end was wanting. But it has now been shown that the complete name was A; see Förtsch, /Orient. Lit.-Zeit./, Vol. XVIII, No. 12 (Dec., 1915), col. 367 ff. The reading is deduced from the following entry in an Assyrian explanatory list of gods (/Cun. Texts in the Brit. Mus./, Pt. XXIV, pl. 25, ll. 29-31): "The god A, who is also equated to the god Dubbisaguri (i.e. 'Scribe of Ur'), is the priest of Kullab; his wife is the goddess Ninguesirka (i.e. 'Lady of the edge of the street')." A, the priest of Kullab and the husband of a goddess, is clearly to be identified with A, the priest of Kullab and father of Gilgamesh, for we know from the Gilgamesh Epic that the hero's mother was the goddess Ninsun. Whether Ninguesirka was a title of Ninsun, or represents a variant tradition with regard to the parentage of Gilgamesh on the mother's side, we have in any case confirmation of his descent from priest and goddess. It was natural that A should be subsequently deified. This was not the case at the time our text was inscribed, as the name is written without the divine determinative.

[6] Possibly 186 years.

This group of early kings of Erech is of exceptional interest. Apart from its inclusion of Gilgamesh and the gods Tammuz and Lugalbanda, its record of Meskingasher's reign possibly refers to one of the lost

legends of Erech. Like him Melchizedek, who comes to us in a chapter of Genesis reflecting the troubled times of Babylon's First Dynasty,[1] was priest as well as king.[2] Tradition appears to have credited Meskingasher's son and successor, Enmerkar, with the building of Erech as a city around the first settlement Eanna, which had already given its name to the "kingdom". If so, Sumerian tradition confirms the assumption of modern research that the great cities of Babylonia arose around the still more ancient cult-centres of the land. We shall have occasion to revert to the traditions here recorded concerning the parentage of Meskingasher, the founder of this line of kings, and that of its most famous member, Gilgamesh. Meanwhile we may note that the closing rulers of the "Kingdom of Eanna" are wanting. When the text is again preserved, we read of the hegemony passing from Erech to Ur and thence to Awan:

The k[ingdom of Erech[3] passed to] Ur.
In Ur Mesannipada became king and ruled for eighty years.
Meskiagunna, son of Mesannipada, ruled for thirty years.
Elu[. . .] ruled for twenty-five years.
Balu[. . .] ruled for thirty-six years.
Four kings (thus) ruled for a hundred and seventy-one years.
The kingdom of Ur passed to Awan.
In Awan . . .

[1] Cf. /Hist. of Bab./, p. 159 f.

[2] Gen. xiv. 18.

[3] The restoration of Erech here, in place of Eanna, is based on the absence of the latter name in the summary; after the building of Erech by Enmerkar, the kingdom was probably reckoned as that of Erech.

With the "Kingdom of Ur" we appear to be approaching a firmer historical tradition, for the reigns of its rulers are recorded in decades, not hundreds of years. But we find in the summary, which concludes the main copy of our Dynastic List, that the kingdom of Awan, though it consisted of but three rulers, is credited with a total duration of three hundred and fifty-six years, implying that we are not yet out of the legendary stratum. Since Awan is proved by newly published historical inscriptions from Nippur to have been an important deity of Elam at the time of the Dynasty of Akkad,[1] we gather that the "Kingdom of Awan" represented in Sumerian tradition the first occasion on which the country passed for a time under Elamite rule. At this point a great gap occurs in the text, and when the detailed dynastic succession in Babylonia is again assured, we

have passed definitely from the realm of myth and legend into that of history.[2]

[1] Poebel, /Hist. Inscr./, p. 128.

[2] See further, Appendix II.

What new light, then, do these old Sumerian records throw on Hebrew traditions concerning the early ages of mankind? I think it will be admitted that there is something strangely familiar about some of those Sumerian extracts I read just now. We seem to hear in them the faint echo of another narrative, like them but not quite the same.

And all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years;
and he died.

And Seth lived an hundred and five years, and begat Enosh: and Seth lived after he begat Enosh eight hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years: and he died.

. . . and all the days of Enosh were nine hundred and five years:
and he died.

. . . and all the days of Kenan were nine hundred and ten years: and he died.

. . . and all the days of Mahalalel were eight hundred ninety and five years: and he died.

. . . and all the days of Jared were nine hundred sixty and two years: and he died.

. . . and all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years: and Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him.

. . . and all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred sixty and nine years: and he died.

. . . and all the days of Lamech were seven hundred seventy and seven years: and he died.

And Noah was five hundred years old: and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

Throughout these extracts from "the book of the generations of Adam", [1] Galumum's nine hundred years [2] seem to run almost like a refrain; and Methuselah's great age, the recognized symbol for longevity, is even exceeded by two of the Sumerian patriarchs. The names in the two lists are not the same, [3] but in both we are moving in the same atmosphere and along similar lines of thought. Though each list adheres to its own set formulae, it estimates the length of human life in the early ages of the world on much the same gigantic scale as the other. Our Sumerian records are not quite so formal in their

structure as the Hebrew narrative, but the short notes which here and there relieve their stiff monotony may be paralleled in the Cainite genealogy of the preceding chapter in Genesis.[4] There Cain's city-building, for example, may pair with that of Enmerkar; and though our new records may afford no precise equivalents to Jabal's patronage of nomad life, or to the invention of music and metal-working ascribed to Jubal and Tubal-cain, these too are quite in the spirit of Sumerian and Babylonian tradition, in their attempt to picture the beginnings of civilization. Thus Enmeduranki, the prototype of the seventh Antediluvian patriarch of Berossus, was traditionally revered as the first exponent of divination.[5] It is in the chronological and general setting, rather than in the Hebrew names and details, that an echo seems here to reach us from Sumer through Babylon.

[1] Gen. v. 1 ff. (P).

[2] The same length of reign is credited to Melamkish and to one and perhaps two other rulers of that first Sumerian "kingdom".

[3] The possibility of the Babylonian origin of some of the Hebrew names in this genealogy and its Cainite parallel has long been canvassed; and considerable ingenuity has been expended in obtaining equations between Hebrew names and those of the Antediluvian kings of Berossus by tracing a common meaning for each suggested pair. It is unfortunate that our new identification of {'Ammenon} with the Sumerian /Enmenunna/ should dispose of one of the best parallels obtained, viz. {'Ammenon} = Bab. /ummânu/, "workman" || Cain, Kenan = "smith". Another satisfactory pair suggested is {'Amelon} = Bab. /amêlu/, "man" || Enosh = "man"; but the resemblance of the former to /amêlu/ may prove to be fortuitous, in view of the possibility of descent from a quite different Sumerian original. The alternative may perhaps have to be faced that the Hebrew parallels to Sumerian and Babylonian traditions are here confined to chronological structure and general contents, and do not extend to Hebrew renderings of Babylonian names. It may be added that such correspondence between personal names in different languages is not very significant by itself. The name of Zugagib of Kish, for example, is paralleled by the title borne by one of the earliest kings of the 1st Dynasty of Egypt, Narmer, whose carved slate palettes have been found at Kierakonpolis; he too was known as "the Scorpion."

[4] Gen. iv. 17 ff. (J).

[5] It may be noted that an account of the origin of divination is included in his description of the descendents of Noah by the

writer of the Biblical Antiquities of Philo, a product of the same school as the Fourth Book of Esdras and the Apocalypse of Baruch; see James, /The Biblical Antiquities of Philo/, p. 86.

I may add that a parallel is provided by the new Sumerian records to the circumstances preceding the birth of the Nephilim at the beginning of the sixth chapter of Genesis.[1] For in them also great prowess or distinction is ascribed to the progeny of human and divine unions. We have already noted that, according to the traditions the records embody, the Sumerians looked back to a time when gods lived upon the earth with men, and we have seen such deities as Tammuz and Lugalbanda figuring as rulers of cities in the dynastic sequence. As in later periods, their names are there preceded by the determinative for divinity. But more significant still is the fact that we read of two Sumerian heroes, also rulers of cities, who were divine on the father's or mother's side but not on both. Meskingasher is entered in the list as "son of the Sun-god",[2] and no divine parentage is recorded on the mother's side. On the other hand, the human father of Gilgamesh is described as the high priest of Kullab, and we know from other sources that his mother was the goddess Ninsun.[3] That this is not a fanciful interpretation is proved by a passage in the Gilgamesh Epic itself,[4] in which its hero is described as two-thirds god and one-third man. We again find ourselves back in the same stratum of tradition with which the Hebrew narratives have made us so familiar.

[1] Gen. vi. 1-4 (J).

[2] The phrase recalls the familiar Egyptian royal designation "son of the Sun," and it is possible that we may connect with this same idea the Palermo Stele's inclusion of the mother's and omission of the father's name in its record of the early dynastic Pharaohs. This suggestion does not exclude the possibility of the prevalence of matrilineal (and perhaps originally also of matrilocal and matripotestal) conditions among the earliest inhabitants of Egypt. Indeed the early existence of some form of mother-right may have originated, and would certainly have encouraged, the growth of a tradition of solar parentage for the head of the state.

[3] Poebel, /Hist. Inscr./, p. 124 f.

[4] Tablet I, Col. ii, l. 1; and cf. Tablet IX, Col. ii, l. 16.

What light then does our new material throw upon traditional origins of civilization? We have seen that in Egypt a new fragment of the Palermo Stele has confirmed in a remarkable way the tradition of the predynastic period which was incorporated in his history by Manetho.

It has long been recognized that in Babylonia the sources of Berossus must have been refracted by the political atmosphere of that country during the preceding nineteen hundred years. This inference our new material supports; but when due allowance has been made for a resulting disturbance of vision, the Sumerian origin of the remainder of his evidence is notably confirmed. Two of his ten Antediluvian kings rejoin their Sumerian prototypes, and we shall see that two of his three Antediluvian cities find their place among the five of primitive Sumerian belief. It is clear that in Babylonia, as in Egypt, the local traditions of the dawn of history, current in the Hellenistic period, were modelled on very early lines. Both countries were the seats of ancient civilizations, and it is natural that each should stage its picture of beginnings upon its own soil and embellish it with local colouring.

It is a tribute to the historical accuracy of Hebrew tradition to recognize that it never represented Palestine as the cradle of the human race. It looked to the East rather than to the South for evidence of man's earliest history and first progress in the arts of life. And it is in the East, in the soil of Babylonia, that we may legitimately seek material in which to verify the sources of that traditional belief.

The new parallels I have to-day attempted to trace between some of the Hebrew traditions, preserved in Gen. iv-vi, and those of the early Sumerians, as presented by their great Dynastic List, are essentially general in character and do not apply to details of narrative or to proper names. If they stood alone, we should still have to consider whether they are such as to suggest cultural influence or independent origin. But fortunately they do not exhaust the evidence we have lately recovered from the site of Nippur, and we will postpone formulating our conclusions with regard to them until the whole field has been surveyed. From the biblical standpoint by far the most valuable of our new documents is one that incorporates a Sumerian version of the Deluge story. We shall see that it presents a variant and more primitive picture of that great catastrophe than those of the Babylonian and Hebrew versions. And what is of even greater interest, it connects the narrative of the Flood with that of Creation, and supplies a brief but intermediate account of the Antediluvian period. How then are we to explain this striking literary resemblance to the structure of the narrative in Genesis, a resemblance that is completely wanting in the Babylonian versions? But that is a problem we must reserve for the next lecture.

LECTURE II

DELUGE STORIES AND THE NEW SUMERIAN VERSION

In the first lecture we saw how, both in Babylonia and Egypt, recent discoveries had thrown light upon periods regarded as prehistoric, and how we had lately recovered traditions concerning very early rulers both in the Nile Valley and along the lower Euphrates. On the strength of the latter discovery we noted the possibility that future excavation in Babylonia would lay bare stages of primitive culture similar to those we have already recovered in Egyptian soil. Meanwhile the documents from Nippur had shown us what the early Sumerians themselves believed about their own origin, and we traced in their tradition the gradual blending of history with legend and myth. We saw that the new Dynastic List took us back in the legendary sequence at least to the beginning of the Post-diluvian period. Now one of the newly published literary texts fills in the gap beyond, for it gives us a Sumerian account of the history of the world from the Creation to the Deluge, at about which point, as we saw, the extant portions of the Dynastic List take up the story. I propose to devote my lecture to-day to this early version of the Flood and to the effect of its discovery upon some current theories.

The Babylonian account of the Deluge, which was discovered by George Smith in 1872 on tablets from the Royal Library at Nineveh, is, as you know, embedded in a long epic of twelve Books recounting the adventures of the Old Babylonian hero Gilgamesh. Towards the end of this composite tale, Gilgamesh, desiring immortality, crosses the Waters of Death in order to beg the secret from his ancestor Ut-napishtim, who in the past had escaped the Deluge and had been granted immortality by the gods. The Eleventh Tablet, or Book, of the epic contains the account of the Deluge which Ut-napishtim related to his kinsman Gilgamesh. The close correspondence of this Babylonian story with that contained in Genesis is recognized by every one and need not detain us. You will remember that in some passages the accounts tally even in minute details, such, for example, as the device of sending out birds to test the abatement of the waters. It is true that in the Babylonian version a dove, a swallow, and a raven are sent forth in that order, instead of a raven and the dove three times. But such slight discrepancies only emphasize the general resemblance of the narratives.

In any comparison it is usually admitted that two accounts have been combined in the Hebrew narrative. I should like to point out that this assumption may be made by any one, whatever his views may be with regard to the textual problems of the Hebrew Bible and the traditional

authorship of the Pentateuch. And for our purpose at the moment it is immaterial whether we identify the compiler of these Hebrew narratives with Moses himself, or with some later Jewish historian whose name has not come down to us. Whoever he was, he has scrupulously preserved his two texts and, even when they differ, he has given each as he found it. Thanks to this fact, any one by a careful examination of the narrative can disentangle the two versions for himself. He will find each gives a consistent story. One of them appears to be simpler and more primitive than the other, and I will refer to them as the earlier and the later Hebrew Versions.[1] The Babylonian text in the Epic of Gilgamesh contains several peculiarities of each of the Hebrew versions, though the points of resemblance are more detailed in the earlier of the two.

[1] In the combined account in Gen. vi. 5-ix. 17, if the following passages be marked in the margin or underlined, and then read consecutively, it will be seen that they give a consistent and almost complete account of the Deluge: Gen. vi. 9-22; vii. 6, 11, 13-16 (down to "as God commanded him"), 17 (to "upon the earth"), 18-21, 24; viii. 1, 2 (to "were stopped"), 3 (from "and after")-5, 13 (to "from off the earth"), 14-19; and ix. 1-17. The marked passages represent the "later Hebrew Version." If the remaining passages be then read consecutively, they will be seen to give a different version of the same events, though not so completely preserved as the other; these passages substantially represent the "earlier Hebrew Version". In commentaries on the Hebrew text they are, of course, usually referred to under the convenient symbols J and P, representing respectively the earlier and the later versions. For further details, see any of the modern commentaries on Genesis, e.g. Driver, */Book of Genesis/*, pp. 85 ff.; Skinner, */Genesis/*, pp. 147 ff.; Ryle, */Genesis/*, p. 96 f.

Now the tablets from the Royal Library at Nineveh inscribed with the Gilgamesh Epic do not date from an earlier period than the seventh century B.C. But archaeological evidence has long shown that the traditions themselves were current during all periods of Babylonian history; for Gilgamesh and his half-human friend Enkidu were favourite subjects for the seal-engraver, whether he lived in Sumerian times or under the Achaemenian kings of Persia. We have also, for some years now, possessed two early fragments of the Deluge narrative, proving that the story was known to the Semitic inhabitants of the country at the time of Hammurabi's dynasty.[1] Our newly discovered text from Nippur was also written at about that period, probably before 2100 B.C. But the composition itself, apart from the tablet on which it is inscribed, must go back very much earlier than that. For instead of being composed in Semitic Babylonian, the text is in Sumerian, the

language of the earliest known inhabitants of Babylonia, whom the Semites eventually displaced. This people, it is now recognized, were the originators of the Babylonian civilization, and we saw in the first lecture that, according to their own traditions, they had occupied that country since the dawn of history.

[1] The earlier of the two fragments is dated in the eleventh year of Ammizaduga, the tenth king of Hammurabi's dynasty, i.e. in 1967 B.C.; it was published by Scheil, */Recueil de travaux/*, Vol. XX, pp. 55 ff. Here the Deluge story does not form part of the Gilgamesh Epic, but is recounted in the second tablet of a different work; its hero bears the name Atrakhasis, as in the variant version of the Deluge from the Nineveh library. The other and smaller fragment, which must be dated by its script, was published by Hilprecht (*/Babylonian Expedition/*, series D, Vol. V, Fasc. 1, pp. 33 ff.), who assigned it to about the same period; but it is probably of a considerably later date. The most convenient translations of the legends that were known before the publication of the Nippur texts are those given by Rogers, */Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament/* (Oxford, 1912), and Dhorme, */Choix de textes religieux Assyro-Babyloniens/* (Paris, 1907).

The Semites as a ruling race came later, though the occurrence of Semitic names in the Sumerian Dynastic List suggests very early infiltration from Arabia. After a long struggle the immigrants succeeded in dominating the settled race; and in the process they in turn became civilized. They learnt and adopted the cuneiform writing, they took over the Sumerian literature. Towards the close of the third millennium, when our tablet was written, the Sumerians as a race had almost ceased to exist. They had been absorbed in the Semitic population and their language was no longer the general language of the country. But their ancient literature and sacred texts were carefully preserved and continued to be studied by the Semitic priests and scribes. So the fact that the tablet is written in the old Sumerian tongue proves that the story it tells had come down from a very much earlier period. This inference is not affected by certain small differences in idiom which its language presents when compared with that of Sumerian building-inscriptions. Such would naturally occur in the course of transmission, especially in a text which, as we shall see, had been employed for a practical purpose after being subjected to a process of reduction to suit it to its new setting.

When we turn to the text itself, it will be obvious that the story also is very primitive. But before doing so we will inquire whether this very early version is likely to cast any light on the origin of

Deluge stories such as are often met with in other parts of the world. Our inquiry will have an interest apart from the question itself, as it will illustrate the views of two divergent schools among students of primitive literature and tradition. According to one of these views, in its most extreme form, the tales which early or primitive man tells about his gods and the origin of the world he sees around him are never to be regarded as simple stories, but are to be consistently interpreted as symbolizing natural phenomena. It is, of course, quite certain that, both in Egypt and Babylonia, mythology in later periods received a strong astrological colouring; and it is equally clear that some legends derive their origin from nature myths. But the theory in the hands of its more enthusiastic adherents goes further than that. For them a complete absence of astrological colouring is no deterrent from an astrological interpretation; and, where such colouring does occur, the possibility of later embellishment is discounted, and it is treated without further proof as the base on which the original story rests. One such interpretation of the Deluge narrative in Babylonia, particularly favoured by recent German writers, would regard it as reflecting the passage of the Sun through a portion of the ecliptic. It is assumed that the primitive Babylonians were aware that in the course of ages the spring equinox must traverse the southern or watery region of the zodiac. This, on their system, signified a submergence of the whole universe in water, and the Deluge myth would symbolize the safe passage of the vernal Sun-god through that part of the ecliptic. But we need not spend time over that view, as its underlying conception is undoubtedly quite a late development of Babylonian astrology.

More attractive is the simpler astrological theory that the voyage of any Deluge hero in his boat or ark represents the daily journey of the Sun-god across the heavenly ocean, a conception which is so often represented in Egyptian sculpture and painting. It used to be assumed by holders of the theory that this idea of the Sun as "the god in the boat" was common among primitive races, and that that would account for the widespread occurrence of Deluge-stories among scattered races of the world. But this view has recently undergone some modification in accordance with the general trend of other lines of research. In recent years there has been an increased readiness among archaeologists to recognize evidence of contact between the great civilizations of antiquity. This has been particularly the case in the area of the Eastern Mediterranean; but the possibility has also been mooted of the early use of land-routes running from the Near East to Central and Southern Asia. The discovery in Chinese Turkestan, to the east of the Caspian, of a prehistoric culture resembling that of Elam has now been followed by the finding of similar remains by Sir Aurel Stein in the course of the journey from which he has lately

returned.[1] They were discovered in an old basin of the Helmand River in Persian Seistan, where they had been laid bare by wind-erosion. But more interesting still, and an incentive to further exploration in that region, is another of his discoveries last year, also made near the Afghan border. At two sites in the Helmand Delta, well above the level of inundation, he came across fragments of pottery inscribed in early Aramaic characters,[2] though, for obvious reasons, he has left them with all his other collections in India. This unexpected find, by the way, suggests for our problem possibilities of wide transmission in comparatively early times.

[1] See his "Expedition in Central Asia", in *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. XLVII (Jan.-June, 1916), pp. 358 ff.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 363.

The synthetic tendency among archaeologists has been reflected in anthropological research, which has begun to question the separate and independent origin, not only of the more useful arts and crafts, but also of many primitive customs and beliefs. It is suggested that too much stress has been laid on environment; and, though it is readily admitted that similar needs and experiences may in some cases have given rise to similar expedients and explanations, it is urged that man is an imitative animal and that inventive genius is far from common.[1] Consequently the wide dispersion of many beliefs and practices, which used generally to be explained as due to the similar and independent working of the human mind under like conditions, is now often provisionally registered as evidence of migratory movement or of cultural drift. Much good work has recently been done in tabulating the occurrence of many customs and beliefs, in order to ascertain their lines of distribution. Workers are as yet in the collecting stage, and it is hardly necessary to say that explanatory theories are still to be regarded as purely tentative and provisional. At the meetings of the British Association during the last few years, the most breezy discussions in the Anthropological Section have undoubtedly centred around this subject. There are several works in the field, but the most comprehensive theory as yet put forward is one that concerns us, as it has given a new lease of life to the old solar interpretation of the Deluge story.

[1] See, e.g. Marett, */Anthropology/* (2nd ed., 1914), Chap. iv, "Environment," pp. 122 ff.; and for earlier tendencies, particularly in the sphere of mythological exegesis, see S. Reinach, */Cultes, Mythes et Religions/*, t. IV (1912), pp. 1 ff.

In a land such as Egypt, where there is little rain and the sky is

always clear, the sun in its splendour tended from the earliest period to dominate the national consciousness. As intercourse increased along the Nile Valley, centres of Sun-worship ceased to be merely local, and the political rise of a city determined the fortunes of its cult. From the proto-dynastic period onward, the "King of the two Lands" had borne the title of "Horus" as the lineal descendant of the great Sun-god of Edfu, and the rise of Ra in the Vth Dynasty, through the priesthood of Heliopolis, was confirmed in the solar theology of the Middle Kingdom. Thus it was that other deities assumed a solar character as forms of Ra. Amen, the local god of Thebes, becomes Amen-Ra with the political rise of his city, and even the old Crocodile-god, Sebek, soars into the sky as Sebek-Ra. The only other movement in the religion of ancient Egypt, comparable in importance to this solar development, was the popular cult of Osiris as God of the Dead, and with it the official religion had to come to terms. Horus is reborn as the posthumous son of Osiris, and Ra gladdens his abode during his nightly journey through the Underworld. The theory with which we are concerned suggests that this dominant trait in Egyptian religion passed, with other elements of culture, beyond the bounds of the Nile Valley and influenced the practice and beliefs of distant races.

This suggestion has been gradually elaborated by its author, Professor Elliot Smith, who has devoted much attention to the anatomical study of Egyptian mummification. Beginning with a scrutiny of megalithic building and sun-worship,[1] he has subsequently deduced, from evidence of common distribution, the existence of a culture-complex, including in addition to these two elements the varied practices of tattooing, circumcision, ear-piercing, that quaint custom known as couvade, head-deformation, and the prevalence of serpent-cults, myths of petrification and the Deluge, and finally of mummification. The last ingredient was added after an examination of Papuan mummies had disclosed their apparent resemblance in points of detail to Egyptian mummies of the XXIst Dynasty. As a result he assumes the existence of an early cultural movement, for which the descriptive title "heliolithic" has been coined.[2] Starting with Egypt as its centre, one of the principal lines of its advance is said to have lain through Syria and Mesopotamia and thence along the coastlands of Asia to the Far East. The method of distribution and the suggested part played by the Phoenicians have been already criticized sufficiently. But in a modified form the theory has found considerable support, especially among ethnologists interested in Indonesia. I do not propose to examine in detail the evidence for or against it. It will suffice to note that the Deluge story and its alleged Egyptian origin in solar worship form one of the prominent strands in its composition.

[1] Cf. Elliot Smith, /The Ancient Egyptians/, 1911.

[2] See in particular his monograph "On the significance of the Geographical Distribution of the Practice of Mummification" in the /Memoirs of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society/, 1915.

One weakness of this particular strand is that the Egyptians themselves possessed no tradition of the Deluge. Indeed the annual inundation of the Nile is not such as would give rise to a legend of world-destruction; and in this respect it presents a striking contrast to the Tigris and Euphrates. The ancient Egyptian's conception of his own gentle river is reflected in the form he gave the Nile-god, for Hapi is represented as no fierce warrior or monster. He is given a woman's breasts as a sign of his fecundity. The nearest Egyptian parallel to the Deluge story is the "Legend of the Destruction of Mankind", which is engraved on the walls of a chamber in the tomb of Seti I.[1] The late Sir Gaston Maspero indeed called it "a dry deluge myth", but his paradox was intended to emphasize the difference as much as the parallelism presented. It is true that in the Egyptian myth the Sun-god causes mankind to be slain because of their impiety, and he eventually pardons the survivors. The narrative thus betrays undoubted parallelism to the Babylonian and Hebrew stories, so far as concerns the attempted annihilation of mankind by the offended god, but there the resemblance ends. For water has no part in man's destruction, and the essential element of a Deluge story is thus absent.[2] Our new Sumerian document, on the other hand, contains what is by far the earliest example yet recovered of a genuine Deluge tale; and we may thus use it incidentally to test this theory of Egyptian influence, and also to ascertain whether it furnishes any positive evidence on the origin of Deluge stories in general.

[1] It was first published by Monsieur Naville, /Tranc. Soc. Bibl. Arch./, IV (1874), pp. 1 ff. The myth may be most conveniently studied in Dr. Budge's edition in /Egyptian Literature/, Vol. I, "Legends of the Gods" (1912), pp. 14 ff., where the hieroglyphic text and translation are printed on opposite pages; cf. the summary, op. cit., pp. xxiii ff., where the principal literature is also cited. See also his /Gods of the Egyptians/, Vol. I, chap. xii, pp. 388 ff.

[2] The undoubted points of resemblance, as well as the equally striking points of divergence, presented by the Egyptian myth when compared with the Babylonian and Hebrew stories of a Deluge may be briefly indicated. The impiety of men in complaining of the age of Ra finds a parallel in the wickedness of man upon the earth (J)

and the corruption of all flesh (P) of the Hebrew Versions. The summoning by Ra of the great Heliopolitan cosmic gods in council, including his personified Eye, the primaeval pair Shu and Tefnut, Keb the god of the earth and his consort Nut the sky-goddess, and Nu the primaeval water-god and originally Nut's male counterpart, is paralleled by the /puhur ilâni/, or "assembly of the gods", in the Babylonian Version (see Gilg. Epic. XI. l. 120 f., and cf. II. 10 ff.); and they meet in "the Great House", or Sun-temple at Heliopolis, as the Babylonian gods deliberate in Shuruppak. Egyptian, Babylonian, and Hebrew narratives all agree in the divine determination to destroy mankind and in man's ultimate survival. But the close of the Egyptian story diverges into another sphere. The slaughter of men by the Eye of Ra in the form of the goddess Hathor, who during the night wades in their blood, is suggestive of Africa; and so too is her drinking of men's blood mixed with the narcotic mandrake and with seven thousand vessels of beer, with the result that through drunkenness she ceased from slaughter. The latter part of the narrative is directly connected with the cult-ritual and beer-drinking at the Festivals of Hathor and Ra; but the destruction of men by slaughter in place of drowning appears to belong to the original myth. Indeed, the only suggestion of a Deluge story is suggested by the presence of Nu, the primaeval water-god, at Ra's council, and that is explicable on other grounds. In any case the points of resemblance presented by the earlier part of the Egyptian myth to Semitic Deluge stories are general, not detailed; and though they may possibly be due to reflection from Asia, they are not such as to suggest an Egyptian origin for Deluge myths.

The tablet on which our new version of the Deluge is inscribed was excavated at Nippur during the third Babylonian expedition sent out by the University of Pennsylvania; but it was not until the summer of 1912 that its contents were identified, when the several fragments of which it was composed were assembled and put together. It is a large document, containing six columns of writing, three on each side; but unfortunately only the lower half has been recovered, so that considerable gaps occur in the text.[1] The sharp edges of the broken surface, however, suggest that it was damaged after removal from the soil, and the possibility remains that some of the missing fragments may yet be recovered either at Pennsylvania or in the Museum at Constantinople. As it is not dated, its age must be determined mainly by the character of its script. A close examination of the writing suggests that it can hardly have been inscribed as late as the Kassite Dynasty, since two or three signs exhibit more archaic forms than occur on any tablets of that period;[2] and such linguistic corruptions as have been noted in its text may well be accounted for

by the process of decay which must have already affected the Sumerian language at the time of the later kings of Nisin. Moreover, the tablet bears a close resemblance to one of the newly published copies of the Sumerian Dynastic List from Nippur;^[3] for both are of the same shape and composed of the same reddish-brown clay, and both show the same peculiarities of writing. The two tablets in fact appear to have been written by the same hand, and as that copy of the Dynastic List was probably drawn up before the latter half of the First Dynasty of Babylon, we may assign the same approximate date for the writing of our text. This of course only fixes a lower limit for the age of the myth which it enshrines.

[1] The breadth of the tablet is 5 5/8 in., and it originally measured about 7 in. in length from top to bottom; but only about one-third of its inscribed surface is preserved.

[2] Cf. Poebel, */Hist. Texts/*, pp. 66 ff.

[3] No. 5.

That the composition is in the form of a poem may be seen at a glance from the external appearance of the tablet, the division of many of the lines and the blank spaces frequently left between the sign-groups being due to the rhythmical character of the text. The style of the poetry may be simple and abrupt, but it exhibits a familiar feature of both Semitic-Babylonian and Hebrew poetry, in its constant employment of partial repetition or paraphrase in parallel lines. The story it tells is very primitive and in many respects unlike the Babylonian Versions of the Deluge which we already possess. Perhaps its most striking peculiarity is the setting of the story, which opens with a record of the creation of man and animals, goes on to tell how the first cities were built, and ends with a version of the Deluge, which is thus recounted in its relation to the Sumerian history of the world. This literary connexion between the Creation and Deluge narratives is of unusual interest, in view of the age of our text. In the Babylonian Versions hitherto known they are included in separate epics with quite different contexts. Here they are recounted together in a single document, much as they probably were in the history of Berossus and as we find them in the present form of the Book of Genesis. This fact will open up some interesting problems when we attempt to trace the literary descent of the tradition.

But one important point about the text should be emphasized at once, since it will affect our understanding of some very obscure passages, of which no satisfactory explanation has yet been given. The assumption has hitherto been made that the text is an epic pure and

simple. It is quite true that the greater part of it is a myth, recounted as a narrative in poetical form. but there appear to me to be clear indications that the myth was really embedded in an incantation. If this was so, the mythological portion was recited for a magical purpose, with the object of invoking the aid of the chief deities whose actions in the past are there described, and of increasing by that means the potency of the spell.[1] In the third lecture I propose to treat in more detail the employment and significance of myth in magic, and we shall have occasion to refer to other instances, Sumerian, Babylonian, and Egyptian, in which a myth has reached us in a magical setting.

[1] It will be seen that the subject-matter of any myth treated in this way has a close connexion with the object for which the incantation was performed.

In the present case the inference of magical use is drawn from certain passages in the text itself, which appear to be explicable only on that hypothesis. In magical compositions of the later period intended for recitation, the sign for "Incantation" is usually prefixed. Unfortunately the beginning of our text is wanting; but its opening words are given in the colophon, or title, which is engraved on the left-hand edge of the tablet, and it is possible that the traces of the first sign there are to be read as EN, "Incantation".[1] Should a re-examination of the tablet establish this reading of the word, we should have definite proof of the suggested magical setting of the narrative. But even if we assume its absence, that would not invalidate the arguments that can be adduced in favour of recognizing the existence of a magical element, for they are based on internal evidence and enable us to explain certain features which are inexplicable on Dr. Poebel's hypothesis. Moreover, we shall later on examine another of the newly published Sumerian compositions from Nippur, which is not only semi-epical in character, but is of precisely the same shape, script, and period as our text, and is very probably a tablet of the same series. There also the opening signs of the text are wanting, but far more of its contents are preserved and they present unmistakable traces of magical use. Its evidence, as that of a parallel text, may therefore be cited in support of the present contention. It may be added that in Sumerian magical compositions of this early period, of which we have not yet recovered many quite obvious examples, it is possible that the prefix "Incantation" was not so invariable as in the later magical literature.

[1] Cf. Poebel, /Hist. Texts/, p. 63, and /Hist. and Gram. Texts/, pl. i. In the photographic reproduction of the edges of the tablet given in the latter volume, pl. lxxxix, the traces of the sign

suggest the reading EN (= Sem. /šiptu/, "incantation"). But the sign may very possibly be read AN. In the latter case we may read, in the traces of the two sign-groups at the beginning of the text, the names of both Anu and Enlil, who appear so frequently as the two presiding deities in the myth.

It has already been remarked that only the lower half of our tablet has been recovered, and that consequently a number of gaps occur in the text. On the obverse the upper portion of each of the first three columns is missing, while of the remaining three columns, which are inscribed upon the reverse, the upper portions only are preserved. This difference in the relative positions of the textual fragments recovered is due to the fact that Sumerian scribes, like their later Babylonian and Assyrian imitators, when they had finished writing the obverse of a tablet, turned it over from bottom to top--not, as we should turn a sheet of paper, from right to left. But in spite of the lacunae, the sequence of events related in the mythological narrative may be followed without difficulty, since the main outline of the story is already familiar enough from the versions of the Semitic-Babylonian scribes and of Berossus. Some uncertainties naturally remain as to what exactly was included in the missing portions of the tablet; but the more important episodes are fortunately recounted in the extant fragments, and these suffice for a definition of the distinctive character of the Sumerian Version. In view of its literary importance it may be advisable to attempt a somewhat detailed discussion of its contents, column by column;^[1] and the analysis may be most conveniently divided into numbered sections, each of which refers to one of the six columns of the tablet. The description of the First Column will serve to establish the general character of the text. Through the analysis of the tablet parallels and contrasts will be noted with the Babylonian and Hebrew Versions. It will then be possible to summarise, on a surer foundation, the literary history of the traditions, and finally to estimate the effect of our new evidence upon current theories as to the origin and wide dispersion of Deluge stories.

[1] In the lecture as delivered the contents of each column were necessarily summarized rather briefly, and conclusions were given without discussion of the evidence.

The following headings, under which the six numbered sections may be arranged, indicate the contents of each column and show at a glance the main features of the Sumerian Version:

- I. Introduction to the Myth, and account of Creation.
- II. The Antediluvian Cities.

- III. The Council of the Gods, and Ziusudu's piety.
- IV. The Dream-Warning.
- V. The Deluge, the Escape of the Great Boat, and the Sacrifice to the Sun-god.
- VI. The Propitiation of the Angry Gods, and Ziusudu's Immortality.

I. INTRODUCTION TO THE MYTH, AND ACCOUNT OF CREATION

The beginning of the text is wanting, and the earliest lines preserved of the First Column open with the closing sentences of a speech, probably by the chief of the four creating deities, who are later on referred to by name. In it there is a reference to a future destruction of mankind, but the context is broken; the lines in question begin:

"As for my human race, from (/or/ in) its destruction will I cause it to be [. .],
For Nintu my creatures [. .] will I [. .]."

From the reference to "my human race" it is clear that the speaker is a creating deity; and since the expression is exactly parallel to the term "my people" used by Ishtar, or Bêlit-ili, "the Lady of the gods", in the Babylonian Version of the Deluge story when she bewails the destruction of mankind, Dr. Poebel assigns the speech to Ninkharsagga, or Nintu,[1] the goddess who later in the column is associated with Anu, Enlil, and Enki in man's creation. But the mention of Nintu in her own speech is hardly consistent with that supposition,[2] if we assume with Dr. Poebel, as we are probably justified in doing, that the title Nintu is employed here and elsewhere in the narrative merely as a synonym of Ninkharsagga.[3] It appears to me far more probable that one of the two supreme gods, Anu or Enlil, is the speaker,[4] and additional grounds will be cited later in support of this view. It is indeed possible, in spite of the verbs and suffixes in the singular, that the speech is to be assigned to both Anu and Enlil, for in the last column, as we shall see, we find verb in the singular following references to both these deities. In any case one of the two chief gods may be regarded as speaking and acting on behalf of both, though it may be that the inclusion of the second name in the narrative was not original but simply due to a combination of variant traditions. Such a conflate use of Anu-Enlil would present a striking parallel to the Hebrew combination Yahweh-Elohim, though of course in the case of the former pair the subsequent stage of identification was never attained. But the evidence furnished by the text is not conclusive, and it is preferable here and elsewhere in the narrative to regard either Anu or Enlil as speaking and acting both on his own behalf and

as the other's representative.

- [1] Op. cit., p. 21 f.; and cf. Jastrow, /Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions/, p. 336.
- [2] It necessitates the taking of (/dingir/) /Nin-tu-ra/ as a genitive, not a dative, and the very awkward rendering "my, Nintu's, creations".
- [3] Another of the recently published Sumerian mythological compositions from Nippur includes a number of myths in which Enki is associated first with Ninella, referred to also as Nintu, "the Goddess of Birth", then with Ninshar, referred to also as Ninkurra, and finally with Ninkharsagga. This text exhibits the process by which separate traditions with regard to goddesses originally distinct were combined together, with the result that their heroines were subsequently often identified with one another. There the myths that have not been subjected to a very severe process of editing, and in consequence the welding is not so complete as in the Sumerian Version of the Deluge.
- [4] If Enlil's name should prove to be the first word of the composition, we should naturally regard him as the speaker here and as the protagonist of the gods throughout the text, a /rôle/ he also plays in the Semitic-Babylonian Version.

This reference to the Deluge, which occurs so early in the text, suggests the probability that the account of the Creation and of the founding of Antediluvian cities, included in the first two columns, is to be taken merely as summarizing the events that led up to the Deluge. And an almost certain proof of this may be seen in the opening words of the composition, which are preserved in its colophon or title on the left-hand edge of the tablet. We have already noted that the first two words are there to be read, either as the prefix "Incantation" followed by the name "Enlil", or as the two divine names "Anu (and) Enlil". Now the signs which follow the traces of Enlil's name are quite certain; they represent "Ziusudu", which, as we shall see in the Third Column, is the name of the Deluge hero in our Sumerian Version. He is thus mentioned in the opening words of the text, in some relation to one or both of the two chief gods of the subsequent narrative. But the natural place for his first introduction into the story is in the Third Column, where it is related that "at that time Ziusudu, the king" did so-and-so. The prominence given him at the beginning of the text, at nearly a column's interval before the lines which record the creation of man, is sufficient proof that the Deluge story is the writer's main interest, and that preceding

episodes are merely introductory to it.

What subject then may we conjecture was treated in the missing lines of this column, which precede the account of Creation and close with the speech of the chief creating deity? Now the Deluge narrative practically ends with the last lines of the tablet that are preserved, and the lower half of the Sixth Column is entirely wanting. We shall see reason to believe that the missing end of the tablet was not left blank and uninscribed, but contained an incantation, the magical efficacy of which was ensured by the preceding recitation of the Deluge myth. If that were so, it would be natural enough that the text should open with its main subject. The cause of the catastrophe and the reason for man's rescue from it might well be referred to by one of the creating deities in virtue of the analogy these aspects of the myth would present to the circumstances for which the incantation was designed. A brief account of the Creation and of Antediluvian history would then form a natural transition to the narrative of the Deluge itself. And even if the text contained no incantation, the narrative may well have been introduced in the manner suggested, since this explanation in any case fits in with what is still preserved of the First Column. For after his reference to the destruction of mankind, the deity proceeds to fix the chief duty of man, either as a preliminary to his creation, or as a reassertion of that duty after his rescue from destruction by the Flood. It is noteworthy that this duty consists in the building of temples to the gods "in a clean spot", that is to say "in hallowed places". The passage may be given in full, including the two opening lines already discussed:

"As for my human race, from (/or/ in) its destruction will I cause
it to be [. . .],
For Nintu my creatures [. . .] will I [. . .].
The people will I cause to . . . in their settlements,
Cities . . . shall (man) build, in there protection will I cause him
to rest,
That he may lay the brick of our houses in a clean spot,
That in a clean spot he may establish our . . . !"

In the reason here given for man's creation, or for his rescue from the Flood, we have an interesting parallel to the Sixth Tablet of the Semitic-Babylonian Creation Series. At the opening of that tablet Marduk, in response to "the word of the gods", is urged by his heart to devise a cunning plan which he imparts to Ea, namely the creation of man from his own divine blood and from bone which he will fashion. And the reason he gives for his proposal is precisely that which, as we have seen, prompted the Sumerian deity to create or preserve the human race. For Marduk continues:

"I will create man who shall inhabit [. . .],
That the service of the gods may be established and that their
shrines may be built." [1]

[1] See /The Seven Tablets of Creation/, Vol. I, pp. 86 ff.

We shall see later, from the remainder of Marduk's speech, that the Semitic Version has been elaborated at this point in order to reconcile it with other ingredients in its narrative, which were entirely absent from the simpler Sumerian tradition. It will suffice here to note that, in both, the reason given for man's existence is the same, namely, that the gods themselves may have worshippers. [1] The conception is in full agreement with early Sumerian thought, and reflects the theocratic constitution of the earliest Sumerian communities. The idea was naturally not repugnant to the Semites, and it need not surprise us to find the very words of the principal Sumerian Creator put into the mouth of Marduk, the city-god of Babylon.

[1] It may be added that this is also the reason given for man's creation in the introduction to a text which celebrates the founding or rebuilding of a temple.

The deity's speech perhaps comes to an end with the declaration of his purpose in creating mankind or in sanctioning their survival of the Deluge; and the following three lines appear to relate his establishment of the divine laws in accordance with which his intention was carried out. The passage includes a refrain, which is repeated in the Second Column:

The sublime decrees he made perfect for it.

It may probably be assumed that the refrain is employed in relation to the same deity in both passages. In the Second Column it precedes the foundation of the Babylonian kingdom and the building of the Antediluvian cities. In that passage there can be little doubt that the subject of the verb is the chief Sumerian deity, and we are therefore the more inclined to assign to him also the opening speech of the First Column, rather than to regard it as spoken by the Sumerian goddess whose share in the creation would justify her in claiming mankind as her own. In the last four lines of the column we have a brief record of the Creation itself. It was carried out by the three greatest gods of the Sumerian pantheon, Anu, Enlil and Enki, with the help of the goddess Ninkharsagga; the passage reads:

When Anu, Enlil, Enki and Ninkharsagga
Created the blackheaded (i.e. mankind),
The /niggil(ma)/ of the earth they caused the earth to produce(?),
The animals, the four-legged creatures of the field, they artfully
called into existence.

The interpretation of the third line is obscure, but there is no doubt that it records the creation of something which is represented as having taken place between the creation of mankind and that of animals. This object, which is written as /nig-gil/ or /nig-gil-ma/, is referred to again in the Sixth Column, where the Sumerian hero of the Deluge assigns to it the honorific title, "Preserver of the Seed of Mankind". It must therefore have played an important part in man's preservation from the Flood; and the subsequent bestowal of the title may be paralleled in the early Semitic Deluge fragment from Nippur, where the boat in which Ut-napishtim escapes is assigned the very similar title "Preserver of Life".[1] But /niggilma/ is not the word used in the Sumerian Version of Ziusudra's boat, and I am inclined to suggest a meaning for it in connexion with the magical element in the text, of the existence of which there is other evidence. On that assumption, the prominence given to its creation may be paralleled in the introduction to a later magical text, which described, probably in connexion with an incantation, the creation of two small creatures, one white and one black, by Nin-igi-azag, "The Lord of Clear Vision", one of the titles borne by Enki or Ea. The time of their creation is indicated as after that of "cattle, beasts of the field and creatures of the city", and the composition opens in a way which is very like the opening of the present passage in our text.[2] In neither text is there any idea of giving a complete account of the creation of the world, only so much of the original myth being included in each case as suffices for the writer's purpose. Here we may assume that the creation of mankind and of animals is recorded because they were to be saved from the Flood, and that of the /niggilma/ because of the part it played in ensuring their survival.

[1] See Hilprecht, */Babylonian Expedition/*, Series D, Vol. V, Fasc. 1, plate, Rev., l. 8; the photographic reproduction clearly shows, as Dr. Poebel suggests (*/Hist. Texts/*, p. 61 n 3), that the line should read: /[(isu)elippu] ši-i lu (isu)ma-gur-gur-ma šum-ša lu na-si-rat na-piš-tim/, "That ship shall be a /magurgurru/ (giant boat), and its name shall be 'Preserver of Life' (lit. 'She that preserves life')." "

[2] See */Seven Tablets of Creation/*, Vol. I, pp. 122 ff. The text opens with the words "When the gods in their assembly had made [the world], and had created the heavens, and had formed the

earth, and had brought living creatures into being . . .", the lines forming an introduction to the special act of creation with which the composition was concerned.

The discussion of the meaning of /niggilma/ may best be postponed till the Sixth Column, where we find other references to the word. Meanwhile it may be noted that in the present passage the creation of man precedes that of animals, as it did in the earlier Hebrew Version of Creation, and probably also in the Babylonian version, though not in the later Hebrew Version. It may be added that in another Sumerian account of the Creation[1] the same order, of man before animals, is followed.

[1] Cf. /Sev. Tabl./, Vol. I, p. 134 f.; but the text has been subjected to editing, and some of its episodes are obviously displaced.

II. THE ANTEDILUVIAN CITIES

As we saw was the case with the First Column of the text, the earliest part preserved of the Second Column contains the close of a speech by a deity, in which he proclaims an act he is about to perform. Here we may assume with some confidence that the speaker is Anu or Enlil, preferably the latter, since it would be natural to ascribe the political constitution of Babylonia, the foundation of which is foreshadowed, to the head of the Sumerian pantheon. It would appear that a beginning had already been made in the establishment of "the kingdom", and, before proceeding to his further work of founding the Antediluvian cities, he follows the example of the speaker in the First Column of the text and lays down the divine enactments by which his purpose was accomplished. The same refrain is repeated:

The sub[lime decrees] he made perfect for it.

The text then relates the founding by the god of five cities, probably "in clean places", that is to say on hallowed ground. He calls each by its name and assigns it to its own divine patron or city-god:

[In clean place]s he founded [five] cit[ies].

And after he had called their names and they had been allotted to divine rulers(?),--

The . . . of these cities, Eridu, he gave to the leader, Nu-dimmud, Secondly, to Nugira(?) he gave Bad-. . .,[1]

Thirdly, Larak he gave to Pabilkharsag,

Fourthly, Sippar he gave to the hero, the Sun-god,

Fifthly, Shuruppak he gave to "the God of Shuruppak",--
After he had called the names of these cities, and they had been
allotted to divine rulers(?),

[1] In Semitic-Babylonian the first component of this city-name would
read "Dûr".

The completion of the sentence, in the last two lines of the column,
cannot be rendered with any certainty, but the passage appears to have
related the creation of small rivers and pools. It will be noted that
the lines which contain the names of the five cities and their patron
gods[1] form a long explanatory parenthesis, the preceding line being
repeated after their enumeration.

[1] The precise meaning of the sign-group here provisionally rendered
"divine ruler" is not yet ascertained.

As the first of the series of five cities of Eridu, the seat of
Nudimmud or Enki, who was the third of the creating deities, it has
been urged that the upper part of the Second Column must have included
an account of the founding of Erech, the city of Anu, and of Nippur,
Enlil's city.[1] But the numbered sequence of the cities would be
difficult to reconcile with the earlier creation of other cities in
the text, and the mention of Eridu as the first city to be created
would be quite in accord with its great age and peculiarly sacred
character as a cult-centre. Moreover the evidence of the Sumerian
Dynastic List is definitely against any claim of Erech to Antediluvian
existence. For when the hegemony passed from the first Post-diluvian
"kingdom" to the second, it went not to Erech but to the shrine Eanna,
which gave its name to the second "kingdom"; and the city itself was
apparently not founded before the reign of Enmerkar, the second
occupant of the throne, who is the first to be given the title "King
of Erech". This conclusion with regard to Erech incidentally disposes
of the arguments for Nippur's Antediluvian rank in primitive Sumerian
tradition, which have been founded on the order of the cities
mentioned at the beginning of the later Sumerian myth of Creation.[2]
The evidence we thus obtain that the early Sumerians themselves
regarded Eridu as the first city in the world to be created, increases
the hope that future excavation at Abu Shahrain may reveal Sumerian
remains of periods which, from an archaeological standpoint, must
still be regarded as prehistoric.

[1] Cf. Poebel, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[2] The city of Nippur does not occur among the first four "kingdoms"
of the Sumerian Dynastic List; but we may probably assume that it

was the seat of at least one early "kingdom", in consequence of which Enlil, its city-god, attained his later pre-eminent rank in the Sumerian pantheon.

It is noteworthy that no human rulers are mentioned in connexion with Eridu and the other four Antediluvian cities; and Ziusudu, the hero of the story, is apparently the only mortal whose name occurred in our text. But its author's principal subject is the Deluge, and the preceding history of the world is clearly not given in detail, but is merely summarized. In view of the obviously abbreviated form of the narrative, of which we have already noted striking evidence in its account of the Creation, we may conclude that in the fuller form of the tradition the cities were also assigned human rulers, each one the representative of his city-god. These would correspond to the Antediluvian dynasty of Berossus, the last member of which was Xisuthros, the later counterpart of Ziusudu.

In support of the exclusion of Nippur and Erech from the myth, it will be noted that the second city in the list is not Adab,[1] which was probably the principal seat of the goddess Ninkharsagga, the fourth of the creating deities. The names of both deity and city in that line are strange to us. Larak, the third city in the series, is of greater interest, for it is clearly Larankha, which according to Berossus was the seat of the eighth and ninth of his Antediluvian kings. In commercial documents of the Persian period, which have been found during the excavations at Nippur, Larak is described as lying "on the bank of the old Tigris", a phrase which must be taken as referring to the Shatt el-Hai, in view of the situation of Lagash and other early cities upon it or in its immediate neighbourhood. The site of the city should perhaps be sought on the upper course of the stream, where it tends to approach Nippur. It would thus have lain in the neighbourhood of Bismâya, the site of Adab. Like Adab, Lagash, Shuruppak, and other early Sumerian cities, it was probably destroyed and deserted at a very early period, though it was reoccupied under its old name in Neo-Babylonian or Persian times. Its early disappearance from Babylonian history perhaps in part accounts for our own unfamiliarity with Pabilkharsag, its city-god, unless we may regard the name as a variant from of Pabilsag; but it is hardly likely that the two should be identified.

[1] The site of Adab, now marked by the mounds of Bismâya, was partially excavated by an expedition sent out in 1903 by the University of Chicago, and has provided valuable material for the study of the earliest Sumerian period; see /Reports of the Expedition of the Oriental Exploration Fund/ (Babylonian Section of the University of Chicago), and Banks, /Bismya/ (1912). On

grounds of antiquity alone we might perhaps have expected its inclusion in the myth.

In Sippar, the fourth of the Antediluvian cities in our series, we again have a parallel to Berossus. It has long been recognized that Pantibiblon, or Pantibiblia, from which the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh of his Antediluvian kings all came, was the city of Sippar in Northern Babylonia. For the seventh of these rulers, {Euedorakhos}, is clearly Enmeduranki, the mythical king of Sippar, who in Babylonian tradition was regarded as the founder of divination. In a fragmentary composition that has come down to us he is described, not only as king of Sippar, but as "beloved of Anu, Enlil, and Enki", the three creating gods of our text; and it is there recounted how the patron deities of divination, Shamash and Adad, themselves taught him to practise their art.[1] Moreover, Berossus directly implies the existence of Sippar before the Deluge, for in the summary of his version that has been preserved Xisuthros, under divine instruction, buries the sacred writings concerning the origin of the world in "Sispara", the city of the Sun-god, so that after the Deluge they might be dug up and transmitted to mankind. Ebabbar, the great Sun-temple, was at Sippar, and it is to the Sun-god that the city is naturally allotted in the new Sumerian Version.

[1] Cf. Zimmern, /Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Bab. Relig./, pp. 116 ff.

The last of the five Antediluvian cities in our list is Shuruppak, in which dwelt Ut-napishtim, the hero of the Babylonian version of the Deluge. Its site has been identified with the mounds of Fâra, in the neighbourhood of the Shatt el-Kâr, the former bed of the Euphrates; and the excavations that were conducted there in 1902 have been most productive of remains dating from the prehistoric period of Sumerian culture.[1] Since our text is concerned mainly with the Deluge, it is natural to assume that the foundation of the city from which the Deluge-hero came would be recorded last, in order to lead up to the central episode of the text. The city of Ziusudu, the hero of the Sumerian story, is unfortunately not given in the Third Column, but, in view of Shuruppak's place in the list of Antediluvian cities, it is not improbable that on this point the Sumerian and Babylonian Versions agreed. In the Gilgamesh Epic Shuruppak is the only Antediluvian city referred to, while in the Hebrew accounts no city at all is mentioned in connexion with Noah. The city of Xisuthros, too, is not recorded, but as his father came from Larankha or Larak, we may regard that city as his in the Greek Version. Besides Larankha, the only Antediluvian cities according to Berossus were Babylon and Sippar, and the influence of Babylonian theology, of which we here have evidence, would be sufficient to account for a disturbance of the original

traditions. At the same time it is not excluded that Larak was also the scene of the Deluge in our text, though, as we have noted, the position of Shuruppak at the close of the Sumerian list points to it as the more probable of the two. It may be added that we cannot yet read the name of the deity to whom Shuruppak was allotted, but as it is expressed by the city's name preceded by the divine determinative, the rendering "the God of Shuruppak" will meanwhile serve.

[1] See /Hist. of Sum. and Akk./, pp. 24 ff.

The creation of small rivers and pools, which seems to have followed the foundation of the five sacred cities, is best explained on the assumption that they were intended for the supply of water to the cities and to the temples of their five patron gods. The creation of the Euphrates and the Tigris, if recorded in our text at all, or in its logical order, must have occurred in the upper portion of the column. The fact that in the later Sumerian account their creation is related between that of mankind and the building of Nippur and Erech cannot be cited in support of this suggestion, in view of the absence of those cities from our text and of the process of editing to which the later version has been subjected, with a consequent disarrangement of its episodes.

III. THE COUNCIL OF THE GODS, AND ZIUSUDU'S PIETY

From the lower part of the Third Column, where its text is first preserved, it is clear that the gods had already decided to send a Deluge, for the goddess Nintu or Ninkharsagga, here referred to also as "the holy Innanna", wails aloud for the intended destruction of "her people". That this decision has been decreed by the gods in council is clear from a passage in the Fourth Column, where it is stated that the sending of a flood to destroy mankind was "the word of the assembly [of the gods]". The first lines preserved in the present column describe the effect of the decision on the various gods concerned and their action at the close of the council.

In the lines which described the Council of the Gods, broken references to "the people" and "a flood" are preserved, after which the text continues:

At that time Nintu [. . .] like a [. . .],
The holy Innanna lament[ed] on account of her people.
Enki in his own heart [held] counsel;
Anu, Enlil, Enki and Ninkharsagga [. . .].
The gods of heaven and earth in[voked] the name of Anu and Enlil.

It is unfortunate that the ends of all the lines in this column are wanting, but enough remains to show a close correspondence of the first two lines quoted with a passage in the Gilgamesh Epic where Ishtar is described as lamenting the destruction of mankind.[1] This will be seen more clearly by printing the two couplets in parallel columns:

SUMERIAN VERSION	SEMITIC VERSION
At that time Nintu [. . .] like a [. . .], The holy Innanna lament[ed] on account of her people.	Ishtar cried aloud like a woman in travail, Bêlit-ili lamented with a loud voice.

[1] Gilg. Epic, XI, l. 117 f.

The expression Bêlit-ili, "the Lady of the Gods", is attested as a title borne both by the Semitic goddess Ishtar and by the Sumerian goddess Nintu or Ninkharsagga. In the passage in the Babylonian Version, "the Lady of the Gods" has always been treated as a synonym of Ishtar, the second half of the couplet being regarded as a restatement of the first, according to a recognized law of Babylonian poetry. We may probably assume that this interpretation is correct, and we may conclude by analogy that "the holy Innanna" in the second half of the Sumerian couplet is there merely employed as a synonym of Nintu.[1] When the Sumerian myth was recast in accordance with Semitic ideas, the rôle of creatress of mankind, which had been played by the old Sumerian goddess Ninkharsagga or Nintu, was naturally transferred to the Semitic Ishtar. And as Innanna was one of Ishtar's designations, it was possible to make the change by a simple transcription of the lines, the name Nintu being replaced by the synonymous title Bêlit-ili, which was also shared by Ishtar. Difficulties are at once introduced if we assume with Dr. Poebel that in each version two separate goddesses are represented as lamenting, Nintu or Bêlit-ili and Innanna or Ishtar. For Innanna as a separate goddess had no share in the Sumerian Creation, and the reference to "her people" is there only applicable to Nintu. Dr. Poebel has to assume that the Sumerian names should be reversed in order to restore them to their original order, which he suggests the Babylonian Version has preserved. But no such textual emendation is necessary. In the Semitic Version Ishtar definitely displaces Nintu as the mother of men, as is proved by a later passage in her speech where she refers to her own bearing of mankind.[2] The necessity for the substitution of her name in the later version is thus obvious, and we have already noted how simply this was effected.

[1] Cf. also Jastrow, /Hebr. and Bab. Trad./, p. 336.

[2] Gilg. Epic, XI, l. 123.

Another feature in which the two versions differ is that in the Sumerian text the lamentation of the goddess precedes the sending of the Deluge, while in the Gilgamesh Epic it is occasioned by the actual advent of the storm. Since our text is not completely preserved, it is just possible that the couplet was repeated at the end of the Fourth Column after mankind's destruction had taken place. But a further apparent difference has been noted. While in the Sumerian Version the goddess at once deplores the divine decision, it is clear from Ishtar's words in the Gilgamesh Epic that in the assembly of the gods she had at any rate concurred in it.[1] On the other hand, in Bêlit-ili's later speech in the Epic, after Ut-napishtim's sacrifice upon the mountain, she appears to subscribe the decision to Enlil alone.[2] The passages in the Gilgamesh Epic are not really contradictory, for they can be interpreted as implying that, while Enlil forced his will upon the other gods against Bêlit-ili's protest, the goddess at first reproached herself with her concurrence, and later stigmatized Enlil as the real author of the catastrophe. The Semitic narrative thus does not appear, as has been suggested, to betray traces of two variant traditions which have been skilfully combined, though it may perhaps exhibit an expansion of the Sumerian story. On the other hand, most of the apparent discrepancies between the Sumerian and Babylonian Versions disappear, on the recognition that our text gives in many passages only an epitome of the original Sumerian Version.

[1] Cf. l. 121 f., "Since I commanded evil in the assembly of the gods, (and) commanded battle for the destruction of my people".

[2] Cf. ll. 165 ff., "Ye gods that are here! So long as I forget not the (jewels of) lapis lazuli upon my neck, I will keep these days in my memory, never will I forget them! Let the gods come to the offering, but let not Enlil come to the offering, since he took not counsel but sent the deluge and surrendered my people to destruction."

The lament of the goddess is followed by a brief account of the action taken by the other chief figures in the drama. Enki holds counsel with his own heart, evidently devising the project, which he afterwards carried into effect, of preserving the seed of mankind from destruction. Since the verb in the following line is wanting, we do not know what action is there recorded of the four creating deities; but the fact that the gods of heaven and earth invoked the name of Anu

and Enlil suggests that it was their will which had been forced upon the other gods. We shall see that throughout the text Anu and Enlil are the ultimate rulers of both gods and men.

The narrative then introduces the human hero of the Deluge story:

At that time Ziusudu, the king, . . . priest of the god [. . .],
Made a very great . . ., [. . .].
In humility he prostrates himself, in reverence [. . .],
Daily he stands in attendance [. . .].
A dream,[1] such as had not been before, comes forth[2] . . . [. . .],
By the Name of Heaven and Earth he conjures [. . .].

[1] The word may also be rendered "dreams".

[2] For this rendering of the verb /e-de/, for which Dr. Poebel does not hazard a translation, see Rawlinson, /W.A.I./, IV, pl. 26, l. 24 f.(a), /nu-e-de/ = Sem. /la us-su-u/ (Pres.); and cf. Brünnow, /Classified List/, p. 327. An alternative rendering "is created" is also possible, and would give equally good sense; cf. /nu-e-de/ = Sem. /la šu-pu-u/, /W.A.I./, IV, pl. 2, l. 5 (a), and Brünnow, op. cit., p. 328.

The name of the hero, Ziusudu, is the fuller Sumerian equivalent of Ut-napishtim (or Uta-napishtim), the abbreviated Semitic form which we find in the Gilgamesh Epic. For not only are the first two elements of the Sumerian name identical with those of the Semitic Ut-napishtim, but the names themselves are equated in a later Babylonian syllabary or explanatory list of words.[1] We there find "Ut-napishte" given as the equivalent of the Sumerian "Zisuda", evidently an abbreviated form of the name Ziusudu;[2] and it is significant that the names occur in the syllabary between those of Gilgamesh and Enkidu, evidently in consequence of the association of the Deluge story by the Babylonians with their national epic of Gilgamesh. The name Ziusudu may be rendered "He who lengthened the day of life" or "He who made life long of days",[3] which in the Semitic form is abbreviated by the omission of the verb. The reference is probably to the immortality bestowed upon Ziusudu at the close of the story, and not to the prolongation of mankind's existence in which he was instrumental. It is scarcely necessary to add that the name has no linguistic connexion with the Hebrew name Noah, to which it also presents no parallel in meaning.

[1] Cf. /Cun. Texts in the Brit. Mus./, Pt. XVIII, pl. 30, l. 9 (a).

[2] The name in the Sumerian Version is read by Dr. Poebel as Ziugiddu, but there is much in favour of Prof. Zimmern's

suggestion, based on the form Zisuda, that the third syllable of the name should be read as /su/. On a fragment of another Nippur text, No. 4611, Dr. Langdon reads the name as /Zi-u-sud-du/ (cf. Univ. of Penns. Mus. Publ., Bab. Sec., Vol. X, No. 1, p. 90, pl. iv a); the presence of the phonetic complement /du/ may be cited in favour of this reading, but it does not appear to be supported by the photographic reproductions of the name in the Sumerian Deluge Version given by Dr. Poebel (/Hist. and Gramm. Texts/, pl. lxxxviii f.). It may be added that, on either alternative, the meaning of the name is the same.

[3] The meaning of the Sumerian element /u/ in the name, rendered as /utu/ in the Semitic form, is rather obscure, and Dr. Poebel left it unexplained. It is very probable, as suggested by Dr. Langdon (cf. /Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch./, XXXVI, 1914, p. 190), that we should connect it with the Semitic /uddu/; in that case, in place of "breath", the rendering he suggests, I should be inclined to render it here as "day", for /uddu/ as the meaning "dawn" and the sign UD is employed both for /urru/, "day-light", and /ûmu/, "day".

It is an interesting fact that Ziusudu should be described simply as "the king", without any indication of the city or area he ruled; and in three of the five other passages in the text in which his name is mentioned it is followed by the same title without qualification. In most cases Berossus tells us the cities from which his Antediluvian rulers came; and if the end of the line had been preserved it might have been possible to determine definitely Ziusudu's city, and incidentally the scene of the Deluge in the Sumerian Version, by the name of the deity in whose service he acted as priest. We have already noted some grounds for believing that his city may have been Shuruppak, as in the Babylonian Version; and if that were so, the divine name reads as "the God of Shuruppak" should probably be restored at the end of the line.[1]

[1] The remains that are preserved of the determinative, which is not combined with the sign EN, proves that Enki's name is not to be restored. Hence Ziusudu was not priest of Enki, and his city was probably not Eridu, the seat of his divine friend and counsellor, and the first of the Antediluvian cities. Sufficient reason for Enki's intervention on Ziusudu's behalf is furnished by the fact that, as God of the Deep, he was concerned in the proposed method of man's destruction. His rivalry of Enlil, the God of the Earth, is implied in the Babylonian Version (cf. Gilg. Epic. XI, ll. 39-42), and in the Sumerian Version this would naturally extend to Anu, the God of Heaven.

The employment of the royal title by itself accords with the tradition from Berossus that before the Deluge, as in later periods, the land was governed by a succession of supreme rulers, and that the hero of the Deluge was the last of them. In the Gilgamesh Epic, on the other hand, Ut-napishtim is given no royal nor any other title. He is merely referred to as a "man of Shuruppak, son of Ubar-Tutu", and he appears in the guise of an ancient hero or patriarch not invested with royal power. On this point Berossus evidently preserves the original Sumerian traditions, while the Hebrew Versions resemble the Semitic-Babylonian narrative. The Sumerian conception of a series of supreme Antediluvian rulers is of course merely a reflection from the historical period, when the hegemony in Babylonia was contested among the city-states. The growth of the tradition may have been encouraged by the early use of /lugal/, "king", which, though always a term of secular character, was not very sharply distinguished from that of /patesi/ and other religious titles, until, in accordance with political development, it was required to connote a wider dominion. In Sumer, at the time of the composition of our text, Ziusudu was still only one in a long line of Babylonian rulers, mainly historical but gradually receding into the realms of legend and myth. At the time of the later Semites there had been more than one complete break in the tradition and the historical setting of the old story had become dim. The fact that Hebrew tradition should range itself in this matter with Babylon rather than with Sumer is important as a clue in tracing the literary history of our texts.

The rest of the column may be taken as descriptive of Ziusudu's activities. One line records his making of some very great object or the erection of a huge building;^[1] and since the following lines are concerned solely with religious activities, the reference is possibly to a temple or some other structure of a sacred character. Its foundation may have been recorded as striking evidence of his devotion to his god; or, since the verb in this sentence depends on the words "at that time" in the preceding line, we may perhaps regard his action as directly connected with the revelation to be made to him. His personal piety is then described: daily he occupied himself in his god's service, prostrating himself in humility and constant in his attendance at the shrine. A dream (or possibly dreams), "such as had not been before", appears to him and he seems to be further described as conjuring "by the Name of Heaven and Earth"; but as the ends of all these lines are broken, the exact connexion of the phrases is not quite certain.

[1] The element /gur-gur/, "very large" or "huge", which occurs in the name of this great object or building, /an-sag-gur-gur/, is

employed later in the term for the "huge boat", /(gish)ma-gur-gur/, in which Ziusudu rode out the storm. There was, of course, even at this early period a natural tendency to picture on a superhuman scale the lives and deeds of remote predecessors, a tendency which increased in later times and led, as we shall see, to the elaboration of extravagant detail.

It is difficult not to associate the reference to a dream, or possibly to dream-divination, with the warning in which Enki reveals the purpose of the gods. For the later versions prepare us for a reference to a dream. If we take the line as describing Ziusudu's practice of dream-divination in general, "such as had not been before", he may have been represented as the first diviner of dreams, as Enmeduranki was held to be the first practitioner of divination in general. But it seems to me more probable that the reference is to a particular dream, by means of which he obtained knowledge of the gods' intentions. On the rendering of this passage depends our interpretation of the whole of the Fourth Column, where the point will be further discussed. Meanwhile it may be noted that the conjuring "by the Name of Heaven and Earth", which we may assume is ascribed to Ziusudu, gains in significance if we may regard the setting of the myth as a magical incantation, an inference in support of which we shall note further evidence. For we are furnished at once with the grounds for its magical employment. If Ziusudu, through conjuring by the Name of Heaven and earth, could profit by the warning sent him and so escape the impending fate of mankind, the application of such a myth to the special needs of a Sumerian in peril or distress will be obvious. For should he, too, conjure by the Name of Heaven and Earth, he might look for a similar deliverance; and his recital of the myth itself would tend to clinch the magical effect of his own incantation.

The description of Ziusudu has also great interest in furnishing us with a close parallel to the piety of Noah in the Hebrew Versions. For in the Gilgamesh Epic and in Berossus this feature of the story is completely absent. We are there given no reason why Ut-napishtim was selected by Ea, nor Xisuthros by Kronos. For all that those versions tell us, the favour of each deity might have been conferred arbitrarily, and not in recognition of, or in response to, any particular quality or action on the part of its recipient. The Sumerian Version now restores the original setting of the story and incidentally proves that, in this particular, the Hebrew Versions have not embroidered a simpler narrative for the purpose of edification, but have faithfully reproduced an original strand of the tradition.

IV. THE DREAM-WARNING

The top of the Fourth Column of the text follows immediately on the close of the Third Column, so that at this one point we have no great gap between the columns. But unfortunately the ends of all the lines in both columns are wanting, and the exact content of some phrases preserved and their relation to each other are consequently doubtful. This materially affects the interpretation of the passage as a whole, but the main thread of the narrative may be readily followed. Ziusudu is here warned that a flood is to be sent "to destroy the seed of mankind"; the doubt that exists concerns the manner in which the warning is conveyed. In the first line of the column, after a reference to "the gods", a building seems to be mentioned, and Ziusudu, standing beside it, apparently hears a voice, which bids him take his stand beside a wall and then conveys to him the warning of the coming flood. The destruction of mankind had been decreed in "the assembly [of the gods]" and would be carried out by the commands of Anu and Enlil. Before the text breaks off we again have a reference to the "kingdom" and "its rule", a further trace of the close association of the Deluge with the dynastic succession in the early traditions of Sumer.

In the opening words of the warning to Ziusudu, with its prominent repetition of the word "wall", we must evidently trace some connexion with the puzzling words of Ea in the Gilgamesh Epic, when he begins his warning to Ut-napishtim. The warnings, as given in the two versions, are printed below in parallel columns for comparison.[1] The Gilgamesh Epic, after relating how the great gods in Shuruppak had decided to send a deluge, continues as follows in the right-hand column:

SUMERIAN VERSION	SEMITIC VERSION
For [. . .] . . . the gods a . . . [. . .]; Ziusudu standing at its side heard [. . .]: "At the wall on my left side take thy stand and [. . .], At the wall I will speak a word to thee [. . .]. O my devout one . . . [. . .], By our hand(?) a flood[3] . . . [. . .] will be [sent]. To destroy the seed of mankind [. . .]	Nin-igi-azag,[2] the god Ea, sat with them, And he repeated their word to the house of reeds: "Reed-hut, reed-hut! Wall, wall! O reed-hut, hear! O wall, understand! Thou man of Shuruppak, son of Ubar-Tutu, Pull down thy house, build a ship, Leave thy possessions, take heed for thy life,

Is the decision, the word of the assembly[4] [of the gods]	Abandon thy property, and save thy life.
The commands of Anu (and) En[lil . . .]	And bring living seed of every kind into the ship.
Its kingdom, its rule [. . .]	As for the ship, which thou shalt build,
To his [. . .]"	Of which the measurements shall be carefully measured,
[. . .]	Its breadth and length shall correspond.
[. . .]	In the deep shalt thou immerse it."

[1] Col. IV, ll. 1 ff. are there compared with Gilg. Epic, XI, ll. 19-31.

[2] Nin-igi-azag, "The Lord of Clear Vision", a title borne by Enki, or Ea, as God of Wisdom.

[3] The Sumerian term /amaru/, here used for the flood and rendered as "rain-storm" by Dr. Poebel, is explained in a later syllabary as the equivalent of the Semitic-Babylonian word /abûbu/ (cf. Meissner, /S.A.I./, No. 8909), the term employed for the flood both in the early Semitic version of the Atrakhasis story dated in Ammizaduga's reign and in the Gilgamesh Epic. The word /abûbu/ is often conventionally rendered "deluge", but should be more accurately translated "flood". It is true that the tempests of the Sumerian Version probably imply rain; and in the Gilgamesh Epic heavy rain in the evening begins the flood and is followed at dawn by a thunderstorm and hurricane. But in itself the term /abûbu/ implies flood, which could take place through a rise of the rivers unaccompanied by heavy local rain. The annual rainfall in Babylonia to-day is on an average only about 8 in., and there have been years in succession when the total rainfall has not exceeded 4 in.; and yet the /abûbu/ is not a thing of the past.

[4] The word here rendered "assembly" is the Semitic loan-word /buhrum/, in Babylonian /puhrum/, the term employed for the "assembly" of the gods both in the Babylonian Creation Series and in the Gilgamesh Epic. Its employment in the Sumerian Version, in place of its Sumerian equivalent /ukkin/, is an interesting example of Semitic influence. Its occurrence does not necessarily imply the existence of a recognized Semitic Version at the period our text was inscribed. The substitution of /buhrum/ for /ukkin/ in the text may well date from the period of Hammurabi, when we may assume that the increased importance of the city-council was

reflected in the general adoption of the Semitic term (cf. Poebel, /Hist. Texts/, p. 53).

In the Semitic Version Ut-napishtim, who tells the story in the first person, then says that he "understood", and that, after assuring Ea that he would carry out his commands, he asked how he was to explain his action to "the city, the people, and the elders"; and the god told him what to say. Then follows an account of the building of the ship, introduced by the words "As soon as the dawn began to break". In the Sumerian Version the close of the warning, in which the ship was probably referred to, and the lines prescribing how Ziusudu carried out the divine instructions are not preserved.

It will be seen that in the passage quoted from the Semitic Version there is no direct mention of a dream; the god is represented at first as addressing his words to a "house of reeds" and a "wall", and then as speaking to Ut-napishtim himself. But in a later passage in the Epic, when Ea seeks to excuse his action to Enlil, he says that the gods' decision was revealed to Atrakhasis through a dream.[1] Dr. Poebel rightly compares the direct warning of Ut-napishtim by Ea in the passage quoted above with the equally direct warning Ziusudu receives in the Sumerian Version. But he would have us divorce the direct warning from the dream-warning, and he concludes that no less than three different versions of the story have been worked together in the Gilgamesh Epic. In the first, corresponding to that in our text, Ea communicates the gods' decision directly to Ut-napishtim; in the second he sends a dream from which Atrakhasis, "the Very Wise one", guesses the impending peril; while in the third he relates the plan to a wall, taking care that Ut-napishtim overhears him.[2] The version of Berossus, that Kronos himself appears to Xisuthros in a dream and warns him, is rejected by Dr. Poebel, who remarks that here the "original significance of the dream has already been obliterated". Consequently there seems to him to be "no logical connexion" between the dreams or dream mentioned at the close of the Third Column and the communication of the plan of the gods at the beginning of the Fourth Column of our text.[3]

[1] Cf. I. 195 f.; "I did not divulge the decision of the great gods. I caused Atrakhasis to behold a dream and thus he heard the decision of the gods."

[2] Cf. Poebel, /Hist. Texts/, p. 51 f. With the god's apparent subterfuge in the third of these supposed versions Sir James Frazer (/Ancient Stories of a Great Flood/, p. 15) not inaptly compares the well-known story of King Midas's servant, who, unable to keep the secret of the king's deformity to himself, whispered

it into a hole in the ground, with the result that the reeds which grew up there by their rustling in the wind proclaimed it to the world (Ovid, */Metamorphoses/*, xi, 174 ff.).

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 51; cf. also Jastrow, */Heb. and Bab. Trad./*, p. 346.

So far from Berossus having missed the original significance of the narrative he relates, I think it can be shown that he reproduces very accurately the sense of our Sumerian text; and that the apparent discrepancies in the Semitic Version, and the puzzling references to a wall in both it and the Sumerian Version, are capable of a simple explanation. There appears to me no justification for splitting the Semitic narrative into the several versions suggested, since the assumption that the direct warning and the dream-warning must be distinguished is really based on a misunderstanding of the character of Sumerian dreams by which important decisions of the gods in council were communicated to mankind. We fortunately possess an instructive Sumerian parallel to our passage. In it the will of the gods is revealed in a dream, which is not only described in full but is furnished with a detailed interpretation; and as it seems to clear up our difficulties, it may be well to summarize its main features.

The occasion of the dream in this case was not a coming deluge but a great dearth of water in the rivers, in consequence of which the crops had suffered and the country was threatened with famine. This occurred in the reign of Gudea, patesi of Lagash, who lived some centuries before our Sumerian document was inscribed. In his own inscription^[1] he tells us that he was at a loss to know by what means he might restore prosperity to his country, when one night he had a dream; and it was in consequence of the dream that he eventually erected one of the most sumptuously appointed of Sumerian temples and thereby restored his land to prosperity. Before recounting his dream he describes how the gods themselves took counsel. On the day in which destinies were fixed in heaven and earth, Enlil, the chief of the gods, and Ningirsu, the city-god of Lagash, held converse; and Enlil, turning to Ningirsu, described the sad condition of Southern Babylonia, and remarked that "the decrees of the temple Eninnû should be made glorious in heaven and upon earth", or, in other words, that Ningirsu's city-temple must be rebuilt. Thereupon Ningirsu did not communicate his orders directly to Gudea, but conveyed the will of the gods to him by means of a dream.

[1] See Thureau-Dangin, */Les inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad/*, Cyl. A, pp. 134 ff., Germ. ed., pp. 88 ff.; and cf. King and Hall, */Eg. and West. Asia/*, pp. 196 ff.

It will be noticed that we here have a very similar situation to that in the Deluge story. A conference of the gods has been held; a decision has been taken by the greatest god, Enlil; and, in consequence, another deity is anxious to inform a Sumerian ruler of that decision. The only difference is that here Enlil desires the communication to be made, while in the Deluge story it is made without his knowledge, and obviously against his wishes. So the fact that Ningirsu does not communicate directly with the patesi, but conveys his message by means of a dream, is particularly instructive. For here there can be no question of any subterfuge in the method employed, since Enlil was a consenting party.

The story goes on to relate that, while the patesi slept, a vision of the night came to him, and he beheld a man whose stature was so great that it equalled the heavens and the earth. By the diadem he wore upon his head Gudea knew that the figure must be a god. Beside the god was the divine eagle, the emblem of Lagash; his feet rested upon the whirlwind, and a lion crouched upon his right hand and upon his left. The figure spoke to the patesi, but he did not understand the meaning of the words. Then it seemed to Gudea that the Sun rose from the earth; and he beheld a woman holding in her hand a pure reed, and she carried also a tablet on which was a star of the heavens, and she seemed to take counsel with herself. While Gudea was gazing, he seemed to see a second man, who was like a warrior; and he carried a slab of lapis lazuli, on which he drew out the plan of a temple. Before the patesi himself it seemed that a fair cushion was placed, and upon the cushion was set a mould, and within the mould was a brick. And on the right hand the patesi beheld an ass that lay upon the ground. Such was the dream of Gudea, and he was troubled because he could not interpret it.[1]

[1] The resemblance its imagery bears to that of apocalyptic visions of a later period is interesting, as evidence of the latter's remote ancestry, and of the development in the use of primitive material to suit a completely changed political outlook. But those are points which do not concern our problem.

To cut the long story short, Gudea decided to seek the help of Ninâ, "the child of Eridu", who, as daughter of Enki, the God of Wisdom, could divine all the mysteries of the gods. But first of all by sacrifices and libations he secured the mediation of his own city-god and goddess, Ningirsu and Gatumdug; and then, repairing to Ninâ's temple, he recounted to her the details of his vision. When the patesi had finished, the goddess addressed him and said she would explain to him the meaning of his dream. Here, no doubt, we are to understand that she spoke through the mouth of her chief priest. And this was the

interpretation of the dream. The man whose stature was so great, and whose head was that of a god, was the god Ningirsu, and the words which he uttered were an order to the patesi to rebuild the temple Eninnû. The Sun which rose from the earth was the god Ningishzida, for like the Sun he goes forth from the earth. The maiden who held the pure reed and carried the tablet with the star was the goddess Nisaba; the star was the pure star of the temple's construction, which she proclaimed. The second man, who was like a warrior, was the god Nibub; and the plan of the temple which he drew was the plan of Eninnû; and the ass that lay upon the ground was the patesi himself.[1]

[1] The symbolism of the ass, as a beast of burden, was applicable to the patesi in his task of carrying out the building of the temple.

The essential feature of the vision is that the god himself appeared to the sleeper and delivered his message in words. That is precisely the manner in which Kronos warned Xisuthros of the coming Deluge in the version of Berossus; while in the Gilgamesh Epic the apparent contradiction between the direct warning and the dream-warning at once disappears. It is true that Gudea states that he did not understand the meaning of the god's message, and so required an interpretation; but he was equally at a loss as to the identity of the god who gave it, although Ningirsu was his own city-god and was accompanied by his own familiar city-emblem. We may thus assume that the god's words, as words, were equally intelligible to Gudea. But as they were uttered in a dream, it was necessary that the patesi, in view of his country's peril, should have divine assurance that they implied no other meaning. And in his case such assurance was the more essential, in view of the symbolism attaching to the other features of his vision. That this is sound reasoning is proved by a second vision vouchsafed to Gudea by Ningirsu. For the patesi, though he began to prepare for the building of the temple, was not content even with Ninâ's assurance. He offered a prayer to Ningirsu himself, saying that he wished to build the temple, but had received no sign that this was the will of the god; and he prayed for a sign. Then, as the patesi lay stretched upon the ground, the god again appeared to him and gave him detailed instructions, adding that he would grant the sign for which he asked. The sign was that he should feel his side touched as by a flame,[1] and thereby he should know that he was the man chosen by Ningirsu to carry out his commands. Here it is the sign which confirms the apparent meaning of the god's words. And Gudea was at last content and built the temple.[2]

[1] Cyl. A., col. xii, l. 10 f.; cf. Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, p. 150 f., Germ. ed., p. 102 f. The word translated "side" may also be rendered as "hand"; but "side" is the more probable rendering of

the two. The touching of Gudea's side (or hand) presents an interesting resemblance to the touching of Jacob's thigh by the divine wrestler at Peniel in Gen. xxxii. 24 ff. (J or JE). Given a belief in the constant presence of the unseen and its frequent manifestation, such a story as that of Peniel might well arise from an unexplained injury to the sciatic muscle, while more than one ailment of the heart or liver might perhaps suggest the touch of a beckoning god. There is of course no connexion between the Sumerian and Hebrew stories beyond their common background. It may be added that those critics who would reverse the /rôles/ of Jacob and the wrestler miss the point of the Hebrew story.

[2] Even so, before starting on the work, he took the further precautions of ascertaining that the omens were favourable and of purifying his city from all malign influence.

We may conclude, then, that in the new Sumerian Version of the Deluge we have traced a logical connexion between the direct warning to Ziusudu in the Fourth Column of the text and the reference to a dream in the broken lines at the close of the Third Column. As in the Gilgamesh Epic and in Berossus, here too the god's warning is conveyed in a dream; and the accompanying reference to conjuring by the Name of Heaven and Earth probably represents the means by which Ziusudu was enabled to verify its apparent meaning. The assurance which Gudea obtained through the priest of Ninâ and the sign, the priest-king Ziusudu secured by his own act, in virtue of his piety and practice of divination. And his employment of the particular class of incantation referred to, that which conjures by the Name of Heaven and Earth, is singularly appropriate to the context. For by its use he was enabled to test the meaning of Enki's words, which related to the intentions of Anu and Enlil, the gods respectively of Heaven and of Earth. The symbolical setting of Gudea's vision also finds a parallel in the reed-house and wall of the Deluge story, though in the latter case we have not the benefit of interpretation by a goddess. In the Sumerian Version the wall is merely part of the vision and does not receive a direct address from the god. That appears as a later development in the Semitic Version, and it may perhaps have suggested the excuse, put in that version into the mouth of Ea, that he had not directly revealed the decision of the gods.[1]

[1] In that case the parallel suggested by Sir James Frazer between the reed-house and wall of the Gilgamesh Epic, now regarded as a medium of communication, and the whispering reeds of the Midas story would still hold good.

The omission of any reference to a dream before the warning in the

Gilgamesh Epic may be accounted for on the assumption that readers of the poem would naturally suppose that the usual method of divine warning was implied; and the text does indicate that the warning took place at night, for Gilgamesh proceeds to carry out the divine instructions at the break of day. The direct warning of the Hebrew Versions, on the other hand, does not carry this implication, since according to Hebrew ideas direct speech, as well as vision, was included among the methods by which the divine will could be conveyed to man.

V. THE FLOOD, THE ESCAPE OF THE GREAT BOAT, AND THE SACRIFICE TO THE SUN-GOD

The missing portion of the Fourth Column must have described Ziusudu's building of his great boat in order to escape the Deluge, for at the beginning of the Fifth Column we are in the middle of the Deluge itself. The column begins:

All the mighty wind-storms together blew,
The flood . . . raged.
When for seven days, for seven nights,
The flood had overwhelmed the land
When the wind-storm had driven the great boat over the mighty
waters,
The Sun-god came forth, shedding light over heaven and earth.
Ziusudu opened the opening of the great boat;
The light of the hero, the Sun-god, (he) causes to enter into the
interior(?) of the great boat.
Ziusudu, the king,
Bows himself down before the Sun-god;
The king sacrifices an ox, a sheep he slaughters(?).

The connected text of the column then breaks off, only a sign or two remaining of the following half-dozen lines. It will be seen that in the eleven lines that are preserved we have several close parallels to the Babylonian Version and some equally striking differences. While attempting to define the latter, it will be well to point out how close the resemblances are, and at the same time to draw a comparison between the Sumerian and Babylonian Versions of this part of the story and the corresponding Hebrew accounts.

Here, as in the Babylonian Version, the Flood is accompanied by hurricanes of wind, though in the latter the description is worked up in considerable detail. We there read^[1] that at the appointed time the ruler of the darkness at eventide sent a heavy rain. Ut-napishtim

saw its beginning, but fearing to watch the storm, he entered the interior of the ship by Ea's instructions, closed the door, and handed over the direction of the vessel to the pilot Puzur-Amurri. Later a thunder-storm and hurricane added their terrors to the deluge. For at early dawn a black cloud came up from the horizon, Adad the Storm-god thundering in its midst, and his heralds, Nabû and Sharru, flying over mountain and plain. Nergal tore away the ship's anchor, while Ninib directed the storm; the Anunnaki carried their lightning-torches and lit up the land with their brightness; the whirlwind of the Storm-god reached the heavens, and all light was turned into darkness. The storm raged the whole day, covering mountain and people with water.[2] No man beheld his fellow; the gods themselves were afraid, so that they retreated into the highest heaven, where they crouched down, cowering like dogs. Then follows the lamentation of Ishtar, to which reference has already been made, the goddess reproaching herself for the part she had taken in the destruction of her people. This section of the Semitic narrative closes with the picture of the gods weeping with her, sitting bowed down with their lips pressed together.

[1] Gilg. Epic, XI, ll. 90 ff.

[2] In the Atrakhasis version, dated in the reign of Ammizaduga, Col. I, l. 5, contains a reference to the "cry" of men when Adad the Storm-god, slays them with his flood.

It is probable that the Sumerian Version, in the missing portion of its Fourth Column, contained some account of Ziusudu's entry into his boat; and this may have been preceded, as in the Gilgamesh Epic, by a reference to "the living seed of every kind", or at any rate to "the four-legged creatures of the field", and to his personal possessions, with which we may assume he had previously loaded it. But in the Fifth Column we have no mention of the pilot or of any other companions who may have accompanied the king; and we shall see that the Sixth Column contains no reference to Ziusudu's wife. The description of the storm may have begun with the closing lines of the Fourth Column, though it is also quite possible that the first line of the Fifth Column actually begins the account. However that may be, and in spite of the poetic imagery of the Semitic Babylonian narrative, the general character of the catastrophe is the same in both versions.

We find an equally close parallel, between the Sumerian and Babylonian accounts, in the duration of the storm which accompanied the Flood, as will be seen by printing the two versions together:[3]

SUMERIAN VERSION

SEMITIC VERSION

When for seven days, for seven
nights,

The flood had overwhelmed the
land,

When the wind-storm had driven
the great boat over the
mighty waters,

The Sun-god came forth shedding
light over heaven and earth.

For six days and nights

The wind blew, the flood, the
tempest overwhelmed the land.

When the seventh day drew near,
the tempest, the flood, ceased
from the battle

In which it had fought like a
host.

Then the sea rested and was
still, and the wind-storm, the
flood, ceased.

[3] Col. V, ll. 3-6 are here compared with Gilg. Epic, XI, ll. 128-32.

The two narratives do not precisely agree as to the duration of the storm, for while in the Sumerian account the storm lasts seven days and seven nights, in the Semitic-Babylonian Version it lasts only six days and nights, ceasing at dawn on the seventh day. The difference, however, is immaterial when we compare these estimates with those of the Hebrew Versions, the older of which speaks of forty days' rain, while the later version represents the Flood as rising for no less than a hundred and fifty days.

The close parallel between the Sumerian and Babylonian Versions is not, however, confined to subject-matter, but here, even extends to some of the words and phrases employed. It has already been noted that the Sumerian term employed for "flood" or "deluge" is the attested equivalent of the Semitic word; and it may now be added that the word which may be rendered "great boat" or "great ship" in the Sumerian text is the same word, though partly expressed by variant characters, which occurs in the early Semitic fragment of the Deluge story from Nippur.[1] In the Gilgamesh Epic, on the other hand, the ordinary ideogram for "vessel" or "ship"[2] is employed, though the great size of the vessel is there indicated, as in Berossus and the later Hebrew Version, by detailed measurements. Moreover, the Sumerian and Semitic verbs, which are employed in the parallel passages quoted above for the "overwhelming" of the land, are given as synonyms in a late syllabary, while in another explanatory text the Sumerian verb is explained as applying to the destructive action of a flood.[3] Such close linguistic parallels are instructive as furnishing additional proof, if it were needed, of the dependence of the Semitic-Babylonian and Assyrian Versions upon Sumerian originals.

[1] The Sumerian word is /(gish)ma-gur-gur/, corresponding to the term written in the early Semitic fragment, l. 8, as /(isu)ma-gur-gur/,

which is probably to be read under its Semitized form /magurgurru/. In l. 6 of that fragment the vessel is referred to under the synonymous expression /(isu)elippu ra-be-tu/, "a great ship".

[2] i.e. (GISH)MA, the first element in the Sumerian word, read in Semitic Babylonian as /elippu/, "ship"; when employed in the early Semitic fragment it is qualified by the adj. /ra-be-tu/, "great". There is no justification for assuming, with Prof. Hilbrecht, that a measurement of the vessel was given in l. 7 of the early Semitic fragment.

[3] The Sumerian verb /ur/, which is employed in l. 2 of the Fifth Column in the expression /ba-an-da-ab-ur-ur/, translated as "raged", occurs again in l. 4 in the phrase /kalam-ma ba-ur-ra/, "had overwhelmed the land". That we are justified in regarding the latter phrase as the original of the Semitic /i-sap-pan mâta/ (Gilg. Epic, XI, l. 129) is proved by the equation Sum. /ur-ur/ = Sem. /sa-pa-nu/ (Rawlinson, *W.A.I.*, Vol. V, pl. 42, l. 54 c) and by the explanation Sum. /ur-ur/ = Sem. /ša-ba-tu ša a-bu-bi/, i.e. "/ur-ur/ = to smite, of a flood" (*Cun. Texts*, Pt. XII, pl. 50, Obv., l. 23); cf. Poebel, *Hist. Texts*, p. 54, n. 1.

It may be worth while to pause for a moment in our study of the text, in order to inquire what kind of boat it was in which Ziusudu escaped the Flood. It is only called "a great boat" or "a great ship" in the text, and this term, as we have noted, was taken over, semitized, and literally translated in an early Semitic-Babylonian Version. But the Gilgamesh Epic, representing the later Semitic-Babylonian Version, supplies fuller details, which have not, however, been satisfactorily explained. Either the obvious meaning of the description and figures there given has been ignored, or the measurements have been applied to a central structure placed upon a hull, much on the lines of a modern "house-boat" or the conventional Noah's ark.[1] For the latter interpretation the text itself affords no justification. The statement is definitely made that the length and breadth of the vessel itself are to be the same;[2] and a later passage gives ten /gar/ for the height of its sides and ten /gar/ for the breadth of its deck.[3] This description has been taken to imply a square box-like structure, which, in order to be seaworthy, must be placed on a conjectured hull.

[1] Cf., e.g., Jastrow, *Hebr. and Bab. Trad.*, p. 329.

[2] Gilg. Epic, XI, ll. 28-30.

[3] L. 58 f. The /gar/ contained twelve cubits, so that the vessel

would have measured 120 cubits each way; taking the Babylonian cubit, on the basis of Gudea's scale, at 495 mm. (cf. Thureau-Dangin, */Journal Asiatique/*, Dix. Sér., t. XIII, 1909, pp. 79 ff., 97), this would give a length, breadth, and height of nearly 195 ft.

I do not think it has been noted in this connexion that a vessel, approximately with the relative proportions of that described in the Gilgamesh Epic, is in constant use to-day on the lower Tigris and Euphrates. A */kuffah/*,^[1] the familiar pitched coracle of Baghdad, would provide an admirable model for the gigantic vessel in which Ut-napishtim rode out the Deluge. "Without either stem or stern, quite round like a shield"--so Herodotus described the */kuffah/* of his day;^[2] so, too, is it represented on Assyrian slabs from Nineveh, where we see it employed for the transport of heavy building material;^[3] its form and structure indeed suggest a prehistoric origin. The */kuffah/* is one of those examples of perfect adjustment to conditions of use which cannot be improved. Any one who has travelled in one of these craft will agree that their storage capacity is immense, for their circular form and steeply curved side allow every inch of space to be utilized. It is almost impossible to upset them, and their only disadvantage is lack of speed. For their guidance all that is required is a steersman with a paddle, as indicated in the Epic. It is true that the larger *kuffah* of to-day tends to increase in diameter as compared to height, but that detail might well be ignored in picturing the monster vessel of Ut-napishtim. Its seven horizontal stages and their nine lateral divisions would have been structurally sound in supporting the vessel's sides; and the selection of the latter uneven number, though prompted doubtless by its sacred character, is only suitable to a circular craft in which the interior walls would radiate from the centre. The use of pitch and bitumen for smearing the vessel inside and out, though unusual even in Mesopotamian shipbuilding, is precisely the method employed in the */kuffah's/* construction.

[1] Arab. */kuffah/*, pl. */kufaf/*; in addition to its common use for the Baghdad coracle, the word is also employed for a large basket.

[2] Herodotus, I, 194.

[3] The */kuffah/* is formed of wicker-work coated with bitumen. Some of those represented on the Nineveh sculptures appear to be covered with skins; and Herodotus (I, 94) states that "the boats which come down the river to Babylon are circular and made of skins." But his further description shows that he is here referred to the */kelek/* or skin-raft, with which he has combined a description of the */kuffah/*.

The late Sir Henry Rawlinson has never seen or heard of a skin-covered /kuffah/ on either the Tigris or Euphrates, and there can be little doubt that bitumen was employed for their construction in antiquity, as it is to-day. These craft are often large enough to carry five or six horses and a dozen men.

We have no detailed description of Ziusudu's "great boat", beyond the fact that it was covered in and had an opening, or light-hole, which could be closed. But the form of Ut-napishtim's vessel was no doubt traditional, and we may picture that of Ziusudu as also of the /kuffah/ type, though smaller and without its successor's elaborate internal structure. The gradual development of the huge coracle into a ship would have been encouraged by the Semitic use of the term "ship" to describe it; and the attempt to retain something of its original proportions resulted in producing the unwieldy ark of later tradition.[1]

[1] The description of the ark is not preserved from the earlier Hebrew Version (J), but the latter Hebrew Version (P), while increasing the length of the vessel, has considerably reduced its height and breadth. Its measurements are there given (Gen. vi. 15) as 300 cubits in length, 50 cubits in breadth, and 30 cubits in height; taking the ordinary Hebrew cubit at about 18 in., this would give a length of about 450 ft., a breadth of about 75 ft., and a height of about 45 ft. The interior stories are necessarily reduced to three. The vessel in Berossus measures five stadia by two, and thus had a length of over three thousand feet and a breadth of more than twelve hundred.

We will now return to the text and resume the comparison we were making between it and the Gilgamesh Epic. In the latter no direct reference is made to the appearance of the Sun-god after the storm, nor is Ut-napishtim represented as praying to him. But the sequence of events in the Sumerian Version is very natural, and on that account alone, apart from other reasons, it may be held to represent the original form of the story. For the Sun-god would naturally reappear after the darkness of the storm had passed, and it would be equally natural that Ziusudu should address himself to the great light-god. Moreover, the Gilgamesh Epic still retains traces of the Sumerian Version, as will be seen from a comparison of their narratives,[1] the Semitic Version being quoted from the point where the hurricane ceased and the sea became still.

[1] Col. V, ll. 7-11 are here compared with Gilg. Epic, XI, ll. 133-9.

SUMERIAN VERSION

SEMITIC VERSION

Ziusudu opened the opening of the great boat; The light of the hero, the Sun- god, (he) causes to enter into the interior(?) of the great boat. Ziusudu, the king, Bows himself down before the Sun-god; The king sacrifices an ox, a sheep he slaughters(?).	When I looked at the storm, the uproar had ceased, And all mankind was turned into clay; In place of fields there was a swamp. I opened the opening (lit. "hole"), and daylight fell upon my countenance. I bowed myself down and sat down weeping; Over my countenance flowed my tears. I gazed upon the quarters (of the world)--all(?) was sea.
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It will be seen that in the Semitic Version the beams of the Sun-god have been reduced to "daylight", and Ziusudu's act of worship has become merely prostration in token of grief.

Both in the Gilgamesh Epic and in Berossus the sacrifice offered by the Deluge hero to the gods follows the episode of the birds, and it takes place on the top of the mountain after the landing from the vessel. It is hardly probable that two sacrifices were recounted in the Sumerian Version, one to the Sun-god in the boat and another on the mountain after landing; and if we are right in identifying Ziusudu's recorded sacrifice with that of Ut-napishtim and Xisuthros, it would seem that, according to the Sumerian Version, no birds were sent out to test the abatement of the waters. This conclusion cannot be regarded as quite certain, inasmuch as the greater part of the Fifth Column is waning. We have, moreover, already seen reason to believe that the account on our tablet is epitomized, and that consequently the omission of any episode from our text does not necessarily imply its absence from the original Sumerian Version which it follows. But here at least it is clear that nothing can have been omitted between the opening of the light-hole and the sacrifice, for the one act is the natural sequence of the other. On the whole it seems preferable to assume that we have recovered a simpler form of the story.

As the storm itself is described in a few phrases, so the cessation of the flood may have been dismissed with equal brevity; the gradual abatement of the waters, as attested by the dove, the swallow, and the raven, may well be due to later elaboration or to combination with some variant account. Under its amended form the narrative leads naturally up to the landing on the mountain and the sacrifice of thanksgiving to the gods. In the Sumerian Version, on the other hand, Ziusudu regards himself as saved when he sees the Sun shining; he needs no further tests to assure himself that the danger is over, and his sacrifice too is one of gratitude for his escape. The disappearance of the Sun-god from the Semitic Version was thus a necessity, to avoid an anti-climax; and the hero's attitude of worship had obviously to be translated into one of grief. An indication that the sacrifice was originally represented as having taken place on board the boat may be seen in the lines of the Gilgamesh Epic which recount how Enlil, after acquiescing in Ut-napishtim's survival of the Flood, went up into the ship and led him forth by the hand, although, in the preceding lines, he had already landed and had sacrificed upon the mountain. The two passages are hardly consistent as they stand, but they find a simple explanation if we regard the second of them as an unaltered survival from an earlier form of the story.

If the above line of reasoning be sound, it follows that, while the earlier Hebrew Version closely resembles the Gilgamesh Epic, the later Hebrew Version, by its omission of the birds, would offer a parallel to the Sumerian Version. But whether we may draw any conclusion from this apparent grouping of our authorities will be best dealt with when we have concluded our survey of the new evidence.

As we have seen, the text of the Fifth Column breaks off with Ziusudu's sacrifice to the Sun-god, after he had opened a light-hole in the boat and had seen by the god's beams that the storm was over. The missing portion of the Fifth Column must have included at least some account of the abatement of the waters, the stranding of the boat, and the manner in which Anu and Enlil became apprised of Ziusudu's escape, and consequently of the failure of their intention to annihilate mankind. For in the Sixth Column of the text we find these two deities reconciled to Ziusudu and bestowing immortality upon him, as Enlil bestows immortality upon Ut-napishtim at the close of the Semitic Version. In the latter account, after the vessel had grounded on Mount Nisir and Ut-napishtim had tested the abatement of the waters by means of the birds, he brings all out from the ship and offers his libation and sacrifice upon the mountain, heaping up reed, cedar-wood, and myrtle beneath his seven sacrificial vessels. And it was by this act on his part that the gods first had knowledge of his escape. For they smelt the sweet savour of the sacrifice, and

"gathered like flies over the sacrificer".[1]

[1] Gilg. Epic, XI, l. 162.

It is possible in our text that Ziusudu's sacrifice in the boat was also the means by which the gods became acquainted with his survival; and it seems obvious that the Sun-god, to whom it was offered, should have continued to play some part in the narrative, perhaps by assisting Ziusudu in propitiating Anu and Enlil. In the Semitic-Babylonian Version, the first deity to approach the sacrifice is Bêlit-ili or Ishtar, who is indignant with Enlil for what he has done. When Enlil himself approaches and sees the ship he is filled with anger against the gods, and, asking who has escaped, exclaims that no man must live in the destruction. Thereupon Ninib accuses Ea, who by his pleading succeeds in turning Enlil's purpose. He bids Enlil visit the sinner with his sin and lay his transgression on the transgressor; Enlil should not again send a deluge to destroy the whole of mankind, but should be content with less wholesale destruction, such as that wrought by wild beasts, famine, and plague. Finally he confesses that it was he who warned Ziusudu of the gods' decision by sending him a dream. Enlil thereupon changes his intention, and going up into the ship, leads Ut-napishtim forth. Though Ea's intervention finds, of course, no parallel in either Hebrew version, the subject-matter of his speech is reflected in both. In the earlier Hebrew Version Yahweh smells the sweet savour of Noah's burnt offering and says in his heart he will no more destroy every living creature as he had done; while in the later Hebrew Version Elohim, after remembering Noah and causing the waters to abate, establishes his covenant to the same effect, and, as a sign of the covenant, sets his bow in the clouds.

In its treatment of the climax of the story we shall see that the Sumerian Version, at any rate in the form it has reached us, is on a lower ethical level than the Babylonian and Hebrew Versions. Ea's argument that the sinner should bear his own sin and the transgressor his own transgression in some measure forestalls that of Ezekiel;[1] and both the Hebrew Versions represent the saving of Noah as part of the divine intention from the beginning. But the Sumerian Version introduces the element of magic as the means by which man can bend the will of the gods to his own ends. How far the details of the Sumerian myth at this point resembled that of the Gilgamesh Epic it is impossible to say, but the general course of the story must have been the same. In the latter Enlil's anger is appeased, in the former that of Anu and Enlil; and it is legitimate to suppose that Enki, like Ea, was Ziusudu's principal supporter, in view of the part he had already taken in ensuring his escape.

[1] Cf. Ezek. xviii, passim, esp. xviii. 20.

VI. THE PROPITIATION OF THE ANGRY GODS, AND ZIUSUDU'S IMMORTALITY

The presence of the puzzling lines, with which the Sixth Column of our text opens, was not explained by Dr. Poebel; indeed, they would be difficult to reconcile with his assumption that our text is an epic pure and simple. But if, as is suggested above, we are dealing with a myth in magical employment, they are quite capable of explanation. The problem these lines present will best be stated by giving a translation of the extant portion of the column, where they will be seen with their immediate context in relation to what follows them:

"By the Soul of Heaven, by the soul of Earth, shall ye conjure him,
That with you he may . . . !

Anu and Enlil by the Soul of Heaven, by the Soul of Earth, shall ye
conjure,
And with you will he . . . !

"The /niggilma/ of the ground springs forth in abundance(?)"

Ziusudu, the king,

Before Anu and Enlil bows himself down.

Life like (that of) a god he gives to him,

An eternal soul like (that of) a god he creates for him.

At that time Ziusudu, the king,

The name of the /niggilma/ (named) "Preserver of the Seed of
Mankind".

In a . . . land,[1] the land[1] of Dilmun(?), they caused him to
dwell.

[1] Possibly to be translated "mountain". The rendering of the proper name as that of Dilmun is very uncertain. For the probable identification of Dilmun with the island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf, cf. Rawlinson, /Journ. Roy. As. Soc./, 1880, pp. 20 ff.; and see further, Meissner, /Orient. Lit-Zeit./, XX. No. 7, col. 201 ff.

The first two lines of the column are probably part of the speech of some deity, who urges the necessity of invoking or conjuring Anu and Enlil "by the Soul of Heaven, by the Soul of Earth", in order to secure their support or approval. Now Anu and Enlil are the two great gods who had determined on mankind's destruction, and whose wrath at his own escape from death Ziusudu must placate. It is an obvious inference that conjuring "by the Soul of Heaven" and "by the Soul of Earth" is either the method by which Ziusudu has already succeeded in

appeasing their anger, or the means by which he is here enjoined to attain that end. Against the latter alternative it is to be noted that the god is addressing more than one person; and, further, at Ziusudu is evidently already pardoned, for, so far from following the deity's advice, he immediately prostrates himself before Anu and Enlil and receives immortality. We may conjecture that at the close of the Fifth Column Ziusudu had already performed the invocation and thereby had appeased the divine wrath; and that the lines at the beginning of the Sixth Column point the moral of the story by enjoining on Ziusudu and his descendants, in other words on mankind, the advisability of employing this powerful incantation at their need. The speaker may perhaps have been one of Ziusudu's divine helpers--the Sun-god to whom he had sacrificed, or Enki who had saved him from the Flood. But it seems to me more probable that the words are uttered by Anu and Enlil themselves.[1] For thereby they would be represented as giving their own sanction to the formula, and as guaranteeing its magical efficacy. That the incantation, as addressed to Anu and Enlil, would be appropriate is obvious, since each would be magically approached through his own sphere of control.

[1] One of them may have been the speaker on behalf of both.

It is significant that at another critical point of the story we have already met with a reference to conjuring "by the Name of Heaven and Earth", the phrase occurring at the close of the Third Column after the reference to the dream or dreams. There, as we saw, we might possibly explain the passage as illustrating one aspect of Ziusudu's piety: he may have been represented as continually practising this class of divination, and in that case it would be natural enough that in the final crisis of the story he should have propitiated the gods he conjured by the same means. Or, as a more probable alternative, it was suggested that we might connect the line with Enki's warning, and assume that Ziusudu interpreted the dream-revelation of Anu and Enlil's purpose by means of the magical incantation which was peculiarly associated with them. On either alternative the phrase fits into the story itself, and there is no need to suppose that the narrative is interrupted, either in the Third or in the Sixth Column, by an address to the hearers of the myth, urging them to make the invocation on their own behalf.

On the other hand, it seems improbable that the lines in question formed part of the original myth; they may have been inserted to weld the myth more closely to the magic. Both incantation and epic may have originally existed independently, and, if so, their combination would have been suggested by their contents. For while the former is addressed to Anu and Enlil, in the latter these same gods play the

dominant parts: they are the two chief creators, it is they who send the Flood, and it is their anger that must be appeased. If once combined, the further step of making the incantation the actual means by which Ziusudu achieved his own rescue and immortality would be a natural development. It may be added that the words would have been an equally appropriate addition if the incantation had not existed independently, but had been suggested by, and developed from, the myth.

In the third and eleventh lines of the column we have further references to the mysterious object, the creation of which appears to have been recorded in the First Column of the text between man's creation and that of animals. The second sign of the group composing its name was not recognized by Dr. Poebel, but it is quite clearly written in two of the passages, and has been correctly identified by Professor Barton.[1] The Sumerian word is, in fact, to be read /nig-gil-ma/,[2] which, when preceded by the determinative for "pot", "jar", or "bowl", is given in a later syllabary as the equivalent of the Semitic word /mashkhalu/. Evidence that the word /mashkhalu/ was actually employed to denote a jar or vessel of some sort is furnished by one of the Tel el-Amarna letters which refers to "one silver /mashkhalu/" and "one (or two) stone /mashkhalu/".[3] In our text the determinative is absent, and it is possible that the word is used in another sense. Professor Barton, in both passages in the Sixth Column, gives it the meaning "curse"; he interprets the lines as referring to the removal of a curse from the earth after the Flood, and he compares Gen. viii. 21, where Yahweh declares he will not again "curse the ground for man's sake". But this translation ignores the occurrence of the word in the First Column, where the creation of the /niggilma/ is apparently recorded; and his rendering "the seed that was cursed" in l. 11 is not supported by the photographic reproduction of the text, which suggests that the first sign in the line is not that for "seed", but is the sign for "name", as correctly read by Dr. Poebel. In that passage the /niggilma/ appears to be given by Ziusudu the name "Preserver of the Seed of Mankind", which we have already compared to the title bestowed on Uta-napishtim's ship, "Preserver of Life". Like the ship, it must have played an important part in man's preservation, which would account not only for the honorific title but for the special record of its creation.

[1] See /American Journal of Semitic Languages/, Vol. XXXI, April 1915, p. 226.

[2] It is written /nig-gil/ in the First Column.

[3] See Winckler, /El-Amarna/, pl. 35 f., No. 28, Obv., Col. II, l.

45, Rev., Col. I, l. 63, and Knudtzon, /El-Am. Taf./, pp. 112, 122; the vessels were presents from Amenophis IV to Burnaburiash.

If we may connect the word with the magical colouring of the myth, we might perhaps retain its known meaning, "jar" or "bowl", and regard it as employed in the magical ceremony which must have formed part of the invocation "by the Soul of Heaven, by the Soul of Earth". But the accompanying references to the ground, to its production from the ground, and to its springing up, if the phrases may be so rendered, suggest rather some kind of plant;^[1] and this, from its employment in magical rites, may also have given its name to a bowl or vessel which held it. A very similar plant was that found and lost by Gilgamesh, after his sojourn with Ut-napishtim; it too had potent magical power and bore a title descriptive of its peculiar virtue of transforming old age to youth. Should this suggestion prove to be correct, the three passages mentioning the /niggilma/ must be classed with those in which the invocation is referred to, as ensuring the sanction of the myth to further elements in the magic. In accordance with this view, the fifth line in the Sixth Column is probably to be included in the divine speech, where a reference to the object employed in the ritual would not be out of place. But it is to be hoped that light will be thrown on this puzzling word by further study, and perhaps by new fragments of the text; meanwhile it would be hazardous to suggest a more definite rendering.

[1] The references to "the ground", or "the earth", also tend to connect it peculiarly with Enlil. Enlil's close association with the earth, which is, of course, independently attested, is explicitly referred to in the Babylonian Version (cf. Gilg. Epic. XI, ll. 39-42). Suggested reflections of this idea have long been traced in the Hebrew Versions; cf. Gen. viii. 21 (J), where Yahweh says he will not again curse the ground, and Gen. ix. 13 (P), where Elohim speaks of his covenant "between me and the earth".

With the sixth line of the column it is clear that the original narrative of the myth is resumed.^[1] Ziusudu, the king, prostrates himself before Anu and Enlil, who bestow immortality upon him and cause him to dwell in a land, or mountain, the name of which may perhaps be read as Dilmun. The close parallelism between this portion of the text and the end of the myth in the Gilgamesh Epic will be seen from the following extracts,^[2] the magical portions being omitted from the Sumerian Version:

[1] It will also be noted that with this line the text again falls naturally into couplets.

[2] Col. VI, ll. 6-9 and 12 are there compared with Gilg. Epic, XI, ll. 198-205.

SUMERIAN VERSION	SEMITIC VERSION
	Then Enlil went up into the ship;
Ziusudu, the king,	He took me by the hand and led me forth.
Before Anu and Enlil bows himself down.	He brought out my wife and caused her to bow down at my side;
	He touched our brows, standing between us and blessing us:
Life like (that of) a god he gives to him.	"Formerly was Ut-napishtim of mankind,
An eternal soul like (that of) a god he creates for him.	But now let Ut-napishtim be like the gods, even us!
	And let Ut-napishtim dwell afar off at the mouth of the rivers!"
In a . . . land, the land off[1] Dilmun(?), they caused him to dwell.	Then they took me and afar off, at the mouth of the rivers, they caused me to dwell.

[1] Or, "On a mountain, the mountain of", &c.

The Sumerian Version thus apparently concludes with the familiar ending of the legend which we find in the Gilgamesh Epic and in Berossus, though it here occurs in an abbreviated form and with some variations in detail. In all three versions the prostration of the Deluge hero before the god is followed by the bestowal of immortality upon him, a fate which, according to Berossus, he shared with his wife, his daughter, and the steersman. The Gilgamesh Epic perhaps implies that Ut-napishtim's wife shared in his immortality, but the Sumerian Version mentions Ziusudu alone. In the Gilgamesh Epic Ut-napishtim is settled by the gods at the mouth of the rivers, that is to say at the head of the Persian Gulf, while according to a possible rendering of the Sumerian Version he is made to dwell on Dilmun, an island in the Gulf itself. The fact that Gilgamesh in the Epic has to cross the sea to reach Ut-napishtim may be cited in favour of the reading "Dilmun"; and the description of the sea as "the Waters of Death", if it implies more than the great danger of their passage, was probably a later development associated with Ut-napishtim's immortality. It may be added that in neither Hebrew version do we find any parallel to the concluding details of the original story, the

Hebrew narratives being brought to an end with the blessing of Noah and the divine promise to, or covenant with, mankind.

Such then are the contents of our Sumerian document, and from the details which have been given it will have been seen that its story, so far as concerns the Deluge, is in essentials the same as that we already find in the Gilgamesh Epic. It is true that this earlier version has reached us in a magical setting, and to some extent in an abbreviated form. In the next lecture I shall have occasion to refer to another early mythological text from Nippur, which was thought by its first interpreter to include a second Sumerian Version of the Deluge legend. That suggestion has not been substantiated, though we shall see that the contents of the document are of a very interesting character. But in view of the discussion that has taken place in the United States over the interpretation of the second text, and of the doubts that have subsequently been expressed in some quarters as to the recent discovery of any new form of the Deluge legend, it may be well to formulate briefly the proof that in the inscription published by Dr. Poebel an early Sumerian Version of the Deluge story has actually been recovered. Any one who has followed the detailed analysis of the new text which has been attempted in the preceding paragraphs will, I venture to think, agree that the following conclusions may be drawn:

(i) The points of general resemblance presented by the narrative to that in the Gilgamesh Epic are sufficiently close in themselves to show that we are dealing with a Sumerian Version of that story. And this conclusion is further supported (a) by the occurrence throughout the text of the attested Sumerian equivalent of the Semitic word, employed in the Babylonian Versions, for the "Flood" or "Deluge", and (b) by the use of precisely the same term for the hero's "great boat", which is already familiar to us from an early Babylonian Version.

(ii) The close correspondence in language between portions of the Sumerian legend and the Gilgamesh Epic suggest that the one version was ultimately derived from the other. And this conclusion in its turn is confirmed (a) by the identity in meaning of the Sumerian and Babylonian names for the Deluge hero, which are actually found equated in a late explanatory text, and (b) by small points of difference in the Babylonian form of the story which correspond to later political and religious developments and suggest the work of Semitic redactors.

The cumulative effect of such general and detailed evidence is overwhelming, and we may dismiss all doubts as to the validity of Dr. Poebel's claim. We have indeed recovered a very early, and in some of

its features a very primitive, form of the Deluge narrative which till now has reached us only in Semitic and Greek renderings; and the stream of tradition has been tapped at a point far above any at which we have hitherto approached it. What evidence, we may ask, does this early Sumerian Version offer with regard to the origin and literary history of the Hebrew Versions?

The general dependence of the biblical Versions upon the Babylonian legend as a whole has long been recognized, and needs no further demonstration; and it has already been observed that the parallelisms with the version in the Gilgamesh Epic are on the whole more detailed and striking in the earlier than in the later Hebrew Version.[1] In the course of our analysis of the Sumerian text its more striking points of agreement or divergence, in relation to the Hebrew Versions, were noted under the different sections of its narrative. It was also obvious that, in many features in which the Hebrew Versions differ from the Gilgamesh Epic, the latter finds Sumerian support. These facts confirm the conclusion, which we should naturally base on grounds of historical probability, that while the Semitic-Babylonian Versions were derived from Sumer, the Hebrew accounts were equally clearly derived from Babylon. But there are one or two pieces of evidence which are apparently at variance with this conclusion, and these call for some explanation.

[1] For details see especially Skinner, */Genesis/*, pp. 177 ff.

Not too much significance should be attached to the apparent omission of the episode of the birds from the Sumerian narrative, in which it would agree with the later as against the earlier Hebrew Version; for, apart from its epitomized character, there is so much missing from the text that the absence of this episode cannot be regarded as established with certainty. And in any case it could be balanced by the Sumerian order of Creation of men before animals, which agrees with the earlier Hebrew Version against the later. But there is one very striking point in which our new Sumerian text agrees with both the Hebrew Versions as against the Gilgamesh Epic and Berossus; and that is in the character of Ziusudu, which presents so close a parallel to the piety of Noah. As we have already seen, the latter is due to no Hebrew idealization of the story, but represents a genuine strand of the original tradition, which is completely absent from the Babylonian Versions. But the Babylonian Versions are the media through which it has generally been assumed that the tradition of the Deluge reached the Hebrews. What explanation have we of this fact?

This grouping of Sumerian and Hebrew authorities, against the extant sources from Babylon, is emphasized by the general framework of the

Sumerian story. For the literary connexion which we have in Genesis between the Creation and the Deluge narratives has hitherto found no parallel in the cuneiform texts. In Babylon and Assyria the myth of Creation and the Deluge legend have been divorced. From the one a complete epic has been evolved in accordance with the tenets of Babylonian theology, the Creation myth being combined in the process with other myths of a somewhat analogous character. The Deluge legend has survived as an isolated story in more than one setting, the principal Semitic Version being recounted to the national hero Gilgamesh, towards the close of the composite epic of his adventures which grew up around the nucleus of his name. It is one of the chief surprises of the newly discovered Sumerian Version that the Hebrew connexion of the narratives is seen to be on the lines of very primitive tradition. Noah's reputation for piety does not stand alone. His line of descent from Adam, and the thread of narrative connecting the creation of the world with its partial destruction by the Deluge, already appear in Sumerian form at a time when the city of Babylon itself had not secured its later power. How then are we to account for this correspondence of Sumerian and Hebrew traditions, on points completely wanting in our intermediate authorities, from which, however, other evidence suggests that the Hebrew narratives were derived?

At the risk of anticipating some of the conclusions to be drawn in the next lecture, it may be well to define an answer now. It is possible that those who still accept the traditional authorship of the Pentateuch may be inclined to see in this correspondence of Hebrew and Sumerian ideas a confirmation of their own hypothesis. But it should be pointed out at once that this is not an inevitable deduction from the evidence. Indeed, it is directly contradicted by the rest of the evidence we have summarized, while it would leave completely unexplained some significant features of the problem. It is true that certain important details of the Sumerian tradition, while not affecting Babylon and Assyria, have left their stamp upon the Hebrew narratives; but that is not an exhaustive statement of the case. For we have also seen that a more complete survival of Sumerian tradition has taken place in the history of Berossus. There we traced the same general framework of the narratives, with a far closer correspondence in detail. The kingly rank of Ziusudra is in complete harmony with the Berossian conception of a series of supreme Antediluvian rulers, and the names of two of the Antediluvian cities are among those of their newly recovered Sumerian prototypes. There can thus be no suggestion that the Greek reproductions of the Sumerian tradition were in their turn due to Hebrew influence. On the contrary we have in them a parallel case of survival in a far more complete form.

The inference we may obviously draw is that the Sumerian narrative continued in existence, in a literary form that closely resembled the original version, into the later historical periods. In this there would be nothing to surprise us, when we recall the careful preservation and study of ancient Sumerian religious texts by the later Semitic priesthood of the country. Each ancient cult-centre in Babylonia continued to cling to its own local traditions, and the Sumerian desire for their preservation, which was inherited by their Semitic guardians, was in great measure unaffected by political occurrences elsewhere. Hence it was that Ashur-bani-pal, when forming his library at Nineveh, was able to draw upon so rich a store of the more ancient literary texts of Babylonia. The Sumerian Version of the Deluge and of Antediluvian history may well have survived in a less epitomized form than that in which we have recovered it; and, like other ancient texts, it was probably provided with a Semitic translation. Indeed its literary study and reproduction may have continued without interruption in Babylon itself. But even if Sumerian tradition died out in the capital under the influence of the Babylonian priesthood, its re-introduction may well have taken place in Neo-Babylonian times. Perhaps the antiquarian researches of Nabonidus were characteristic of his period; and in any case the collection of his country's gods into the capital must have been accompanied by a renewed interest in the more ancient versions of the past with which their cults were peculiarly associated. In the extant summary from Berossus we may possibly see evidence of a subsequent attempt to combine with these more ancient traditions the continued religious dominance of Marduk and of Babylon.

Our conclusion, that the Sumerian form of the tradition did not die out, leaves the question as to the periods during which Babylonian influence may have acted upon Hebrew tradition in great measure unaffected; and we may therefore postpone its further consideration to the next lecture. To-day the only question that remains to be considered concerns the effect of our new evidence upon the wider problem of Deluge stories as a whole. What light does it throw on the general character of Deluge stories and their suggested Egyptian origin?

One thing that strikes me forcibly in reading this early text is the complete absence of any trace or indication of astrological /motif/. It is true that Ziusudu sacrifices to the Sun-god; but the episode is inherent in the story, the appearance of the Sun after the storm following the natural sequence of events and furnishing assurance to the king of his eventual survival. To identify the worshipper with his god and to transfer Ziusudu's material craft to the heavens is surely without justification from the simple narrative. We have here no

prototype of Ra sailing the heavenly ocean. And the destructive flood itself is not only of an equally material and mundane character, but is in complete harmony with its Babylonian setting.

In the matter of floods the Tigris and Euphrates present a striking contrast to the Nile. It is true that the life-blood of each country is its river-water, but the conditions of its use are very different, and in Mesopotamia it becomes a curse when out of control. In both countries the river-water must be used for maturing the crops. But while the rains of Abyssinia cause the Nile to rise between August and October, thus securing both summer and winter crops, the melting snows of Armenia and the Taurus flood the Mesopotamian rivers between March and May. In Egypt the Nile flood is gentle; it is never abrupt, and the river gives ample warning of its rise and fall. It contains just enough sediment to enrich the land without choking the canals; and the water, after filling its historic basins, may when necessary be discharged into the falling river in November. Thus Egypt receives a full and regular supply of water, and there is no difficulty in disposing of any surplus. The growth in such a country of a legend of world-wide destruction by flood is inconceivable.

In Mesopotamia, on the other hand, the floods, which come too late for the winter crops, are followed by the rainless summer months; and not only must the flood-water be controlled, but some portion of it must be detained artificially, if it is to be of use during the burning months of July, August, and September, when the rivers are at their lowest. Moreover, heavy rain in April and a warm south wind melting the snow in the hills may bring down such floods that the channels cannot contain them; the dams are then breached and the country is laid waste. Here there is first too much water and then too little.

The great danger from flood in Babylonia, both in its range of action and in its destructive effect, is due to the strangely flat character of the Tigris and Euphrates delta.[1] Hence after a severe breach in the Tigris or Euphrates, the river after inundating the country may make itself a new channel miles away from the old one. To mitigate the danger, the floods may be dealt with in two ways--by a multiplication of canals to spread the water, and by providing escapes for it into depressions in the surrounding desert, which in their turn become centres of fertility. Both methods were employed in antiquity; and it may be added that in any scheme for the future prosperity of the country they must be employed again, of course with the increased efficiency of modern apparatus.[2] But while the Babylonians succeeded in controlling the Euphrates, the Tigris was never really tamed,[3] and whenever it burst its right bank the southern plains were devastated. We could not have more suitable soil for the growth of a

Deluge story.

[1] Baghdad, though 300 miles by crow-fly from the sea and 500 by river, is only 120 ft. above sea-level.

[2] The Babylonians controlled the Euphrates, and at the same time provided against its time of "low supply", by escapes into two depressions in the western desert to the NW. of Babylon, known to-day as the Habbânîyah and Abu Dîs depressions, which lie S. of the modern town of Ramâdi and N. of Kerbela. That these depressions were actually used as reservoirs in antiquity is proved by the presence along their edges of thick beds of Euphrates shells. In addition to canals and escapes, the Babylonian system included well-constructed dikes protected by brushwood. By cutting an eight-mile channel through a low hill between the Habbânîyah and Abu Dîs depressions and by building a short dam 50 ft. high across the latter's narrow outlet, Sir William Willcocks estimates that a reservoir could be obtained holding eighteen milliards of tons of water. See his work */The Irrigations of Mesopotamia/* (E. and F. N. Spon, 1911), */Geographical Journal/*, Vol. XL, No. 2 (Aug., 1912), pp. 129 ff., and the articles in */The Near East/* cited on p. 97, n. 1, and p. 98, n. 2. Sir William Willcocks's volume and subsequent papers form the best introduction to the study of Babylonian Deluge tradition on its material side.

[3] Their works carried out on the Tigris were effective for irrigation; but the Babylonians never succeeded in controlling its floods as they did those of the Euphrates. A massive earthen dam, the remains of which are still known as "Nimrod's Dam", was thrown across the Tigris above the point where it entered its delta; this served to turn the river over hard conglomerate rock and kept it at a high level so that it could irrigate the country on both banks. Above the dam were the heads of the later Nahrwân Canal, a great stream 400 ft. wide and 17 ft. deep, which supplied the country east of the river. The Nâr Sharri or "King's Canal", the Nahar Malkha of the Greeks and the Nahr el-Malik of the Arabs, protected the right bank of the Tigris by its own high artificial banks, which can still be traced for hundreds of miles; but it took its supply from the Euphrates at Sippar, where the ground is some 25 ft. higher than on the Tigris. The Tigris usually flooded its left bank; it was the right bank which was protected, and a breach here meant disaster. Cf. Willcocks, *op. cit.*, and */The Near East/*, Sept. 29, 1916 (Vol. XI, No. 282), p. 522.

It was only by constant and unremitting attention that disaster from

flood could be averted; and the difficulties of the problem were and are increased by the fact that the flood-water of the Mesopotamian rivers contains five times as much sediment as the Nile. In fact, one of the most pressing of the problems the Sumerian and early Babylonian engineers had to solve was the keeping of the canals free from silt.[1] What the floods, if left unchecked, may do in Mesopotamia, is well illustrated by the decay of the ancient canal-system, which has been the immediate cause of the country's present state of sordid desolation. That the decay was gradual was not the fault of the rivers, but was due to the sound principles on which the old system of control had been evolved through many centuries of labour. At the time of the Moslem conquest the system had already begun to fail. In the fifth century there had been bad floods; but worse came in A.D. 629, when both rivers burst their banks and played havoc with the dikes and embankments. It is related that the Sassanian king Parwiz, the contemporary of Mohammed, crucified in one day forty canal-workers at a certain breach, and yet was unable to master the flood.[2] All repairs were suspended during the anarchy of the Moslem invasion. As a consequence the Tigris left its old bed for the Shatt el-Hai at Kût, and pouring its own and its tributaries' waters into the Euphrates formed the Great Euphrates Swamp, two hundred miles long and fifty broad. But even then what was left of the old system was sufficient to support the splendour of the Eastern Caliphate.

[1] Cf. */Letters of Hammurabi/*, Vol. III, pp. xxxvi ff.; it was the duty of every village or town upon the banks of the main canals in Babylonia to keep its own section clear of silt, and of course it was also responsible for its own smaller irrigation-channels. While the invention of the system of basin-irrigation was practically forced on Egypt, the extraordinary fertility of Babylonia was won in the teeth of nature by the system of perennial irrigation, or irrigation all the year round. In Babylonia the water was led into small fields of two or three acres, while the Nile valley was irrigated in great basins each containing some thirty to forty thousand acres. The Babylonian method gives far more profitable results, and Sir William Willcocks points out that Egypt to-day is gradually abandoning its own system and adopting that of its ancient rival; see */The Near East/*, Sept. 29, 1916, p. 521.

[2] See Le Strange, */The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate/*, p. 27.

The second great blow to the system followed the Mongol conquest, when the Nahrwân Canal, to the east of the Tigris, had its head swept away by flood and the area it had irrigated became desert. Then, in about the fifteenth century, the Tigris returned to its old course; the

Shatt el-Hai shrank, and much of the Great Swamp dried up into the desert it is to-day.[1] Things became worse during the centuries of Turkish misrule. But the silting up of the Hillah, or main, branch of the Euphrates about 1865, and the transference of a great part of its stream into the Hindîyah Canal, caused even the Turks to take action. They constructed the old Hindîyah Barrage in 1890, but it gave way in 1903 and the state of things was even worse than before; for the Hillah branch then dried entirely.[2]

[1] This illustrates the damage the Tigris itself is capable of inflicting on the country. It may be added that Sir William Willcocks proposes to control the Tigris floods by an escape into the Tharthâr depression, a great salt pan at the tail of Wadi Tharthâr, which lies 14 ft. below sea level and is 200 ft. lower than the flood-level of the Tigris some thirty-two miles away. The escape would leave the Tigris to the S. of Sâmarra, the proposed Beled Barrage being built below it and up-stream of "Nimrod's Dam". The Tharthâr escape would drain into the Euphrates, and the latter's Habbânîyah escape would receive any surplus water from the Tigris, a second barrage being thrown across the Euphrates up-stream of Fallûjah, where there is an outcrop of limestone near the head of the Sakhlawîyah Canal. The Tharthâr depression, besides disposing of the Tigris flood-water, would thus probably feed the Euphrates; and a second barrage on the Tigris, to be built at Kût, would supply water to the Shatt el-Hai. When the country is freed from danger of flood, the Baghdad Railway could be run through the cultivated land instead of through the eastern desert; see Willcocks, /The Near East/, Oct. 6, 1916 (Vol. XI, No. 283), p. 545 f.

[2] It was then that Sir William Willcocks designed the new Hindîyah Barrage, which was completed in 1913. The Hindîyah branch, to-day the main stream of the Euphrates, is the old low-lying Pallacopas Canal, which branched westward above Babylon and discharged its waters into the western marshes. In antiquity the head of this branch had to be opened in high floods and then closed again immediately after the flood to keep the main stream full past Babylon, which entailed the employment of an enormous number of men. Alexander the Great's first work in Babylonia was cutting a new head for the Pallacopas in solid ground, for hitherto it had been in sandy soil; and it was while reclaiming the marshes farther down-stream that he contracted the fever that killed him.

From this brief sketch of progressive disaster during the later historical period, the inevitable effect of neglected silt and flood, it will be gathered that the two great rivers of Mesopotamia present a

very strong contrast to the Nile. For during the same period of misgovernment and neglect in Egypt the Nile did not turn its valley and delta into a desert. On the Tigris and Euphrates, during ages when the earliest dwellers on their banks were struggling to make effective their first efforts at control, the waters must often have regained the upper hand. Under such conditions the story of a great flood in the past would not be likely to die out in the future; the tradition would tend to gather illustrative detail suggested by later experience. Our new text reveals the Deluge tradition in Mesopotamia at an early stage of its development, and incidentally shows us that there is no need to postulate for its origin any convulsion of nature or even a series of seismic shocks accompanied by cyclone in the Persian Gulf.

If this had been the only version of the story that had come down to us, we should hardly have regarded it as a record of world-wide catastrophe. It is true the gods' intention is to destroy mankind, but the scene throughout is laid in Southern Babylonia. After seven days' storm, the Sun comes out, and the vessel with the pious priest-king and his domestic animals on board grounds, apparently still in Babylonia, and not on any distant mountain, such as Mt. Nisir or the great mass of Ararat in Armenia. These are obviously details which tellers of the story have added as it passed down to later generations. When it was carried still farther afield, into the area of the Eastern Mediterranean, it was again adapted to local conditions. Thus Apollodorus makes Deucalion land upon Parnassus,[1] and the pseudo-Lucian relates how he founded the temple of Derketo at Hierapolis in Syria beside the hole in the earth which swallowed up the Flood.[2] To the Sumerians who first told the story, the great Flood appeared to have destroyed mankind, for Southern Babylonia was for them the world. Later peoples who heard it have fitted the story to their own geographical horizon, and in all good faith and by a purely logical process the mountain-tops are represented as submerged, and the ship, or ark, or chest, is made to come to ground on the highest peak known to the story-teller and his hearers. But in its early Sumerian form it is just a simple tradition of some great inundation, which overwhelmed the plain of Southern Babylonia and was peculiarly disastrous in its effects. And so its memory survived in the picture of Ziusudû's solitary coracle upon the face of the waters, which, seen through the mists of the Deluge tradition, has given us the Noah's ark of our nursery days.

[1] Hesiod is our earliest authority for the Deucalion Flood story. For its probable Babylonian origin, cf. Farnell, /Greece and Babylon/ (1911), p. 184.

[2] /De Syria dea/, 12 f.

Thus the Babylonian, Hebrew, and Greek Deluge stories resolve themselves, not into a nature myth, but into an early legend, which has the basis of historical fact in the Euphrates Valley. And it is probable that we may explain after a similar fashion the occurrence of tales of a like character at least in some other parts of the world. Among races dwelling in low-lying or well-watered districts it would be surprising if we did not find independent stories of past floods from which few inhabitants of the land escaped. It is only in hilly countries such as Palestine, where for the great part of the year water is scarce and precious, that we are forced to deduce borrowing; and there is no doubt that both the Babylonian and the biblical stories have been responsible for some at any rate of the scattered tales. But there is no need to adopt the theory of a single source for all of them, whether in Babylonia or, still less, in Egypt.[1]

[1] This argument is taken from an article I published in Professor Headlam's /Church Quarterly Review/, Jan., 1916, pp. 280 ff., containing an account of Dr. Poebel's discovery.

I should like to add, with regard to this reading of our new evidence, that I am very glad to know Sir James Frazer holds a very similar opinion. For, as you are doubtless all aware, Sir James is at present collecting Flood stories from all over the world, and is supplementing from a wider range the collections already made by Lenormant, Andree, Winternitz, and Gerland. When his work is complete it will be possible to conjecture with far greater confidence how particular traditions or groups of tradition arose, and to what extent transmission has taken place. Meanwhile, in his recent Huxley Memorial Lecture,[1] he has suggested a third possibility as to the way Deluge stories may have arisen.

[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, /Ancient Stories of a Great Flood/ (the Huxley Memorial Lecture, 1916), Roy. Anthropol. Inst., 1916.

Stated briefly, it is that a Deluge story may arise as a popular explanation of some striking natural feature in a country, although to the scientific eye the feature in question is due to causes other than catastrophic flood. And he worked out the suggestion in the case of the Greek traditions of a great deluge, associated with the names of Deucalion and Dardanus. Deucalion's deluge, in its later forms at any rate, is obviously coloured by Semitic tradition; but both Greek stories, in their origin, Sir James Frazer would trace to local conditions--the one suggested by the Gorge of Tempe in Thessaly, the other explaining the existence of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. As he

pointed out, they would be instances, not of genuine historical traditions, but of what Sir James Tyler calls "observation myths". A third story of a great flood, regarded in Greek tradition as the earliest of the three, he would explain by an extraordinary inundation of the Copaic Lake in Boeotia, which to this day is liable to great fluctuations of level. His new theory applies only to the other two traditions. For in them no historical kernel is presupposed, though gradual erosion by water is not excluded as a cause of the surface features which may have suggested the myths.

This valuable theory thus opens up a third possibility for our analysis. It may also, of course, be used in combination, if in any particular instance we have reason to believe that transmission, in some vague form, may already have taken place. And it would with all deference suggest the possibility that, in view of other evidence, this may have occurred in the case of the Greek traditions. With regard to the theory itself we may confidently expect that further examples will be found in its illustration and support. Meanwhile in the new Sumerian Version I think we may conclude that we have recovered beyond any doubt the origin of the Babylonian and Hebrew traditions and of the large group of stories to which they in their turn have given rise.

LECTURE III

CREATION AND THE DRAGON MYTH; AND THE PROBLEM OF BABYLONIAN PARALLELS IN HEBREW TRADITION

In our discussion of the new Sumerian version of the Deluge story we came to the conclusion that it gave no support to any theory which would trace all such tales to a single origin, whether in Egypt or in Babylonia. In spite of strong astrological elements in both the Egyptian and Babylonian religious systems, we saw grounds for regarding the astrological tinge of much ancient mythology as a later embellishment and not as primitive material. And so far as our new version of the Deluge story was concerned, it resolved itself into a legend, which had a basis of historical fact in the Euphrates Valley. It will be obvious that the same class of explanation cannot be applied to narratives of the Creation of the World. For there we are dealing, not with legends, but with myths, that is, stories exclusively about the gods. But where an examination of their earlier forms is possible, it would seem to show that many of these tales also, in their origin, are not to be interpreted as nature myths, and that none arose as mere reflections of the solar system. In their more

primitive and simpler aspects they seem in many cases to have been suggested by very human and terrestrial experience. To-day we will examine the Egyptian, Sumerian, and Babylonian myths of Creation, and, after we have noted the more striking features of our new material, we will consider the problem of foreign influences upon Hebrew traditions concerning the origin and early history of the world.

In Egypt, as until recently in Babylonia, we have to depend for our knowledge of Creation myths on documents of a comparatively late period. Moreover, Egyptian religious literature as a whole is textually corrupt, and in consequence it is often difficult to determine the original significance of its allusions. Thanks to the funerary inscriptions and that great body of magical formulae and ritual known as "The Chapters of Coming forth by Day", we are very fully informed on the Egyptian doctrines as to the future state of the dead. The Egyptian's intense interest in his own remote future, amounting almost to an obsession, may perhaps in part account for the comparatively meagre space in the extant literature which is occupied by myths relating solely to the past. And it is significant that the one cycle of myth, of which we are fully informed in its latest stage of development, should be that which gave its sanction to the hope of a future existence for man. The fact that Herodotus, though he claims a knowledge of the sufferings or "Mysteries" of Osiris, should deliberately refrain from describing them or from even uttering the name,[1] suggests that in his time at any rate some sections of the mythology had begun to acquire an esoteric character. There is no doubt that at all periods myth played an important part in the ritual of feast-days. But mythological references in the earlier texts are often obscure; and the late form in which a few of the stories have come to us is obviously artificial. The tradition, for example, which relates how mankind came from the tears which issued from Ra's eye undoubtedly arose from a play upon words.

[1] Herodotus, II, 171.

On the other hand, traces of myth, scattered in the religious literature of Egypt, may perhaps in some measure betray their relative age by the conceptions of the universe which underlie them. The Egyptian idea that the sky was a heavenly ocean, which is not unlike conceptions current among the Semitic Babylonians and Hebrews, presupposes some thought and reflection. In Egypt it may well have been evolved from the probably earlier but analogous idea of the river in heaven, which the Sun traversed daily in his boats. Such a river was clearly suggested by the Nile; and its world-embracing character is reminiscent of a time when through communication was regularly established, at least as far south as Elephantine. Possibly in an

earlier period the long narrow valley, or even a section of it, may have suggested the figure of a man lying prone upon his back. Such was Keb, the Earth-god, whose counterpart in the sky was the goddess Nut, her feet and hands resting at the limits of the world and her curved body forming the vault of heaven. Perhaps still more primitive, and dating from a pastoral age, may be the notion that the sky was a great cow, her body, speckled with stars, alone visible from the earth beneath. Reference has already been made to the dominant influence of the Sun in Egyptian religion, and it is not surprising that he should so often appear as the first of created beings. His orb itself, or later the god in youthful human form, might be pictured as emerging from a lotus on the primaeval waters, or from a marsh-bird's egg, a conception which influenced the later Phoenician cosmogeny. The Scarabaeus, or great dung-feeding beetle of Egypt, rolling the ball before it in which it lays its eggs, is an obvious theme for the early myth-maker. And it was natural that the Beetle of Khepera should have been identified with the Sun at his rising, as the Hawk of Ra represented his noonday flight, and the aged form of Attun his setting in the west. But in all these varied conceptions and explanations of the universe it is difficult to determine how far the poetical imagery of later periods has transformed the original myths which may lie behind them.

As the Egyptian Creator the claims of Ra, the Sun-god of Heliopolis, early superseded those of other deities. On the other hand, Ptah of Memphis, who for long ages had been merely the god of architects and craftsmen, became under the Empire the architect of the universe and is pictured as a potter moulding the world-egg. A short poem by a priest of Ptah, which has come down to us from that period, exhibits an attempt to develop this idea on philosophical lines.[1] Its author represents all gods and living creatures as proceeding directly from the mind and thought of Ptah. But this movement, which was more notably reflected in Akhenaton's religious revolution, died out in political disaster, and the original materialistic interpretation of the myths was restored with the cult of Amen. How materialistic this could be is well illustrated by two earlier members of the XVIIIth Dynasty, who have left us vivid representations of the potter's wheel employed in the process of man's creation. When the famous Hatshepsut, after the return of her expedition to Punt in the ninth year of her young consort Thothmes III, decided to build her temple at Deir el-Bahari in the necropolis of Western Thebes, she sought to emphasize her claim to the throne of Egypt by recording her own divine origin upon its walls. We have already noted the Egyptians' belief in the solar parentage of their legitimate rulers, a myth that goes back at least to the Old Kingdom and may have had its origin in prehistoric times. With the rise of Thebes, Amen inherited the prerogatives of Ra;

and so Hatshepsut seeks to show, on the north side of the retaining wall of her temple's Upper Platform, that she was the daughter of Amen himself, "the great God, Lord of the sky, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, who resides at Thebes". The myth was no invention of her own, for obviously it must have followed traditional lines, and though it is only employed to exhibit the divine creation of a single personage, it as obviously reflects the procedure and methods of a general Creation myth.

[1] See Breasted, */Zeitschrift fur Aegyptische Sprache/*, XXXIX, pp. 39 ff., and */History of Egypt/*, pp. 356 ff.

This series of sculptures shared the deliberate mutilation that all her records suffered at the hands of Thothmes III after her death, but enough of the scenes and their accompanying text has survived to render the detailed interpretation of the myth quite certain.[1] Here, as in a general Creation myth, Amen's first act is to summon the great gods in council, in order to announce to them the future birth of the great princess. Of the twelve gods who attend, the first is Menthu, a form of the Sun-god and closely associated with Amen.[2] But the second deity is Atum, the great god of Heliopolis, and he is followed by his cycle of deities--Shu, "the son of Ra"; Tefnut, "the Lady of the sky"; Keb, "the Father of the Gods"; Nut, "the Mother of the Gods"; Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Set, Horus, and Hathor. We are here in the presence of cosmic deities, as befits a projected act of creation. The subsequent scenes exhibit the Egyptian's literal interpretation of the myth, which necessitates the god's bodily presence and personal participation. Thoth mentions to Amen the name of queen Aahmes as the future mother of Hatshepsut, and we later see Amen himself, in the form of her husband, Aa-kheperka-Ra (Thothmes I), sitting with Aahmes and giving her the Ankh, or sign of Life, which she receives in her hand and inhales through her nostrils.[3] God and queen are seated on thrones above a couch, and are supported by two goddesses. After leaving the queen, Amen calls on Khnum or Khnemu, the flat-horned ram-god, who in texts of all periods is referred to as the "builder" of gods and men;[4] and he instructs him to create the body of his future daughter and that of her /Ka/, or "double", which would be united to her from birth.

[1] See Naville, */Deir el-Bahari/*, Pt. II, pp. 12 ff., plates xlvii ff.

[2] See Budge, */Gods of the Egyptians/*, Vol. II, pp. 23 ff. His chief cult-centre was Hermonthis, but here as elsewhere he is given his usual title "Lord of Thebes".

[3] Pl. xlvii. Similar scenes are presented in the "birth-temples" at

Denderah, Edfu, Philae, Esneh, and Luxor; see Naville, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[4] Cf. Budge, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 50.

The scene in the series, which is of greatest interest in the present connexion, is that representing Khnum at his work of creation. He is seated before a potter's wheel which he works with his foot,[1] and on the revolving table he is fashioning two children with his hands, the baby princess and her "double". It was always Hatshepsut's desire to be represented as a man, and so both the children are boys.[2] As yet they are lifeless, but the symbol of Life will be held to their nostrils by Heqet, the divine Potter's wife, whose frog-head typifies birth and fertility. When Amenophis III copied Hatshepsut's sculptures for his own series at Luxor, he assigned this duty to the greater goddess Hathor, perhaps the most powerful of the cosmic goddesses and the mother of the world. The subsequent scenes at Deir el-Bahari include the leading of queen Aahmes by Khnum and Heqet to the birth-chamber; the great birth scene where the queen is attended by the goddesses Nephthys and Isis, a number of divine nurses and midwives holding several of the "doubles" of the baby, and favourable genii, in human form or with the heads of crocodiles, jackals, and hawks, representing the four cardinal points and all bearing the gift of life; the presentation of the young child by the goddess Hathor to Amen, who is well pleased at the sight of his daughter; and the divine suckling of Hatshepsut and her "doubles". But these episodes do not concern us, as of course they merely reflect the procedure following a royal birth. But Khnum's part in the princess's origin stands on a different plane, for it illustrates the Egyptian myth of Creation by the divine Potter, who may take the form of either Khnum or Ptah. Monsieur Naville points out the extraordinary resemblance in detail which Hatshepsut's myth of divine paternity bears to the Greek legend of Zeus and Alkmene, where the god takes the form of Amphytrion, Alkmene's husband, exactly as Amen appears to the queen;[3] and it may be added that the Egyptian origin of the Greek story was traditionally recognized in the ancestry ascribed to the human couple.[4]

[1] This detail is not clearly preserved at Deir el-Bahari; but it is quite clear in the scene on the west wall of the "Birth-room" in the Temple at Luxor, which Amenophis III evidently copied from that of Hatshepsut.

[2] In the similar scene at Luxor, where the future Amenophis III is represented on the Creator's wheel, the sculptor has distinguished the human child from its spiritual "double" by the quaint device of putting its finger in its mouth.

[3] See Naville, op. cit., p. 12.

[4] Cf., e.g., Herodotus, II, 43.

The only complete Egyptian Creation myth yet recovered is preserved in a late papyrus in the British Museum, which was published some years ago by Dr. Budge.[1] It occurs under two separate versions embedded in "The Book of the Overthrowing of Apep, the Enemy of Ra". Here Ra, who utters the myth under his late title of Neb-er-tcher, "Lord to the utmost limit", is self-created as Khepera from Nu, the *primaeval* water; and then follow successive generations of divine pairs, male and female, such as we find at the beginning of the Semitic-Babylonian Creation Series.[2] Though the papyrus was written as late as the year 311 B.C., the myth is undoubtedly early. For the first two divine pairs Shu and Tefnut, Keb and Nut, and four of the latter pairs' five children, Osiris and Isis, Set and Nephthys, form with the Sun-god himself the Greater Ennead of Heliopolis, which exerted so wide an influence on Egyptian religious speculation. The Ennead combined the older solar elements with the cult of Osiris, and this is indicated in the myth by a break in the successive generations, Nut bringing forth at a single birth the five chief gods of the Osiris cycle, Osiris himself and his son Horus, with Set, Isis, and Nephthys. Thus we may see in the myth an early example of that religious syncretism which is so characteristic of later Egyptian belief.

[1] See */Archaeologia/*, Vol. LII (1891). Dr. Budge published a new edition of the whole papyrus in */Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum/* (1910), and the two versions of the Creation myth are given together in his */Gods of the Egyptians/*, Vol. I (1904), Chap. VIII, pp. 308 ff., and more recently in his */Egyptian Literature/*, Vol. I, "Legends of the Gods" (1912), pp. 2 ff. An account of the papyrus is included in the Introduction to "Legends of the Gods", pp. xiii ff.

[2] In */Gods of the Egyptians/*, Vol. I, Chap. VII, pp. 288 ff., Dr. Budge gives a detailed comparison of the Egyptian pairs of *primaeval* deities with the very similar couples of the Babylonian myth.

The only parallel this Egyptian myth of Creation presents to the Hebrew cosmogony is in its picture of the *primaeval* water, corresponding to the watery chaos of Genesis i. But the resemblance is of a very general character, and includes no etymological equivalence such as we find when we compare the Hebrew account with the principal Semitic-Babylonian Creation narrative.[1] The application of the Ankh,

the Egyptian sign for Life, to the nostrils of a newly-created being is no true parallel to the breathing into man's nostrils of the breath of life in the earlier Hebrew Version,[2] except in the sense that each process was suggested by our common human anatomy. We should naturally expect to find some Hebrew parallel to the Egyptian idea of Creation as the work of a potter with his clay, for that figure appears in most ancient mythologies. The Hebrews indeed used the conception as a metaphor or parable,[3] and it also underlies their earlier picture of man's creation. I have not touched on the grosser Egyptian conceptions concerning the origin of the universe, which we may probably connect with African ideas; but those I have referred to will serve to demonstrate the complete absence of any feature that presents a detailed resemblance of the Hebrew tradition.

[1] For the wide diffusion, in the myths of remote peoples, of a vague theory that would trace all created things to a watery origin, see Farnell, /Greece and Babylon/, p. 180.

[2] Gen. ii. 7 (J).

[3] Cf., e.g., Isaiah xxix. 16, xlv. 9; and Jeremiah xviii. 2f.

When we turn to Babylonia, we find there also evidence of conflicting ideas, the product of different and to some extent competing religious centres. But in contrast to the rather confused condition of Egyptian mythology, the Semitic Creation myth of the city of Babylon, thanks to the latter's continued political ascendancy, succeeded in winning a dominant place in the national literature. This is the version in which so many points of resemblance to the first chapter of Genesis have long been recognized, especially in the succession of creative acts and their relative order. In the Semitic-Babylonian Version the creation of the world is represented as the result of conflict, the emergence of order out of chaos, a result that is only attained by the personal triumph of the Creator. But this underlying dualism does not appear in the more primitive Sumerian Version we have now recovered. It will be remembered that in the second lecture I gave some account of the myth, which occurs in an epitomized form as an introduction to the Sumerian Version of the Deluge, the two narratives being recorded in the same document and connected with one another by a description of the Antediluvian cities. We there saw that Creation is ascribed to the three greatest gods of the Sumerian pantheon, Anu, Enlil, and Enki, assisted by the goddess Ninkharsagga.

It is significant that in the Sumerian version no less than four deities are represented as taking part in the Creation. For in this we may see some indication of the period to which its composition must be

assigned. Their association in the text suggests that the claims of local gods had already begun to compete with one another as a result of political combination between the cities of their cults. To the same general period we must also assign the compilation of the Sumerian Dynastic record, for that presupposes the existence of a supreme ruler among the Sumerian city-states. This form of political constitution must undoubtedly have been the result of a long process of development, and the fact that its existence should be regarded as dating from the Creation of the world indicates a comparatively developed stage of the tradition. But behind the combination of cities and their gods we may conjecturally trace anterior stages of development, when each local deity and his human representative seemed to their own adherents the sole objects for worship and allegiance. And even after the demands of other centres had been conceded, no deity ever quite gave up his local claims.

Enlil, the second of the four Sumerian creating deities, eventually ousted his rivals. It has indeed long been recognized that the /rôle/ played by Marduk in the Babylonian Version of Creation had been borrowed from Enlil of Nippur; and in the Atrakhasis legend Enlil himself appears as the ultimate ruler of the world and the other gods figure as "his sons". Anu, who heads the list and plays with Enlil the leading part in the Sumerian narrative, was clearly his chief rival. And though we possess no detailed account of Anu's creative work, the persistent ascription to him of the creation of heaven, and his familiar title, "the Father of the Gods", suggest that he once possessed a corresponding body of myth in Eanna, his temple at Erech. Enki, the third of the creating gods, was naturally credited, as God of Wisdom, with special creative activities, and fortunately in his case we have some independent evidence of the varied forms these could assume.

According to one tradition that has come down to us,[1] after Anu had made the heavens, Enki created Apsû or the Deep, his own dwelling-place. Then taking from it a piece of clay[2] he proceeded to create the Brick-god, and reeds and forests for the supply of building material. From the same clay he continued to form other deities and materials, including the Carpenter-god; the Smith-god; Arazu, a patron deity of building; and mountains and seas for all that they produced; the Goldsmith-god, the Stone-cutter-god, and kindred deities, together with their rich products for offerings; the Grain-deities, Ashnan and Lakhar; Siris, a Wine-god; Ningishzida and Ninsar, a Garden-god, for the sake of the rich offerings they could make; and a deity described as "the High priest of the great gods," to lay down necessary ordinances and commands. Then he created "the King", for the equipment probably of a particular temple, and finally men, that they might

practise the cult in the temple so elaborately prepared.

[1] See Weissbach, */Babylonische Miscellen/*, pp. 32 ff.

[2] One of the titles of Enki was "the Potter"; cf. */Cun. Texts in the Brit. Mus., Pt. XXIV*, pl. 14 f., ll. 41, 43.

It will be seen from this summary of Enki's creative activities, that the text from which it is taken is not a general Creation myth, but in all probability the introductory paragraph of a composition which celebrated the building or restoration of a particular temple; and the latter's foundation is represented, on henotheistic lines, as the main object of creation. Composed with that special purpose, its narrative is not to be regarded as an exhaustive account of the creation of the world. The incidents are eclectic, and only such gods and materials are mentioned as would have been required for the building and adornment of the temple and for the provision of its offerings and cult. But even so its mythological background is instructive. For while Anu's creation of heaven is postulated as the necessary precedent of Enki's activities, the latter creates the Deep, vegetation, mountains, seas, and mankind. Moreover, in his character as God of Wisdom, he is not only the teacher but the creator of those deities who were patrons of man's own constructive work. From such evidence we may infer that in his temple at Eridu, now covered by the mounds of Abu Shahrain in the extreme south of Babylonia, and regarded in early Sumerian tradition as the first city in the world, Enki himself was once celebrated as the sole creator of the universe.

The combination of the three gods Anu, Enlil, and Enki, is persistent in the tradition; for not only were they the great gods of the universe, representing respectively heaven, earth, and the watery abyss, but they later shared the heavenly sphere between them. It is in their astrological character that we find them again in creative activity, though without the co-operation of any goddess, when they appear as creators of the great light-gods and as founders of time divisions, the day and the month. This Sumerian myth, though it reaches us only in an extract or summary in a Neo-Babylonian schoolboy's exercise,[1] may well date from a comparatively early period, but probably from a time when the "Ways" of Anu, Enlil, and Enki had already been fixed in heaven and their later astrological characters had crystallized.

[1] See */The Seven Tablets of Creation/*, Vol. I, pp. 124 ff. The tablet gives extracts from two very similar Sumerian and Semitic texts. In both of them Anu, Enlil, and Enki appear as creators "through their sure counsel". In the Sumerian extract they create

the Moon and ordain its monthly course, while in the Semitic text, after establishing heaven and earth, they create in addition to the New Moon the bright Day, so that "men beheld the Sun-god in the Gate of his going forth".

The idea that a goddess should take part with a god in man's creation is already a familiar feature of Babylonian mythology. Thus the goddess Aruru, in co-operation with Marduk, might be credited with the creation of the human race,[1] as she might also be pictured creating on her own initiative an individual hero such as Enkidu of the Gilgamesh Epic. The /rôle/ of mother of mankind was also shared, as we have seen, by the Semitic Ishtar. And though the old Sumerian goddess, Ninkharsagga, the "Lady of the Mountains", appears in our Sumerian text for the first time in the character of creatress, some of the titles we know she enjoyed, under her synonyms in the great God List of Babylonia, already reflected her cosmic activities.[2] For she was known as

"The Builder of that which has Breath",
"The Carpenter of Mankind",
"The Carpenter of the Heart",
"The Coppersmith of the Gods",
"The Coppersmith of the Land", and
"The Lady Potter".

[1] Op. cit., p. 134 f.

[2] Cf. /Cun. Texts in the Brit. Mus./, Pt. XXIV, pl. 12, ll. 32, 26, 27, 25, 24, 23, and Poebel, /Hist. Texts/, p. 34.

In the myth we are not told her method of creation, but from the above titles it is clear that in her own cycle of tradition Ninkhasagga was conceived as fashioning men not only from clay but also from wood, and perhaps as employing metal for the manufacture of her other works of creation. Moreover, in the great God List, where she is referred to under her title Makh, Ninkhasagga is associated with Anu, Enlil, and Enki; she there appears, with her dependent deities, after Enlil and before Enki. We thus have definite proof that her association with the three chief Sumerian gods was widely recognized in the early Sumerian period and dictated her position in the classified pantheon of Babylonia. Apart from this evidence, the important rank assigned her in the historical and legal records and in votive inscriptions,[1] especially in the early period and in Southern Babylonia, accords fully with the part she here plays in the Sumerian Creation myth. Eannatum and Gudea of Lagash both place her immediately after Anu and Enlil, giving her precedence over Enki; and even in the Kassite

Kudurru inscriptions of the thirteenth and twelfth centuries, where she is referred to, she takes rank after Enki and before the other gods. In Sumer she was known as "the Mother of the Gods", and she was credited with the power of transferring the kingdom and royal insignia from one king to his successor.

[1] See especially, Poebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff.

Her supreme position as a goddess is attested by the relative insignificance of her husband Dunpae, whom she completely overshadows, in which respect she presents a contrast to the goddess Ninlil, Enlil's female counterpart. The early clay figurines found at Nippur and on other sites, representing a goddess suckling a child and clasping one of her breasts, may well be regarded as representing Ninkharsagga and not Ninlil. Her sanctuaries were at Kesh and Adab, both in the south, and this fact sufficiently explains her comparative want of influence in Akkad, where the Semitic Ishtar took her place. She does indeed appear in the north during the Sargonic period under her own name, though later she survives in her synonyms of Ninmakh, "the Sublime Lady", and Nintu, "the Lady of Child-bearing". It is under the latter title that Hammurabi refers to her in his Code of Laws, where she is tenth in a series of eleven deities. But as Goddess of Birth she retained only a pale reflection of her original cosmic character, and her functions were gradually specialized.[1]

[1] Cf. Poebel, *op. cit.*, p. 33. It is possible that, under one of her later synonyms, we should identify her, as Dr. Poebel suggests, with the Mylitta of Herodotus.

From a consideration of their characters, as revealed by independent sources of evidence, we thus obtain the reason for the co-operation of four deities in the Sumerian Creation. In fact the new text illustrates a well-known principle in the development of myth, the reconciliation of the rival claims of deities, whose cults, once isolated, had been brought from political causes into contact with each other. In this aspect myth is the medium through which a working pantheon is evolved. Naturally all the deities concerned cannot continue to play their original parts in detail. In the Babylonian Epic of Creation, where a single deity, and not a very prominent one, was to be raised to pre-eminent rank, the problem was simple enough. He could retain his own qualities and achievements while borrowing those of any former rival. In the Sumerian text we have the result of a far more delicate process of adjustment, and it is possible that the brevity of the text is here not entirely due to compression of a longer narrative, but may in part be regarded as evidence of early combination. As a result of the association of several competing

deities in the work of creation, a tendency may be traced to avoid discrimination between rival claims. Thus it is that the assembled gods, the pantheon as a whole, are regarded as collectively responsible for the creation of the universe. It may be added that this use of /ilâni/, "the gods", forms an interesting linguistic parallel to the plural of the Hebrew divine title Elohim.

It will be remembered that in the Sumerian Version the account of Creation is not given in full, only such episodes being included as were directly related to the Deluge story. No doubt the selection of men and animals was suggested by their subsequent rescue from the Flood; and emphasis was purposely laid on the creation of the /niggilma/ because of the part it played in securing mankind's survival. Even so, we noted one striking parallel between the Sumerian Version and that of the Semitic Babylonians, in the reason both give for man's creation. But in the former there is no attempt to explain how the universe itself had come into being, and the existence of the earth is presupposed at the moment when Anu, Enlil, Enki, and Ninkharsagga undertake the creation of man. The Semitic-Babylonian Version, on the other hand, is mainly occupied with events that led up to the acts of creation, and it concerns our problem to inquire how far those episodes were of Semitic and how far of Sumerian origin. A further question arises as to whether some strands of the narrative may not at one time have existed in Sumerian form independently of the Creation myth.

The statement is sometimes made that there is no reason to assume a Sumerian original for the Semitic-Babylonian Version, as recorded on "the Seven Tablets of Creation";[1] and this remark, though true of that version as a whole, needs some qualification. The composite nature of the poem has long been recognized, and an analysis of the text has shown that no less than five principal strands have been combined for its formation. These consist of (i) The Birth of the Gods; (ii) The Legend of Ea and Apsû; (iii) The principal Dragon Myth; (iv) The actual account of Creation; and (v) the Hymn to Marduk under his fifty titles.[2] The Assyrian commentaries to the Hymn, from which considerable portions of its text are restored, quote throughout a Sumerian original, and explain it word for word by the phrases of the Semitic Version;[3] so that for one out of the Seven Tablets a Semitic origin is at once disproved. Moreover, the majority of the fifty titles, even in the forms in which they have reached us in the Semitic text, are demonstrably Sumerian, and since many of them celebrate details of their owner's creative work, a Sumerian original for other parts of the version is implied. Enlil and Ea are both represented as bestowing their own names upon Marduk,[4] and we may assume that many of the fifty titles were originally borne by Enlil as a Sumerian

Creator.[5] Thus some portions of the actual account of Creation were probably derived from a Sumerian original in which "Father Enlil" figured as the hero.

[1] Cf., e.g., Jastrow, /Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc./, Vol. XXXVI (1916), p. 279.

[2] See /The Seven Tablets of Creation/, Vol. I, pp. lxvi ff.; and cf. Skinner, /Genesis/, pp. 43 ff.

[3] Cf. /Sev. Tabl./, Vol. I, pp. 157 ff.

[4] Cf. Tabl. VII, ll. 116 ff.

[5] The number fifty was suggested by an ideogram employed for Enlil's name.

For what then were the Semitic Babylonians themselves responsible? It seems to me that, in the "Seven Tablets", we may credit them with considerable ingenuity in the combination of existing myths, but not with their invention. The whole poem in its present form is a glorification of Marduk, the god of Babylon, who is to be given pre-eminent rank among the gods to correspond with the political position recently attained by his city. It would have been quite out of keeping with the national thought to make a break in the tradition, and such a course would not have served the purpose of the Babylonian priesthood, which was to obtain recognition of their claims by the older cult-centres in the country. Hence they chose and combined the more important existing myths, only making such alterations as would fit them to their new hero. Babylon herself had won her position by her own exertions; and it would be a natural idea to give Marduk his opportunity of becoming Creator of the world as the result of successful conflict. A combination of the Dragon myth with the myth of Creation would have admirably served their purpose; and this is what we find in the Semitic poem. But even that combination may not have been their own invention; for, though, as we shall see, the idea of conflict had no part in the earlier forms of the Sumerian Creation myth, its combination with the Dragon /motif/ may have characterized the local Sumerian Version of Nippur. How mechanical was the Babylonian redactors' method of glorifying Marduk is seen in their use of the description of Tiamat and her monster brood, whom Marduk is made to conquer. To impress the hearers of the poem with his prowess, this is repeated at length no less than four times, one god carrying the news of her revolt to another.

Direct proof of the manner in which the later redactors have been

obliged to modify the original Sumerian Creation myth, in consequence of their incorporation of other elements, may be seen in the Sixth Tablet of the poem, where Marduk states the reason for man's creation. In the second lecture we noted how the very words of the principal Sumerian Creator were put into Marduk's mouth; but the rest of the Semitic god's speech finds no equivalent in the Sumerian Version and was evidently inserted in order to reconcile the narrative with its later ingredients. This will best be seen by printing the two passages in parallel columns:[1]

[1] The extract from the Sumerian Version, which occurs in the lower part of the First Column, is here compared with the Semitic-Babylonian Creation Series, Tablet VI, ll. 6-10 (see /Seven Tablets/, Vol. I, pp. 86 ff.). The comparison is justified whether we regard the Sumerian speech as a direct preliminary to man's creation, or as a reassertion of his duty after his rescue from destruction by the Flood.

SUMERIAN VERSION	SEMITIC VERSION
"The people will I cause to . . . in their settlements, Cities . . . shall (man) build, in their protection will I cause him to rest, That he may lay the brick of our house in a clean spot, That in a clean spot he may establish our . . . !"	"I will make man, that man may [. . .]. I will create man who shall inhabit [. . .], That the service of the gods may be established, and that [their] shrines [may be built]. But I will alter the ways of the gods, and I will change [their paths]; Together shall they be oppressed, and unto evil shall [they . . .]!"

The welding of incongruous elements is very apparent in the Semitic Version. For the statement that man will be created in order that the gods may have worshippers is at once followed by the announcement that the gods themselves must be punished and their "ways" changed. In the Sumerian Version the gods are united and all are naturally regarded as worthy of man's worship. The Sumerian Creator makes no distinctions; he refers to "our houses", or temples, that shall be established. But in the later version divine conflict has been introduced, and the future head of the pantheon has conquered and humiliated the revolting deities. Their "ways" must therefore be altered before they are fit to

receive the worship which was accorded them by right in the simpler Sumerian tradition. In spite of the epitomized character of the Sumerian Version, a comparison of these passages suggests very forcibly that the Semitic-Babylonian myth of Creation is based upon a simpler Sumerian story, which has been elaborated to reconcile it with the Dragon myth.

The Semitic poem itself also supplies evidence of the independent existence of the Dragon myth apart from the process of Creation, for the story of Ea and Apsû, which it incorporates, is merely the local Dragon myth of Eridu. Its inclusion in the story is again simply a tribute to Marduk; for though Ea, now become Marduk's father, could conquer Apsû, he was afraid of Tiamat, "and turned back".[1] The original Eridu myth no doubt represented Enki as conquering the watery Abyss, which became his home; but there is nothing to connect this tradition with his early creative activities. We have long possessed part of another local version of the Dragon myth, which describes the conquest of a dragon by some deity other than Marduk; and the fight is there described as taking place, not before Creation, but at a time when men existed and cities had been built.[2] Men and gods were equally terrified at the monster's appearance, and it was to deliver the land from his clutches that one of the gods went out and slew him. Tradition delighted to dwell on the dragon's enormous size and terrible appearance. In this version he is described as fifty /bêru/[3] in length and one in height; his mouth measured six cubits and the circuit of his ears twelve; he dragged himself along in the water, which he lashed with his tail; and, when slain, his blood flowed for three years, three months, a day and a night. From this description we can see he was given the body of an enormous serpent.[4]

[1] Tabl. III, I. 53, &c. In the story of Bel and the Dragon, the third of the apocryphal additions to Daniel, we have direct evidence of the late survival of the Dragon /motif/ apart from any trace of the Creation myth; in this connexion see Charles, /Apocrypha and Pseudopigrapha/, Vol. I (1913), p. 653 f.

[2] See /Seven Tablets/, Vol. I, pp. 116 ff., lxviii f. The text is preserved on an Assyrian tablet made for the library of Ashurbani-pal.

[3] The /bêru/ was the space that could be covered in two hours' travelling.

[4] The Babylonian Dragon has progeny in the later apocalyptic literature, where we find very similar descriptions of the

creatures' size. Among them we may perhaps include the dragon in the Apocalypse of Baruch, who, according to the Slavonic Version, apparently every day drinks a cubit's depth from the sea, and yet the sea does not sink because of the three hundred and sixty rivers that flow into it (cf. James, "Apocrypha Anecdota", Second Series, in Armitage Robinson's /Texts and Studies/, V, No. 1, pp. lix ff.). But Egypt's Dragon /motif/ was even more prolific, and the /Pistis Sophia/ undoubtedly suggested descriptions of the Serpent, especially in connexion with Hades.

A further version of the Dragon myth has now been identified on one of the tablets recovered during the recent excavations at Ashur,[1] and in it the dragon is not entirely of serpent form, but is a true dragon with legs. Like the one just described, he is a male monster. The description occurs as part of a myth, of which the text is so badly preserved that only the contents of one column can be made out with any certainty. In it a god, whose name is wanting, announces the presence of the dragon: "In the water he lies and I [. . .]!" Thereupon a second god cries successively to Aruru, the mother-goddess, and to Pallil, another deity, for help in his predicament. And then follows the description of the dragon:

In the sea was the Serpent cre[ated].
Sixty /bêru/ is his length;
Thirty /bêru/ high is his he[ad].[2]
For half (a /bêru/) each stretches the surface of his ey[es];[3]
For twenty /bêru/ go [his feet].[4]
He devours fish, the creatures [of the sea],
He devours birds, the creatures [of the heaven],
He devours wild asses, the creatures [of the field],
He devours men,[5] to the peoples [he . . .].

[1] For the text, see Ebeling, /Assurtexte/ I, No. 6; it is translated by him in /Orient. Lit.-Zeit./, Vol. XIX, No. 4 (April, 1916).

[2] The line reads: /30 bêru ša-ka-a ri-[ša-a-šu]/. Dr. Ebeling renders /ri-ša-a/ as "heads" (Köpfe), implying that the dragon had more than one head. It may be pointed out that, if we could accept this translation, we should have an interesting parallel to the description of some of the primaeval monsters, preserved from Berossus, as {soma men ekhontas en, kephalas de duo}. But the common word for "head" is /kakkadu/, and there can be little doubt that /rîšâ/ is here used in its ordinary sense of "head, summit, top" when applied to a high building.

[3] The line reads: /a-na 1/2 ta-am la-bu-na li-bit ên[a-šu]/. Dr.

Ebeling translates, "auf je eine Hälfte ist ein Ziegel [ihrer] Auge[n] gelegt". But /libittu/ is clearly used here, not with its ordinary meaning of "brick", which yields a strange rendering, but in its special sense, when applied to large buildings, of "foundation, floor-space, area", i.e. "surface". Dr. Ebeling reads /ênâ-šu/ at the end of the line, but the sign is broken; perhaps the traces may prove to be those of /uznâ šu/, "his ears", in which case /li-bit uz[nâ-šu]/ might be rendered either as "surface of his ears", or as "base (lit. foundation) of his ears".

[4] i.e. the length of his pace was twenty /bêru/.

[5] Lit. "the black-headed".

The text here breaks off, at the moment when Pallil, whose help against the dragon had been invoked, begins to speak. Let us hope we shall recover the continuation of the narrative and learn what became of this carnivorous monster.

There are ample grounds, then, for assuming the independent existence of the Babylonian Dragon-myth, and though both the versions recovered have come to us in Semitic form, there is no doubt that the myth itself existed among the Sumerians. The dragon /motif/ is constantly recurring in descriptions of Sumerian temple-decoration, and the twin dragons of Ningishzida on Gudea's libation-vase, carved in green steatite and inlaid with shell, are a notable product of Sumerian art.[1] The very names borne by Tiamat's brood of monsters in the "Seven Tablets" are stamped in most cases with their Sumerian descent, and Kingu, whom she appointed as her champion in place of Apsû, is equally Sumerian. It would be strange indeed if the Sumerians had not evolved a Dragon myth,[2] for the Dragon combat is the most obvious of nature myths and is found in most mythologies of Europe and the Near East. The trailing storm-clouds suggest his serpent form, his fiery tongue is seen in the forked lightning, and, though he may darken the world for a time, the Sun-god will always be victorious. In Egypt the myth of "the Overthrowing of Apep, the enemy of Ra" presents a close parallel to that of Tiamat;[3] but of all Eastern mythologies that of the Chinese has inspired in art the most beautiful treatment of the Dragon, who, however, under his varied forms was for them essentially beneficent. Doubtless the Semites of Babylonia had their own versions of the Dragon combat, both before and after their arrival on the Euphrates, but the particular version which the priests of Babylon wove into their epic is not one of them.

[1] See E. de Sarzec, /Découvertes en Chaldée/, pl. xlv, Fig. 2, and Heuzey, /Catalogue des antiquités chaldéennes/, p. 281.

[2] In his very interesting study of "Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings", contributed to the *Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. XXXVI (1916), pp. 274 ff., Professor Jastrow suggests that the Dragon combat in the Semitic-Babylonian Creation poem is of Semitic not Sumerian origin. He does not examine the evidence of the poem itself in detail, but bases the suggestion mainly on the two hypotheses, that the Dragon combat of the poem was suggested by the winter storms and floods of the Euphrates Valley, and that the Sumerians came from a mountain region where water was not plentiful. If we grant both assumptions, the suggested conclusion does not seem to me necessarily to follow, in view of the evidence we now possess as to the remote date of the Sumerian settlement in the Euphrates Valley. Some evidence may still be held to point to a mountain home for the proto-Sumerians, such as the name of their early goddess Ninkharsagga, "the Lady of the Mountains". But, as we must now regard Babylonia itself as the cradle of their civilization, other data tend to lose something of their apparent significance. It is true that the same Sumerian sign means "land" and "mountain"; but it may have been difficult to obtain an intelligible profile for "land" without adopting a mountain form. Such a name as Ekur, the "Mountain House" of Nippur, may perhaps indicate size, not origin; and Enki's association with metal-working may be merely due to his character as God of Wisdom, and is not appropriate solely "to a god whose home is in the mountains where metals are found" (op. cit., p. 295). It should be added that Professor Jastrow's theory of the Dragon combat is bound up with his view of the origin of an interesting Sumerian "myth of beginnings", to which reference is made later.

[3] Cf. Budge, */Gods of the Egyptians/*, Vol. I, pp. 324 ff. The inclusion of the two versions of the Egyptian Creation myth, recording the Birth of the Gods in the "Book of Overthrowing Apep", does not present a very close parallel to the combination of Creation and Dragon myths in the Semitic-Babylonian poem, for in the Egyptian work the two myths are not really combined, the Creation Versions being inserted in the middle of the spells against Apep, without any attempt at assimilation (see Budge, */Egyptian Literature/*, Vol. I, p. xvi).

We have thus traced four out of the five strands which form the Semitic-Babylonian poem of Creation to a Sumerian ancestry. And we now come back to the first of the strands, the Birth of the Gods, from which our discussion started. For if this too should prove to be Sumerian, it would help to fill in the gap in our Sumerian Creation myth, and might furnish us with some idea of the Sumerian view of

"beginnings", which preceded the acts of creation by the great gods. It will be remembered that the poem opens with the description of a time when heaven and earth did not exist, no field or marsh even had been created, and the universe consisted only of the *primaeval* water-gods, Apsû, Mummu, and Tiamat, whose waters were mingled together. Then follows the successive generation of two pairs of deities, Lakhmu and Lakhamu, and Anshar and Kishar, long ages separating the two generations from each other and from the birth of the great gods which subsequently takes place. In the summary of the myth which is given by Damascius[1] the names of the various deities accurately correspond to those in the opening lines of the poem; but he makes some notable additions, as will be seen from the following table:

DAMASCUS	"SEVEN TABLETS" I
{ 'Apson---Tauthe }	Apsû---Tiamat
{Moumis}	Mummu
{Lakhos---Lakhe}[2]	Lakhmu---Lakhamu
{ 'Assoros---Kissare }	Anshar---Kishar
{ 'Anos, 'Illinos, 'Aos }	Anu, [], Nudimmud (= Ea)
{ 'Aos---Dauke }	
{Belos}	

[1] /*Quaestiones de primis principiis*/, cap. 125; ed. Kopp, p. 384.

[2] Emended from the reading {Dakhen kai Dakhon} of the text.

In the passage of the poem which describes the birth of the great gods after the last pair of *primaeval* deities, mention is duly made of Anu and Nudimmud (the latter a title of Ea), corresponding to the { 'Anos } and { 'Aos } of Damascius; and there appears to be no reference to Enlil, the original of { 'Illinos }. It is just possible that his name occurred at the end of one of the broken lines, and, if so, we should have a complete parallel to Damascius. But the traces are not in favour of the restoration;[1] and the omission of Enlil's name from this part of the poem may be readily explained as a further tribute to Marduk, who definitely usurps his place throughout the subsequent narrative. Anu and Ea had both to be mentioned because of the parts they play in the Epic, but Enlil's only recorded appearance is in the final assembly of the gods, where he bestows his own name "the Lord of the World"[2] upon Marduk. The evidence of Damascius suggests that Enlil's name was here retained, between those of Anu and Ea, in other versions of the poem. But the occurrence of the name in any version is in itself evidence of the antiquity of this strand of the narrative.

It is a legitimate inference that the myth of the Birth of the Gods goes back to a time at least before the rise of Babylon, and is presumably of Sumerian origin.

[1] Anu and Nudimmud are each mentioned for the first time at the beginning of a line, and the three lines following the reference to Nudimmud are entirely occupied with descriptions of his wisdom and power. It is also probable that the three preceding lines (ll. 14-16), all of which refer to Anu by name, were entirely occupied with his description. But it is only in ll. 13-16 that any reference to Enlil can have occurred, and the traces preserved of their second halves do not suggest the restoration.

[2] Cf. Tabl. VII, . 116.

Further evidence of this may be seen in the fact that Anu, Enlil, and Ea (i.e. Enki), who are here created together, are the three great gods of the Sumerian Version of Creation; it is they who create mankind with the help of the goddess Ninkharsagga, and in the fuller version of that myth we should naturally expect to find some account of their own origin. The reference in Damascius to Marduk ({Belos}) as the son of Ea and Damkina ({Dauke}) is also of interest in this connexion, as it exhibits a goddess in close connexion with one of the three great gods, much as we find Ninkharsagga associated with them in the Sumerian Version.[1] Before leaving the names, it may be added that, of the *primaeval* deities, Anshar and Kishar are obviously Sumerian in form.

[1] Damkina was the later wife of Ea or Enki; and Ninkharsagga is associated with Enki, as his consort, in another Sumerian myth.

It may be noted that the character of Apsû and Tiamat in this portion of the poem[1] is quite at variance with their later actions. Their revolt at the ordered "way" of the gods was a necessary preliminary to the incorporation of the Dragon myths, in which Ea and Marduk are the heroes. Here they appear as entirely beneficent gods of the *primaeval* water, undisturbed by storms, in whose quiet depths the equally beneficent deities Lakhmu and Lakhamu, Anshar and Kishar, were generated.[2] This interpretation, by the way, suggests a more satisfactory restoration for the close of the ninth line of the poem than any that has yet been proposed. That line is usually taken to imply that the gods were created "in the midst of [heaven]", but I think the following rendering, in connexion with ll. 1-5, gives better sense:

When in the height heaven was not named,

And the earth beneath did not bear a name,
 And the primaeval Apsû who begat them,[3]
 And Mummu, and Tiamat who bore them[3] all,--
 Their waters were mingled together,
 . . .
 . . .
 . . .
 Then were created the gods in the midst of [their waters],[4]
 Lakhmu and Lakhamu were called into being . . .

[1] Tabl. I, ll. 1-21.

[2] We may perhaps see a survival of Tiamat's original character in her control of the Tablets of Fate. The poem does not represent her as seizing them in any successful fight; they appear to be already hers to bestow on Kingu, though in the later mythology they are "not his by right" (cf. Tabl. I, ll. 137 ff., and Tabl. IV, l. 121).

[3] i.e. the gods.

[4] The ninth line is preserved only on a Neo-Babylonian duplicate (/Seven Tablets/, Vol. II, pl. i). I suggested the restoration /ki-rib š[a-ma-mi]/, "in the midst of heaven", as possible, since the traces of the first sign in the last word of the line seemed to be those of the Neo-Babylonian form of /ša/. The restoration appeared at the time not altogether satisfactory in view of the first line of the poem, and it could only be justified by supposing that /šamâmu/, or "heaven", was already vaguely conceived as in existence (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 3, n. 14). But the traces of the sign, as I have given them (op. cit., Vol. II, pl. i), may also possibly be those of the Neo-Babylonian form of the sign /me/; and I would now restore the end of the line in the Neo-Babylonian tablet as /ki-rib m[e-e-šu-nu]/, "in the midst of [their waters]", corresponding to the form /mu-u-šu-nu/ in l. 5 of this duplicate. In the Assyrian Version /mé(pl)-šu-nu/ would be read in both lines. It will be possible to verify the new reading, by a re-examination of the traces on the tablet, when the British Museum collections again become available for study after the war.

If the ninth line of the poem be restored as suggested, its account of the Birth of the Gods will be found to correspond accurately with the summary from Berossus, who, in explaining the myth, refers to the Babylonian belief that the universe consisted at first of moisture in which living creatures, such as he had already described, were generated.[1] The primaeval waters are originally the source of life,

not of destruction, and it is in them that the gods are born, as in Egyptian mythology; there Nu, the primaeval water-god from whom Ra was self-created, never ceased to be the Sun-god's supporter. The change in the Babylonian conception was obviously introduced by the combination of the Dragon myth with that of Creation, a combination that in Egypt would never have been justified by the gentle Nile. From a study of some aspects of the names at the beginning of the Babylonian poem we have already seen reason to suspect that its version of the Birth of the Gods goes back to Sumerian times, and it is pertinent to ask whether we have any further evidence that in Sumerian belief water was the origin of all things.

[1] {ugrou gar ontos tou pantos kai zoon en auto gegennemenon [toionde] ktl}. His creatures of the primaeval water were killed by the light; and terrestrial animals were then created which could bear (i.e. breathe and exist in) the air.

For many years we have possessed a Sumerian myth of Creation, which has come to us on a late Babylonian tablet as the introductory section of an incantation. It is provided with a Semitic translation, and to judge from its record of the building of Babylon and Egarila, Marduk's temple, and its identification of Marduk himself with the Creator, it has clearly undergone some editing at the hands of the Babylonian priests. Moreover, the occurrence of various episodes out of their logical order, and the fact that the text records twice over the creation of swamps and marshes, reeds and trees or forests, animals and cities, indicate that two Sumerian myths have been combined. Thus we have no guarantee that the other cities referred to by name in the text, Nippur, Erech, and Eridu, are mentioned in any significant connexion with each other.[1] Of the actual cause of Creation the text appears to give two versions also, one in its present form impersonal, and the other carried out by a god. But these two accounts are quite unlike the authorized version of Babylon, and we may confidently regard them as representing genuine Sumerian myths. The text resembles other early accounts of Creation by introducing its narrative with a series of negative statements, which serve to indicate the preceding non-existence of the world, as will be seen from the following extract:[2]

No city had been created, no creature had been made,
Nippur had not been created, Ekur had not been built,
Erech had not been created, Eanna had not been built,
Apsû had not been created, Eridu had not been built,
Of the holy house, the house of the gods, the habitation had not
been created.
All lands[3] were sea.

At the time when a channel (was formed) in the midst of the sea,
Then was Eridu created, Esagila built, etc.

Here we have the definite statement that before Creation all the world was sea. And it is important to note that the *primaeval* water is not personified; the ordinary Sumerian word for "sea" is employed, which the Semitic translator has faithfully rendered in his version of the text.[4] The reference to a channel in the sea, as the cause of Creation, seems at first sight a little obscure; but the word implies a "drain" or "water-channel", not a current of the sea itself, and the reference may be explained as suggested by the drainage of a flood-area. No doubt the phrase was elaborated in the original myth, and it is possible that what appears to be a second version of Creation later on in the text is really part of the more detailed narrative of the first myth. There the Creator himself is named. He is the Sumerian god Gilimma, and in the Semitic translation Marduk's name is substituted. To the following couplet, which describes Gilimma's method of creation, is appended a further extract from a later portion of the text, there evidently displaced, giving additional details of the Creator's work:

Gilimma bound reeds in the face of the waters,
He formed soil and poured it out beside the reeds.[5]
[He][6] filled in a dike by the side of the sea,
[He . . .] a swamp, he formed a marsh.
[. . .], he brought into existence,
[Reeds he form]ed,[7] trees he created.

[1] The composite nature of the text is discussed by Professor Jastrow in his */Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions/*, pp. 89 ff.; and in his paper in the */Journ. Amer. Or. Soc./*, Vol. XXXVI (1916), pp. 279 ff.; he has analysed it into two main versions, which he suggests originated in Eridu and Nippur respectively. The evidence of the text does not appear to me to support the view that any reference to a watery chaos preceding Creation must necessarily be of Semitic origin. For the literature of the text (first published by Pinches, */Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc./*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 393 ff.), see */Sev. Tabl./*, Vol. I, p. 130.

[2] Obv., ll. 5-12.

[3] Sum. */nigin-kur-kur-ra-ge/*, Sem. */nap-har ma-ta-a-tu/*, lit. "all lands", i.e. Sumerian and Babylonian expressions for "the world".

[4] Sum. */a-ab-ba/*, "sea", is here rendered by */tâmtum/*, not by its personified equivalent Tiamat.

[5] The suggestion has been made that /amu/, the word in the Semitic version here translated "reeds", should be connected with /ammatu/, the word used for "earth" or "dry land" in the Babylonian Creation Series, Tabl. I, l. 2, and given some such meaning as "expanse". The couplet is thus explained to mean that the god made an expanse on the face of the waters, and then poured out dust "on the expanse". But the Semitic version in l. 18 reads /itti ami/, "beside the /a./", not /ina ami/, "on the /a./"; and in any case there does not seem much significance in the act of pouring out specially created dust on or beside land already formed. The Sumerian word translated by /amu/ is written /gi-dir/, with the element /gi/, "reed", in l. 17, and though in the following line it is written under its variant form /a-dir/ without /gi/, the equation /gi-a-dir/ = /amu/ is elsewhere attested (cf. Delitzsch, /Handwörterbuch/, p. 77). In favour of regarding /amu/ as some sort of reed, here used collectively, it may be pointed out that the Sumerian verb in l. 17 is /kešda/, "to bind", accurately rendered by /rakašu/ in the Semitic version. Assuming that l. 34 belongs to the same account, the creation of reeds in general beside trees, after dry land is formed, would not of course be at variance with the god's use of some sort of reed in his first act of creation. He creates the reed-bundles, as he creates the soil, both of which go to form the first dike; the reed-beds, like the other vegetation, spring up from the ground when it appears.

[6] The Semitic version here reads "the lord Marduk"; the corresponding name in the Sumerian text is not preserved.

[7] The line is restored from l. 2 of the obverse of the text.

Here the Sumerian Creator is pictured as forming dry land from the *primaeval* water in much the same way as the early cultivator in the Euphrates Valley procured the rich fields for his crops. The existence of the earth is here not really presupposed. All the world was sea until the god created land out of the waters by the only practical method that was possible in Mesopotamia.

In another Sumerian myth, which has been recovered on one of the early tablets from Nippur, we have a rather different picture of beginnings. For there, though water is the source of life, the existence of the land is presupposed. But it is bare and desolate, as in the Mesopotamian season of "low water". The underlying idea is suggestive of a period when some progress in systematic irrigation had already been made, and the filling of the dry canals and subsequent irrigation

of the parched ground by the rising flood of Enki was not dreaded but eagerly desired. The myth is only one of several that have been combined to form the introductory sections of an incantation; but in all of them Enki, the god of the deep water, plays the leading part, though associated with different consorts.[1] The incantation is directed against various diseases, and the recitation of the closing mythical section was evidently intended to enlist the aid of special gods in combating them. The creation of these deities is recited under set formulae in a sort of refrain, and the divine name assigned to each bears a magical connexion with the sickness he or she is intended to dispel.[2]

[1] See Langdon, Univ. of Penns. Mus. Publ., Bab. Sect., Vol. X, No. 1 (1915), pl. i f., pp. 69 ff.; /Journ. Amer. Or. Soc./, Vol. XXXVI (1916), pp. 140 ff.; cf. Prince, /Journ. Amer. Or. Soc./, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 90 ff.; Jastrow, /Journ. Amer. Or. Soc./, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 122 ff., and in particular his detailed study of the text in /Amer. Journ. Semit. Lang./, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 91 ff. Dr. Langdon's first description of the text, in /Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch./, Vol. XXXVI (1914), pp. 188 ff., was based on a comparatively small fragment only; and on his completion of the text from other fragments in Pennsylvania. Professor Sayce at once realized that the preliminary diagnosis of a Deluge myth could not be sustained (cf. /Expos. Times/, Nov., 1915, pp. 88 ff.). He, Professor Prince, and Professor Jastrow independently showed that the action of Enki in the myth in sending water on the land was not punitive but beneficent; and the preceding section, in which animals are described as not performing their usual activities, was shown independently by Professor Prince and Professor Jastrow to have reference, not to their different nature in an ideal existence in Paradise, but, on familiar lines, to their non-existence in a desolate land. It may be added that Professor Barton and Dr. Peters agree generally with Professor Prince and Professor Jastrow in their interpretation of the text, which excludes the suggested biblical parallels; and I understand from Dr. Langdon that he very rightly recognizes that the text is not a Deluge myth. It is a subject for congratulation that the discussion has materially increased our knowledge of this difficult composition.

[2] Cf. Col. VI, ll. 24 ff.; thus /Ab/-u was created for the sickness of the cow (/ab/); Nin-/tul/ for that of the flock (u-/tul/); Nin-/ka/-u-tu and Nin-/ka/-si for that of the mouth (/ka/); Na-zi for that of the /na-zi/ (meaning uncertain); /Da zi/-ma for that of the /da-zi/ (meaning uncertain); Nin-/til/ for that of /til/ (life); the name of the eighth and last deity is imperfectly preserved.

We have already noted examples of a similar use of myth in magic, which was common to both Egypt and Babylonia; and to illustrate its employment against disease, as in the Nippur document, it will suffice to cite a well-known magical cure for the toothache which was adopted in Babylon.[1] There toothache was believed to be caused by the gnawing of a worm in the gum, and a myth was used in the incantation to relieve it. The worm's origin is traced from Anu, the god of heaven, through a descending scale of creation; Anu, the heavens, the earth, rivers, canals and marshes are represented as each giving rise to the next in order, until finally the marshes produce the worm. The myth then relates how the worm, on being offered tempting food by Ea in answer to her prayer, asked to be allowed to drink the blood of the teeth, and the incantation closes by invoking the curse of Ea because of the worm's misguided choice. It is clear that power over the worm was obtained by a recital of her creation and of her subsequent ingratitude, which led to her present occupation and the curse under which she laboured. When the myth and invocation had been recited three times over the proper mixture of beer, a plant, and oil, and the mixture had been applied to the offending tooth, the worm would fall under the spell of the curse and the patient would at once gain relief. The example is instructive, as the connexion of ideas is quite clear. In the Nippur document the recital of the creation of the eight deities evidently ensured their presence, and a demonstration of the mystic bond between their names and the corresponding diseases rendered the working of their powers effective. Our knowledge of a good many other myths is due solely to their magical employment.

[1] See Thompson, */Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia/*, Vol. II, pp. 160 ff.; for a number of other examples, see Jastrow, */J.A.O.S./*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 279, n. 7.

Perhaps the most interesting section of the new text is one in which divine instructions are given in the use of plants, the fruit or roots of which may be eaten. Here Usmû, a messenger from Enki, God of the Deep, names eight such plants by Enki's orders, thereby determining the character of each. As Professor Jastrow has pointed out, the passage forcibly recalls the story from Berossus, concerning the mythical creature Oannes, who came up from the Erythraean Sea, where it borders upon Babylonia, to instruct mankind in all things, including "seeds and the gathering of fruits".[1] But the only part of the text that concerns us here is the introductory section, where the life-giving flood, by which the dry fields are irrigated, is pictured as following the union of the water-deities, Enki and Ninella.[2] Professor Jastrow is right in emphasizing the complete absence of any conflict in this Sumerian myth of beginnings; but, as with the other

Sumerian Versions we have examined, it seems to me there is no need to seek its origin elsewhere than in the Euphrates Valley.

[1] Cf. Jastrow, /J.A.O.S./, Vol. XXXVI, p. 127, and /A.J.S.L./, Vol. XXXIII, p. 134 f. It may be added that the divine naming of the plants also presents a faint parallel to the naming of the beasts and birds by man himself in Gen. ii. 19 f.

[2] Professor Jastrow (/A.J.S.L./, Vol. XXXIII, p. 115) compares similar myths collected by Sir James Frazer (/Magic Art/, Vol. II, chap. xi and chap. xii, § 2). He also notes the parallel the irrigation myth presents to the mist (or flood) of the earlier Hebrew Version (Gen. ii. 5 f). But Enki, like Ea, was no rain-god; he had his dwellings in the Euphrates and the Deep.

Even in later periods, when the Sumerian myths of Creation had been superseded by that of Babylon, the Euphrates never ceased to be regarded as the source of life and the creator of all things. And this is well brought out in the following introductory lines of a Semitic incantation, of which we possess two Neo-Babylonian copies:[1]

O thou River, who didst create all things,
When the great gods dug thee out,
They set prosperity upon thy banks,
Within thee Ea, King of the Deep, created his dwelling.
The Flood they sent not before thou wert!

Here the river as creator is sharply distinguished from the Flood; and we may conclude that the water of the Euphrates Valley impressed the early Sumerians, as later the Semites, with its creative as well as with its destructive power. The reappearance of the fertile soil, after the receding inundation, doubtless suggested the idea of creation out of water, and the stream's slow but automatic fall would furnish a model for the age-long evolution of *primaeval* deities. When a god's active and artificial creation of the earth must be portrayed, it would have been natural for the primitive Sumerian to picture the Creator working as he himself would work when he reclaimed a field from flood. We are thus shown the old Sumerian god Gilimma piling reed-bundles in the water and heaping up soil beside them, till the ground within his dikes dries off and produces luxuriant vegetation. But here there is a hint of struggle in the process, and we perceive in it the myth-redactor's opportunity to weave in the Dragon /motif/. No such excuse is afforded by the other Sumerian myth, which pictures the life-producing inundation as the gift of the two deities of the Deep and the product of their union.

But in their other aspect the rivers of Mesopotamia could be terrible; and the Dragon /motif/ itself, on the Tigris and Euphrates, drew its imagery as much from flood as from storm. When therefore a single deity must be made to appear, not only as Creator, but also as the champion of his divine allies and the conqueror of other gods, it was inevitable that the myths attaching to the waters under their two aspects should be combined. This may already have taken place at Nippur, when Enlil became the head of the pantheon; but the existence of his myth is conjectural.[1] In a later age we can trace the process in the light of history and of existing texts. There Marduk, identified wholly as the Sun-god, conquers the once featureless *primaeval* water, which in the process of redaction has now become the Dragon of flood and storm.

[1] The aspect of Enlil as the Creator of Vegetation is emphasized in Tablet VII of the Babylonian poem of Creation. It is significant that his first title, *Asara*, should be interpreted as "Bestower of planting", "Founder of sowing", "Creator of grain and plants", "He who caused the green herb to spring up" (cf. /Seven Tablets/, Vol. I, p. 92 f.). These opening phrases, by which the god is hailed, strike the key-note of the whole composition. It is true that, as *Sukh-kur*, he is "Destroyer of the foe"; but the great majority of the titles and their Semitic glosses refer to creative activities, not to the Dragon myth.

Thus the dualism which is so characteristic a feature of the Semitic-Babylonian system, though absent from the earliest Sumerian ideas of Creation, was inherent in the nature of the local rivers, whose varied aspects gave rise to or coloured separate myths. Its presence in the later mythology may be traced as a reflection of political development, at first probably among the warring cities of Sumer, but certainly later in the Semitic triumph at Babylon. It was but to be expected that the conqueror, whether Sumerian or Semite, should represent his own god's victory as the establishment of order out of chaos. But this would be particularly in harmony with the character of the Semitic Babylonians of the First Dynasty, whose genius for method and organization produced alike Hammurabi's Code of Laws and the straight streets of the capital.

We have thus been able to trace the various strands of the Semitic-Babylonian poem of Creation to Sumerian origins; and in the second lecture we arrived at a very similar conclusion with regard to the Semitic-Babylonian Version of the Deluge preserved in the Epic of Gilgamesh. We there saw that the literary structure of the Sumerian Version, in which Creation and Deluge are combined, must have survived under some form into the Neo-Babylonian period, since it was

reproduced by Berossus. And we noted the fact that the same arrangement in Genesis did not therefore prove that the Hebrew accounts go back directly to early Sumerian originals. In fact, the structural resemblance presented by Genesis can only be regarded as an additional proof that the Sumerian originals continued to be studied and translated by the Semitic priesthood, although they had long been superseded officially by their later descendants, the Semitic epics. A detailed comparison of the Creation and Deluge narratives in the various versions at once discloses the fact that the connexion between those of the Semitic Babylonians and the Hebrews is far closer and more striking than that which can be traced when the latter are placed beside the Sumerian originals. We may therefore regard it as certain that the Hebrews derived their knowledge of Sumerian tradition, not directly from the Sumerians themselves, but through Semitic channels from Babylon.

It will be unnecessary here to go in detail through the points of resemblance that are admitted to exist between the Hebrew account of Creation in the first chapter of Genesis and that preserved in the "Seven Tablets".[1] It will suffice to emphasize two of them, which gain in significance through our newly acquired knowledge of early Sumerian beliefs. It must be admitted that, on first reading the poem, one is struck more by the differences than by the parallels; but that is due to the polytheistic basis of the poem, which attracts attention when compared with the severe and dignified monotheism of the Hebrew writer. And if allowance be made for the change in theological standpoint, the material points of resemblance are seen to be very marked. The outline or general course of events is the same. In both we have an abyss of waters at the beginning denoted by almost the same Semitic word, the Hebrew /tehôm/, translated "the deep" in Gen. i. 2, being the equivalent of the Semitic-Babylonian /Tiamat/, the monster of storm and flood who presents so striking a contrast to the Sumerian *primaeval* water.[2] The second act of Creation in the Hebrew narrative is that of a "firmament", which divided the waters under it from those above.[3] But this, as we have seen, has no parallel in the early Sumerian conception until it was combined with the Dragon combat in the form in which we find it in the Babylonian poem. There the body of Tiamat is divided by Marduk, and from one half of her he constructs a covering or dome for heaven, that is to say a "firmament", to keep her upper waters in place. These will suffice as text passages, since they serve to point out quite clearly the Semitic source to which all the other detailed points of Hebrew resemblance may be traced.

[1] See /Seven Tablets/, Vol. I, pp. lxxxi ff., and Skinner, /Genesis/, pp. 45 ff.

[2] The invariable use of the Hebrew word /tehôm/ without the article, except in two passages in the plural, proves that it is a proper name (cf. Skinner, op. cit., p. 17); and its correspondence with /Tiamat/ makes the resemblance of the versions far more significant than if their parallelism were confined solely to ideas.

[3] Gen. i. 6-8.

In the case of the Deluge traditions, so conclusive a demonstration is not possible, since we have no similar criterion to apply. And on one point, as we saw, the Hebrew Versions preserve an original Sumerian strand of the narrative that was not woven into the Gilgamesh Epic, where there is no parallel to the piety of Noah. But from the detailed description that was given in the second lecture, it will have been noted that the Sumerian account is on the whole far simpler and more primitive than the other versions. It is only in the Babylonian Epic, for example, that the later Hebrew writer finds material from which to construct the ark, while the sweet savour of Ut-napishtim's sacrifice, and possibly his sending forth of the birds, though reproduced in the earlier Hebrew Version, find no parallels in the Sumerian account.[1] As to the general character of the Flood, there is no direct reference to rain in the Sumerian Version, though its presence is probably implied in the storm. The heavy rain of the Babylonian Epic has been increased to forty days of rain in the earlier Hebrew Version, which would be suitable to a country where local rain was the sole cause of flood. But the later Hebrew writer's addition of "the fountains of the deep" to "the windows of heaven" certainly suggests a more intimate knowledge of Mesopotamia, where some contributory cause other than local rain must be sought for the sudden and overwhelming catastrophes of which the rivers are capable.

[1] For detailed lists of the points of agreement presented by the Hebrew Versions J and P to the account in the Gilgamesh Epic, see Skinner, op. cit., p. 177 f.; Driver, /Genesis/, p. 106 f.; and Gordon, /Early Traditions of Genesis/ (1907), pp. 38 ff.

Thus, viewed from a purely literary standpoint, we are now enabled to trace back to a primitive age the ancestry of the traditions, which, under a very different aspect, eventually found their way into Hebrew literature. And in the process we may note the changes they underwent as they passed from one race to another. The result of such literary analysis and comparison, so far from discrediting the narratives in Genesis, throws into still stronger relief the moral grandeur of the Hebrew text.

We come then to the question, at what periods and by what process did the Hebrews become acquainted with Babylonian ideas? The tendency of the purely literary school of critics has been to explain the process by the direct use of Babylonian documents wholly within exilic times. If the Creation and Deluge narratives stood alone, a case might perhaps be made out for confining Babylonian influence to this late period. It is true that during the Captivity the Jews were directly exposed to such influence. They had the life and civilization of their captors immediately before their eyes, and it would have been only natural for the more learned among the Hebrew scribes and priests to interest themselves in the ancient literature of their new home. And any previous familiarity with the myths of Babylonia would undoubtedly have been increased by actual residence in the country. We may perhaps see a result of such acquaintance with Babylonian literature, after Jehoiachin's deportation,, in an interesting literary parallel that has been pointed out between Ezek. xiv. 12-20 and a speech in the Babylonian account of the Deluge in the Gilgamesh Epic, XI, ll. 180-194.[1] The passage in Ezekiel occurs within chaps. i-xxiv, which correspond to the prophet's first period and consist in the main of his utterances in exile before the fall of Jerusalem. It forms, in fact, the introduction to the prophet's announcement of the coming of "four sore judgements upon Jerusalem", from which there "shall be left a remnant that shall be carried forth".[2] But in consequence, here and there, of traces of a later point of view, it is generally admitted that many of the chapters in this section may have been considerably amplified and altered by Ezekiel himself in the course of writing. And if we may regard the literary parallel that has been pointed out as anything more than fortuitous, it is open to us to assume that chap. xiv may have been worked up by Ezekiel many years after his prophetic call at Tel-abib.

[1] See Daiches, "Ezekiel and the Babylonian Account of the Deluge", in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*/, April 1905. It has of course long been recognized that Ezekiel, in announcing the punishment of the king of Egypt in xxxii. 2 ff., uses imagery which strongly recalls the Babylonian Creation myth. For he compares Pharaoh to a sea-monster over whom Yahweh will throw his net (as Marduk had thrown his over Tiamat); cf. Loisy, */Les mythes babyloniens et les premiers chapitres de la Genèse/* (1901), p. 87.

[2] Ezek. xiv. 21 f.

In the passage of the Babylonian Epic, Enlil had already sent the Flood and had destroyed the good with the wicked. Ea thereupon remonstrates with him, and he urges that in future the sinner only should be made to suffer for his sin; and, instead of again causing a

flood, let there be discrimination in the divine punishments sent on men or lands. While the flood made the escape of the deserving impossible, other forms of punishment would affect the guilty only. In Ezekiel the subject is the same, but the point of view is different. The land the prophet has in his mind in verse 13 is evidently Judah, and his desire is to explain why it will suffer although not all its inhabitants deserved to share its fate. The discrimination, which Ea urges, Ezekiel asserts will be made; but the sinner must bear his own sin, and the righteous, however eminent, can only save themselves by their righteousness. The general principle propounded in the Epic is here applied to a special case. But the parallelism between the passages lies not only in the general principle but also in the literary setting. This will best be brought out by printing the passages in parallel columns.

Gilg. Epic, XI, 180-194

Ea opened his mouth and spake,
 He said to the warrior Enlil;
 Thou director of the gods! O
 warrior!
 Why didst thou not take counsel
 but didst cause a flood?
 On the transgressor lay his
 transgression!
 Be merciful, so that (all) be not
 destroyed! Have patience, so
 that (all) be not [cut off]!
 Instead of causing a flood,
 Let /lions/[1] come and diminish
 mankind!
 Instead of causing a flood,
 Let /leopards/[1] come and
 diminish mankind!
 Instead of causing a flood,
 Let /famine/ be caused and let it
 smite the land!
 Instead of causing a flood,
 Let the /Plague-god/ come and
 [slay] mankind!

Ezek. xiv. 12-20

And the word of the Lord came
 unto me, saying,
 Son of man, when a land sinneth
 against me by committing a
 trespass, and I stretch out
 mine hand upon it, and break
 the staff of the bread
 thereof, and send /famine/
 upon it, and cut off from it
 man and beast; though these
 three men, Noah, Daniel, and
 Job, were in it, they should
 deliver but their own souls by
 their righteousness, saith the
 Lord God.
 If I cause /noisome beasts/ to
 pass through the land, and
 they spoil it, so that it be
 desolate, that no man may pass
 through because of the beasts;
 though these three men were in
 it, as I live, saith the Lord
 God, they shall deliver
 neither sons nor daughters;
 they only shall be delivered,
 but the land shall be
 desolate.
 Or if I bring a /sword/ upon
 that land, and say, Sword, go

through the land; so that I
cut off from it man and beast;
though these three men were in
it, as I live, saith the Lord
God, they shall deliver
neither sons nor daughters,
but they only shall be
delivered themselves.

Or if I send a /pestilence/ into
that land, and pour out my
fury upon it in blood, to cut
off from it man and beast;
though Noah, Daniel, and Job,
were in it, as I live, saith
the Lord God, they shall
deliver neither son nor
daughter; they shall but
deliver their own souls by
their righteousness.

[1] Both Babylonian words are in the singular, but probably used collectively, as is the case with their Hebrew equivalent in Ezek. xiv. 15.

It will be seen that, of the four kinds of divine punishment mentioned, three accurately correspond in both compositions. Famine and pestilence occur in both, while the lions and leopards of the Epic find an equivalent in "noisome beasts". The sword is not referred to in the Epic, but as this had already threatened Jerusalem at the time of the prophecy's utterance its inclusion by Ezekiel was inevitable. Moreover, the fact that Noah should be named in the refrain, as the first of the three proverbial examples of righteousness, shows that Ezekiel had the Deluge in his mind, and increases the significance of the underlying parallel between his argument and that of the Babylonian poet.[1] It may be added that Ezekiel has thrown his prophecy into poetical form, and the metre of the two passages in the Babylonian and Hebrew is, as Dr. Daiches points out, not dissimilar.

[1] This suggestion is in some measure confirmed by the /Biblical Antiquities of Philo/, ascribed by Dr. James to the closing years of the first century A.D.; for its writer, in his account of the Flood, has actually used Ezek. xiv. 12 ff. in order to elaborate the divine speech in Gen. viii. 21 f. This will be seen from the following extract, in which the passage interpolated between verses 21 and 22 of Gen. viii is enclosed within brackets: "And God said: I will not again curse the earth for man's sake, for the

guise of man's heart hath left off (sic) from his youth. And therefore I will not again destroy together all living as I have done. [But it shall be, when the dwellers upon earth have sinned, I will judge them by /famine/ or by the /sword/ or by fire or by /pestilence/ (lit. death), and there shall be earthquakes, and they shall be scattered into places not inhabited (or, the places of their habitation shall be scattered). But I will not again spoil the earth with the water of a flood, and] in all the days of the earth seed time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and autumn, day and night shall not cease . . ."; see James, /The Biblical Antiquities of Philo/, p. 81, iii. 9. Here wild beasts are omitted, and fire, earthquakes, and exile are added; but famine, sword, and pestilence are prominent, and the whole passage is clearly suggested by Ezekiel. As a result of the combination, we have in the /Biblical Antiquities/ a complete parallel to the passage in the Gilgamesh Epic.

It may of course be urged that wild beasts, famine, and pestilence are such obvious forms of divine punishment that their enumeration by both writers is merely due to chance. But the parallelism should be considered with the other possible points of connexion, namely, the fact that each writer is dealing with discrimination in divine punishments of a wholesale character, and that while the one is inspired by the Babylonian tradition of the Flood, the other takes the hero of the Hebrew Flood story as the first of his selected types of righteousness. It is possible that Ezekiel may have heard the Babylonian Version recited after his arrival on the Chebar. And assuming that some form of the story had long been a cherished tradition of the Hebrews themselves, we could understand his intense interest in finding it confirmed by the Babylonians, who would show him where their Flood had taken place. To a man of his temperament, the one passage in the Babylonian poem that would have made a special appeal would have been that quoted above, where the poet urges that divine vengeance should be combined with mercy, and that all, righteous and wicked alike, should not again be destroyed. A problem continually in Ezekiel's thoughts was this very question of wholesale divine punishment, as exemplified in the case of Judah; and it would not have been unlikely that the literary structure of the Babylonian extract may have influenced the form in which he embodied his own conclusions.

But even if we regard this suggestion as unproved or improbable, Ezekiel's reference to Noah surely presupposes that at least some version of the Flood story was familiar to the Hebrews before the Captivity. And this conclusion is confirmed by other Babylonian parallels in the early chapters of Genesis, in which oral tradition

rather than documentary borrowing must have played the leading part.[1] Thus Babylonian parallels may be cited for many features in the story of Paradise,[2] though no equivalent of the story itself has been recovered. In the legend of Adapa, for example, wisdom and immortality are the prerogative of the gods, and the winning of immortality by man is bound up with eating the Food of Life and drinking the Water of Life; here too man is left with the gift of wisdom, but immortality is withheld. And the association of winged guardians with the Sacred Tree in Babylonian art is at least suggestive of the Cherubim and the Tree of Life. The very site of Eden has now been identified in Southern Babylonia by means of an old boundary-stone acquired by the British Museum a year or two ago.[3]

[1] See Loisy, */Les mythes babyloniens/*, pp. 10 ff., and cf. S. Reinach, */Cultes, Mythes et Religions/*, t. II, pp. 386 ff.

[2] Cf. especially Skinner, */Genesis/*, pp. 90 ff. For the latest discussion of the Serpent and the Tree of Life, suggested by Dr. Skinner's summary of the evidence, see Frazer in */Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway/* (1913), pp. 413 ff.

[3] See */Babylonian Boundary Stones in the British Museum/* (1912), pp. 76 ff., and cf. */Geographical Journal/*, Vol. XL, No. 2 (Aug., 1912), p. 147. For the latest review of the evidence relating to the site of Paradise, see Boissier, "La situation du paradis terrestre", in */Le Globe/*, t. LV, *Mémoires* (Geneva, 1916).

But I need not now detain you by going over this familiar ground. Such possible echoes from Babylon seem to suggest pre-exilic influence rather than late borrowing, and they surely justify us in inquiring to what periods of direct or indirect contact, earlier than the Captivity, the resemblances between Hebrew and Babylonian ideas may be traced. One point, which we may regard as definitely settled by our new material, is that these stories of the Creation and of the early history of the world were not of Semitic origin. It is no longer possible to regard the Hebrew and Babylonian Versions as descended from common Semitic originals. For we have now recovered some of those originals, and they are not Semitic but Sumerian. The question thus resolves itself into an inquiry as to periods during which the Hebrews may have come into direct or indirect contact with Babylonia.

There are three pre-exilic periods at which it has been suggested the Hebrews, or the ancestors of the race, may have acquired a knowledge of Babylonian traditions. The earliest of these is the age of the patriarchs, the traditional ancestors of the Hebrew nation. The second period is that of the settlement in Canaan, which we may put from 1200

B.C. to the establishment of David's kingdom at about 1000 B.C. The third period is that of the later Judaeian monarch, from 734 B.C. to 586 B.C., the date of the fall of Jerusalem; and in this last period there are two reigns of special importance in this connexion, those of Ahaz (734-720 B.C.) and Manasseh (693-638 B.C.).

With regard to the earliest of these periods, those who support the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch may quite consistently assume that Abraham heard the legends in Ur of the Chaldees. And a simple retention of the traditional view seems to me a far preferable attitude to any elaborate attempt at rationalizing it. It is admitted that Arabia was the cradle of the Semitic race; and the most natural line of advance from Arabia to Aram and thence to Palestine would be up the Euphrates Valley. Some writers therefore assume that nomad tribes, personified in the traditional figure of Abraham, may have camped for a time in the neighbourhood of Ur and Babylon; and that they may have carried the Babylonian stories with them in their wanderings, and continued to preserve them during their long subsequent history. But, even granting that such nomads would have taken any interest in traditions of settled folk, this view hardly commends itself. For stories received from foreign sources become more and more transformed in the course of centuries.[1] The vivid Babylonian colouring of the Genesis narratives cannot be reconciled with this explanation of their source.

[1] This objection would not of course apply to M. Naville's suggested solution, that cuneiform tablets formed the medium of transmission. But its author himself adds that he does not deny its conjectural character; see *The Text of the Old Testament* (Schweich Lectures, 1915), p. 32.

A far greater number of writers hold that it was after their arrival in Palestine that the Hebrew patriarchs came into contact with Babylonian culture. It is true that from an early period Syria was the scene of Babylonian invasions, and in the first lecture we noted some newly recovered evidence upon this point. Moreover, the dynasty to which Hammurabi belonged came originally from the north-eastern border of Canaan and Hammurabi himself exercised authority in the west. Thus a plausible case could be made out by exponents of this theory, especially as many parallels were noted between the Mosaic legislation and that contained in Hammurabi's Code. But it is now generally recognized that the features common to both the Hebrew and the Babylonian legal systems may be paralleled to-day in the Semitic East and elsewhere,[1] and cannot therefore be cited as evidence of cultural contact. Thus the hypothesis that the Hebrew patriarchs were subjects of Babylon in Palestine is not required as an explanation of

the facts; and our first period still stands or falls by the question of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, which must be decided on quite other grounds. Those who do not accept the traditional view will probably be content to rule this first period out.

[1] See Cook, /The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi/, p. 281 f.; Driver, /Genesis/, p. xxxvi f.; and cf. Johns, "The Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples/ (Schweich Lectures, 1912), pp. 50 ff.

During the second period, that of the settlement in Canaan, the Hebrews came into contact with a people who had used the Babylonian language as the common medium of communication throughout the Near East. It is an interesting fact that among the numerous letters found at Tell el-Amarna were two texts of quite a different character. These were legends, both in the form of school exercises, which had been written out for practice in the Babylonian tongue. One of them was the legend of Adapa, in which we noted just now a distant resemblance to the Hebrew story of Paradise. It seems to me we are here standing on rather firmer ground; and provisionally we might place the beginning of our process after the time of Hebrew contact with the Canaanites.

Under the earlier Hebrew monarchy there was no fresh influx of Babylonian culture into Palestine. That does not occur till our last main period, the later Judaeen monarchy, when, in consequence of the westward advance of Assyria, the civilization of Babylon was once more carried among the petty Syrian states. Israel was first drawn into the circle of Assyrian influence, when Arab fought as the ally of Benhadad of Damascus at the battle of Karkar in 854 B.C.; and from that date onward the nation was menaced by the invading power. In 734 B.C., at the invitation of Ahaz of Judah, Tiglath-Pileser IV definitely intervened in the affairs of Israel. For Ahaz purchased his help against the allied armies of Israel and Syria in the Syro-Ephraimitish war. Tiglath-pileser threw his forces against Damascus and Israel, and Ahaz became his vassal.[1] To this period, when Ahaz, like Panammu II, "ran at the wheel of his lord, the king of Assyria", we may ascribe the first marked invasion of Assyrian influence over Judah. Traces of it may be seen in the altar which Ahaz caused to be erected in Jerusalem after the pattern of the Assyrian altar at Damascus.[2] We saw in the first lecture, in the monuments we have recovered of Panammu I and of Bar-rekub, how the life of another small Syrian state was inevitably changed and thrown into new channels by the presence of Tiglath-pileser and his armies in the West.

[1] 2 Kings xvi. 7 ff.

[2] 2 Kings xvi. 10 ff.

Hezekiah's resistance checked the action of Assyrian influence on Judah for a time. But it was intensified under his son Manasseh, when Judah again became tributary to Assyria, and in the house of the Lord altars were built to all the host of heaven.[1] Towards the close of his long reign Manasseh himself was summoned by Ashur-bani-pal to Babylon.[2] So when in the year 586 B.C. the Jewish exiles came to Babylon they could not have found in its mythology an entirely new and unfamiliar subject. They must have recognized several of its stories as akin to those they had assimilated and now regarded as their own. And this would naturally have inclined them to further study and comparison.

[1] 2 Kings xxi. 5.

[2] Cf. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11 ff.

The answer I have outlined to this problem is the one that appears to me most probable, but I do not suggest that it is the only possible one that can be given. What I do suggest is that the Hebrews must have gained some acquaintance with the legends of Babylon in pre-exilic times. And it depends on our reading of the evidence into which of the three main periods the beginning of the process may be traced.

So much, then, for the influence of Babylon. We have seen that no similar problem arises with regard to the legends of Egypt. At first sight this may seem strange, for Egypt lay nearer than Babylon to Palestine, and political and commercial intercourse was at least as close. We have already noted how Egypt influenced Semitic art, and how she offered an ideal, on the material side of her existence, which was readily adopted by her smaller neighbours. Moreover, the Joseph traditions in Genesis give a remarkably accurate picture of ancient Egyptian life; and even the Egyptian proper names embedded in that narrative may be paralleled with native Egyptian names than that to which the traditions refer. Why then is it that the actual myths and legends of Egypt concerning the origin of the world and its civilization should have failed to impress the Hebrew mind, which, on the other hand, was so responsive to those of Babylon?

One obvious answer would be, that it was Nebuchadnezzar II, and not Necho, who carried the Jews captive. And we may readily admit that the Captivity must have tended to perpetuate and intensify the effects of any Babylonian influence that may have previously been felt. But I think there is a wider and in that sense a better answer than that.

I do not propose to embark at this late hour on what ethnologists know as the "Hamitic" problem. But it is a fact that many striking parallels to Egyptian religious belief and practice have been traced among races of the Sudan and East Africa. These are perhaps in part to be explained as the result of contact and cultural inheritance. But at the same time they are evidence of an African, but non-Negroid, substratum in the religion of ancient Egypt. In spite of his proto-Semitic strain, the ancient Egyptian himself never became a Semite. The Nile Valley, at any rate until the Moslem conquest, was stronger than its invaders; it received and moulded them to its own ideal. This quality was shared in some degree by the Euphrates Valley. But Babylonia was not endowed with Egypt's isolation; she was always open on the south and west to the Arabian nomad, who at a far earlier period sealed her Semitic type.

To such racial division and affinity I think we may confidently trace the influence exerted by Egypt and Babylon respectively upon Hebrew tradition.

APPENDIX I

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE SUMERIAN, SEMITIC-BABYLONIAN, HELLENISTIC, AND HEBREW VERSIONS OF CREATION, ANTEDILUVIAN HISTORY, AND THE DELUGE

N.B.--Parallels with the new Sumerian Version are in upper-case.

Sumerian Version.	Seven Tablets	Gilgamesh Epic, XI	
Berossus['Damscius]	Earlier Heb. (J)	Later Heb. (P)	
[No heaven or earth and water	No heaven or earth		Darkness
Creation of earth	Earth without form		
First Creation from water-	Primaeval water-		[Primaeval
and heaven	and void; darkness		
primaeval water	gods: Apsû-Tiamat,		gods:
{'Apon-	No plant or herb	on face of /tehôm/,	
without conflict;	Mummu		Tauthe},
{Moumis}	Ground watered by	the primaeval water	
cf. Later Sum. Ver.	Generation of:		Generation
of:	mist (or flood)	Divine spirit moving	
	Lakhmu-Lakhamu		
{Lakhos-Lakhe}	[cf. Sumerian	(hovering, brooding)	
	Anshar-Kishar		
{'Assoros-Kissare}	irrigation myth of	upon face of waters	

Creation]

The great gods: gods: ANU, ENLIL, ENKI, 'Illinos, and Ninkharsagga, 'Aois-Lauke, creating deities {'Omorka}, {Thamte}, by heaven and two halves Thamte emergence of land Creation of vegetation luminaries order)	Birth of great gods: ANU, Nudimmud (=EA) Apsû and Tiamat revolt Conquest of Tiamat Creation of light by Marduk as Sun- god Creation of covering Creation of firmament, for heaven from or heaven, to divide half of Tiamat's waters; followed by body, to keep her waters in place Creation of luminaries Creation of luminaries [Creation of Creation of animals vegetation]	Birth of great {'Anos, 'Aos, Belos] Conquest of or {Belos} Creation of earth from of body of Creation of (probable Creation of Creator's from earth Creation of able to
REASON FOR MAN'S CREATION: worship of gods Creation of MAN MAN from blood and breath of life Creation of ANIMALS ANIMALS bear the air	REASON FOR MAN'S CREATION: worship of gods Creation of MAN from Creation of MAN from Creator's blood and dust and Creator's from bone have dominion [Creation of animals] Creation of vegetation Hymn on Seventh Tablet ANIMALS, and woman Rest on Seventh Day	10
Creation of KINGDOM Antediluvian KINGS	The line of Cain Antediluvian	

5 ANTEDILUVIAN CITIES: ANTEDILUVIAN CITIES: The Nephilim [cf. Eridu, Bad., LARAK, Babylon, SIPPAR, Sumerian Dynastic SIPPAR, SHURUPPAK LARANKHA List]	Antediluvian city: 3 patriarchs [cf. SHURUPPAK Sumerian Dynastic List]
Gods decree MANKIND'S Destruction of MAN destruction by flood, decreed, because of NINTU protesting his wickedness	Gods decree flood, Destruction of all flesh decreed, because of its corruption goddess ISHTAR protesting
ZIUSUDU, hero of {Xisouthros} Deluge, KING and (=Khasisatra), hero priest KING	UT-NAPISHTIM, hero Noah, hero of Deluge of Deluge, of Deluge,
Ziusudu's PIETY Noah's FAVOUR	Noah's RIGHTEOUSNESS
WARNING of Ziusudu by WARNING of Xisuthros Enki in DREAM Kronos in DREAM	WARNING of Ut-nap- WARNING of Noah, and ishtim by Ea in DREAM by instructions for ark
Ziusudu's vessel a SHIP: 5x2 Instructions to enter HUGE SHIP ark cubits; 3 stories	SHIP: 120x120x120 Size of Size of ARK: 300x50x30 cubits; 7 stories; 9 stadia divisions
animals 7(x2) clean, 2 unclean	All kinds of animals All kinds of 2 of all animals
Flood and STORM for 7 FLOOD from rain for 40 days days	FLOOD from heavy rain FLOOD and STORM for 6 days and rain, 150 days
Ark on Ararat	Ship on Mt. Nisir

waters	Abatement of waters	Abatement of waters	Abatement of waters	Abatement of
birds	tested by birds	tested by birds	tested by birds	tested by
		through drying wind		
SACRIFICE to Sun-god			SACRIFICE with sweet	
SACRIFICE to gods,	SACRIFICE with sweet	Landing from ark [after		
in ship		savour on mountain		after landing
and	savour after landing	year (+10 days)]		
				paying
adoration to				EARTH
Anu and Enlil appeased		Ea's protest to ENLIL		
APOTHEOSIS of X.,	Divine promise to Noah	Divine covenant not		
[by "Heaven and Earth"]		IMMORTALITY of Ut-nap-	wife,	
daughter, and	not again to curse	again to destroy EARTH		
IMMORTALITY of Ziusudu		ishtim and his wife	pilot	
the GROUND	by flood; bow as sign			

APPENDIX II

THE ANTEDILUVIAN KINGS OF BEROSSUS AND THE SUMERIAN DYNASTIC LIST

It may be of assistance to the reader to repeat in tabular form the equivalents to the mythical kings of Berossus which are briefly discussed in Lecture I. In the following table the two new equations, obtained from the earliest section of the Sumerian Dynastic List, are in upper-case.[1] The established equations to other names are in normal case, while those for which we should possibly seek other equivalents are enclosed within brackets.[2] Aruru has not been included as a possible equivalent for {'Aloros}.[3]

1. {'Aloros}	
2. {'Alaparos [? 'Adaparos]}, /Alaporus/, /Alapaurus/	[Adapa]
3. {'Amelon, 'Amillaros}, /Almelon/	[Amêlu]
4. {'Ammenon}	ENMENUMNA
5. {Megalaros, Megalanos}, /Amegalarus/	
6. {Daonos, Daos}	ETANA
7. {Euedorakhos, Euedoreskhos}, /Edoranchus/	Enmeduranki
8. {'Amemphinos}, /Amemphsinus/	[Amêl-Sin]
9. {'Otiartes [? 'Opartes]}	[Ubar-Tutu]
10. {Xisouthros, Sisouthros, Sisithros}	Khasisatra, Atrakhasis[4]

- [1] For the royal names of Berossus, see /Euseb. chron. lib. pri./, ed. Schoene, cols. 7 f., 31 ff. The latinized variants correspond to forms in the Armenian translation of Eusebius.
- [2] For the principal discussions of equivalents, see Hommel, /Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch./, Vol. XV (1893), pp. 243 ff., and /Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das Alte Testament/ (1902), pp. 23 ff.; Zimmern, /Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament/, 3rd ed. (1902), pp. 531 ff.; and cf. Lenormant, /Les origines de l'histoire/, I (1880), pp. 214 ff. See also Driver, /Genesis/, 10th ed. (1916), p. 80 f.; Skinner, /Genesis/, p. 137 f.; Ball, /Genesis/, p. 50; and Gordon, /Early Traditions of Genesis/, pp. 46 ff.
- [3] There is a suggested equation of Lal-ur-alimma with {'Aloros}.
- [4] The hundred and twenty "sars", or 432,000 years assigned by Berossus for the duration of the Antediluvian dynasty, are distributed as follows among the ten kings; the numbers are given below first in "sars", followed by their equivalents in years within brackets: 1. Ten "sars" (36,000); 2. Three (10,800); 3. Thirteen (46,800); 4. Twelve (43,200); 5. Eighteen (64,800); 6. Ten (36,000); 7. Eighteen (64,800); 8. Ten (36,000); 9. Eight (28,800); 10. Eighteen (64,800).

For comparison with Berossus it may be useful to abstract from the Sumerian Dynastic List the royal names occurring in the earliest extant dynasties. They are given below with variant forms from duplicate copies of the list, and against each is added the number of years its owner is recorded to have ruled. The figures giving the total duration of each dynasty, either in the summaries or under the separate reigns, are sometimes not completely preserved; in such cases an x is added to the total of the figures still legible. Except in those cases referred to in the foot-notes, all the names are written in the Sumerian lists without the determinative for "god".

KINGDOM OF KISH

(23 kings; 18,000 + x years, 3 months, 3 days)

...[1]		
8. [. . .]	900(?) years	
9. Galumum, Kalumum	900	"
10. Zugagib, Zugakib	830	"
11. Arpi, Arpiu, Arbum	720	"
12. Etana[2]	635 (or 625) years	

13. Pili . . .[3]	410 years
14. Enmenunna, Enmennunna[4]	611 "
15. Melamkish	900 "
16. Barsalnunna	1,200 "
17. Mesza[. . .]	[. . .] "
. . .[5]	
22. . . .	900 years
23. . . .	625 "

KINGDOM OF EANNA (ERECH)[6]
(About 10-12 kings; 2,171 + x years)

1. Meskingasher	325 years
2. Enmerkar	420 "
3. Lugalbanda[7]	1,200 "
4. Dumuzi[8] (i.e. Tammuz)	100 "
5. Gishbilgames[9] (i.e. Gilgamesh)	126 (or 186) years
6. [. . .]lugal	[. . .] years
. . .[10]	

KINGDOM OF UR
(4 kings; 171 years)

1. Mesannipada	80 years
2. Meskiagnunna	30 "
3. Elu[. . .]	25 "
4. Balu[. . .]	36 "

KINGDOM OF AWAN
(3 kings; 356 years)

. . .[11]

[1] Gap of seven, or possibly eight, names.

[2] The name Etana is written in the lists with and without the determinative for "god".

[3] The reading of the last sign in the name is unknown. A variant form of the name possibly begins with Bali.

[4] This form is given on a fragment of a late Assyrian copy of the list; cf. /Studies in Eastern History/, Vol. III, p. 143.

[5] Gap of four, or possibly three, names.

[6] Eanna was the great temple of Erech. In the Second Column of the list "the kingdom" is recorded to have passed from Kish to Eanna, but the latter name does not occur in the summary.

[7] The name Lugalbanda is written in the lists with and without the determinative for "god".

[8] The name Dumuzi is written in the list with the determinative for "god".

[9] The name Gishbilgames is written in the list with the determinative for "god".

[10] Gap of about four, five, or six kings.

[11] Wanting.

At this point a great gap occurs in our principal list. The names of some of the missing "kingdoms" may be inferred from the summaries, but their relative order is uncertain. Of two of them we know the duration, a second Kingdom of Ur containing four kings and lasting for a hundred and eight years, and another kingdom, the name of which is not preserved, consisting of only one king who ruled for seven years. The dynastic succession only again becomes assured with the opening of the Dynastic chronicle published by Père Scheil and recently acquired by the British Museum. It will be noted that with the Kingdom of Ur the separate reigns last for decades and not hundreds of years each, so that we here seem to approach genuine tradition, though the Kingdom of Awan makes a partial reversion to myth so far as its duration is concerned. The two suggested equations with Antediluvian kings of Berossus both occur in the earliest Kingdom of Kish and lie well within the Sumerian mythical period. The second of the rulers concerned, Enmenunna (Ammenon), is placed in Sumerian tradition several thousand years before the reputed succession of the gods Lugalbanda and Tammuz and of the national hero Gilgamesh to the throne of Erech. In the first lecture some remarkable points of general resemblance have already been pointed out between Hebrew and Sumerian traditions of these early ages of the world.

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THE RELIGION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

BY

THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, LL.D.

Lecturer in Assyrian at University College, London,
Author of "The Old Testament in the Light of the
Records of Assyria and Babylonia"; "The Bronze
Ornaments of the Palace Gates of Balewat" etc. etc.

PREPARER'S NOTE

The original text contains a number of characters that are not available even in 8-bit Windows text, such as H with a breve below it in Hammurabi, S with a breve, S and T with a dot below them, U with macron, and superscript M in Tašmêtum. These have been left in the e-text as the base letter.

The 8-bit version of this text includes Windows font characters like S with a caron above it (pronounced /sh/) as in Šamaš, etc. These may be lost in 7-bit versions of the text, or when viewed with different fonts.

Greek text has been transliterated within brackets "{}" using an Oxford English Dictionary alphabet table. Diacritical marks have been lost.

THE RELIGION OF THE BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS

CHAPTER I

FOREWORD

Position, and Period.

The religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians was the polytheistic faith professed by the peoples inhabiting the Tigris and Euphrates valleys from what may be regarded as the dawn of history until the Christian era began, or, at least, until the inhabitants were brought under the influence of Christianity. The chronological period covered may be roughly estimated at about 5000 years. The belief of the people, at the end of that time, being Babylonian heathenism leavened with Judaism, the country was probably ripe for the reception of the new faith. Christianity, however, by no means replaced the earlier polytheism, as is evidenced by the fact, that the worship of Nebo and the gods associated with him continued until the fourth century of the Christian era.

By whom followed.

It was the faith of two distinct peoples--the Sumero-Akkadians, and the Assyro-Babylonians. In what country it had its beginnings is unknown--it comes before us, even at the earliest period, as a faith already well-developed, and from that fact, as well as from the names of the numerous deities, it is clear that it began with the former race--the Sumero-Akkadians--who spoke a non-Semitic language largely affected by phonetic decay, and in which the grammatical forms had in certain cases become confused to such an extent that those who study it ask themselves whether the people who spoke it were able to understand each other without recourse to devices such as the "tones" to which the Chinese resort. With few exceptions, the names of the gods which the inscriptions reveal to us are all derived from this non-Semitic language, which furnishes us with satisfactory etymologies for such names as Merodach, Nergal, Sin, and the divinities mentioned in Berosus and Damascius, as well as those of hundreds of deities revealed to us by the tablets and slabs of Babylonia and Assyria.

The documents.

Outside the inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria, there is but little bearing upon the religion of those countries, the most important fragment being the extracts from Berosus and Damascius referred to above. Among the Babylonian and Assyrian remains, however, we have an extensive and valuable mass of material, dating from the fourth or fifth millennium before Christ until the disappearance of the Babylonian system of writing about the beginning of the Christian era. The earlier inscriptions are mostly of the nature of records, and give information about the deities and the religion of the people in the

course of descriptions of the building and rebuilding of temples, the making of offerings, the performance of ceremonies, etc. Purely religious inscriptions are found near the end of the third millennium before Christ, and occur in considerable numbers, either in the original Sumerian text, or in translations, or both, until about the third century before Christ. Among the more recent inscriptions--those from the library of the Assyrian king Aššur-bani-âpli and the later Babylonian temple archives,--there are many lists of deities, with numerous identifications with each other and with the heavenly bodies, and explanations of their natures. It is needless to say that all this material is of enormous value for the study of the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and enables us to reconstruct at first hand their mythological system, and note the changes which took place in the course of their long national existence. Many interesting and entertaining legends illustrate and supplement the information given by the bilingual lists of gods, the bilingual incantations and hymns, and the references contained in the historical and other documents. A trilingual list of gods enables us also to recognise, in some cases, the dialectic forms of their names.

The importance of the subject.

Of equal antiquity with the religion of Egypt, that of Babylonia and Assyria possesses some marked differences as to its development. Beginning among the non-Semitic Sumero-Akkadian population, it maintained for a long time its uninterrupted development, affected mainly by influences from within, namely, the homogeneous local cults which acted and reacted upon each other. The religious systems of other nations did not greatly affect the development of the early non-Semitic religious system of Babylonia. A time at last came, however, when the influence of the Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia and Assyria was not to be gainsaid, and from that moment, the development of their religion took another turn. In all probably this augmentation of Semitic religious influence was due to the increased numbers of the Semitic population, and at the same period the Sumero-Akkadian language began to give way to the Semitic idiom which they spoke. When at last the Semitic Babylonian language came to be used for official documents, we find that, although the non-Semitic divine names are in the main preserved, a certain number of them have been displaced by the Semitic equivalent names, such as Šamaš for the sun-god, with Kittu and Mêšaru ("justice and righteousness") his attendants; Nabú ("the teacher" = Nebo) with his consort Tašmêtu ("the hearer"); Addu, Adad, or Dadu, and Rammanu, Ramimu, or Ragimu = Hadad or Rimmon ("the thunderer"); Bêl and Bêltu (Beltis = "the lord" and "the lady" /par excellence/), with some others of inferior rank. In

place of the chief divinity of each state at the head of each separate pantheon, the tendency was to make Merodach, the god of the capital city Babylon, the head of the pantheon, and he seems to have been universally accepted in Babylonia, like Aššur in Assyria, about 2000 B.C. or earlier.

The uniting of two pantheons.

We thus find two pantheons, the Sumero-Akkadian with its many gods, and the Semitic Babylonian with its comparatively few, united, and forming one apparently homogeneous whole. But the creed had taken a fresh tendency. It was no longer a series of small, and to a certain extent antagonistic, pantheons composed of the chief god, his consort, attendants, children, and servants, but a pantheon of considerable extent, containing all the elements of the primitive but smaller pantheons, with a number of great gods who had raised Merodach to be their king.

In Assyria.

Whilst accepting the religion of Babylonia, Assyria nevertheless kept herself distinct from her southern neighbour by a very simple device, by placing at the head of the pantheon the god Aššur, who became for her the chief of the gods, and at the same time the emblem of her distinct national aspirations--for Assyria had no intention whatever of casting in her lot with her southern neighbour. Nevertheless, Assyria possessed, along with the language of Babylonia, all the literature of that country--indeed, it is from the libraries of her kings that we obtain the best copies of the Babylonian religious texts, treasured and preserved by her with all the veneration of which her religious mind was capable,--and the religious fervour of the Oriental in most cases leaves that of the European, or at least of the ordinary Briton, far behind.

The later period in Assyria.

Assyria went to her downfall at the end of the seventh century before Christ worshipping her national god Aššur, whose cult did not cease with the destruction of her national independence. In fact, the city of Aššur, the centre of that worship, continued to exist for a considerable period; but for the history of the religion of Assyria, as preserved there, we wait for the result of the excavations being carried on by the Germans, should they be fortunate enough to obtain

texts belonging to the period following the fall of Nineveh.

In Babylonia.

Babylonia, on the other hand, continued the even tenor of her way. More successful at the end of her independent political career than her northern rival had been, she retained her faith, and remained the unswerving worshipper of Merodach, the great god of Babylon, to whom her priests attributed yet greater powers, and with whom all the other gods were to all appearance identified. This tendency to monotheism, however, never reached the culminating point--never became absolute--except, naturally, in the minds of those who, dissociating themselves, for philosophical reasons, from the superstitious teaching of the priests of Babylonia, decided for themselves that there was but one God, and worshipped Him. That orthodox Jews at that period may have found, in consequence of this monotheistic tendency, converts, is not by any means improbable--indeed, the names met with during the later period imply that converts to Judaism were made.

The picture presented by the study.

Thus we see, from the various inscriptions, both Babylonian and Assyrian--the former of an extremely early period--the growth and development, with at least one branching off, of one of the most important religious systems of the ancient world. It is not so important for modern religion as the development of the beliefs of the Hebrews, but as the creed of the people from which the Hebrew nation sprang, and from which, therefore, it had its beginnings, both corporeal and spiritual, it is such as no student of modern religious systems can afford to neglect. Its legends, and therefore its teachings, as will be seen in these pages, ultimately permeated the Semitic West, and may in some cases even had penetrated Europe, not only through heathen Greece, but also through the early Christians, who, being so many centuries nearer the time of the Assyro-Babylonians, and also nearer the territory which they anciently occupied, than we are, were far better acquainted than the people of the present day with the legends and ideas which they possessed.

CHAPTER II

THE RELIGION OF THE BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS

The Sumero-Akkadians and the Semites.

For the history of the development of the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians much naturally depends upon the composition of the population of early Babylonia. There is hardly any doubt that the Sumero-Akkadians were non-Semites of a fairly pure race, but the country of their origin is still unknown, though a certain relationship with the Mongolian and Turkish nationalities, probably reaching back many centuries--perhaps thousands of years--before the earliest accepted date, may be regarded as equally likely. Equally uncertain is the date of the entry of the Semites, whose language ultimately displaced the non-Semitic Sumero-Akkadian idioms, and whose kings finally ruled over the land. During the third millennium before Christ Semites, bearing Semitic names, and called Amorites, appear, and probably formed the last considerable stratum of tribes of that race which entered the land. The name Martu, the Sumero-Akkadian equivalent of Amurru, "Amorite", is of frequent occurrence also before this period. The eastern Mediterranean coast district, including Palestine and the neighbouring tracts, was known by the Babylonians and Assyrians as the land of the Amorites, a term which stood for the West in general even when these regions no longer bore that name. The Babylonians maintained their claim to sovereignty over that part as long as they possessed the power to do so, and naturally exercised considerable influence there. The existence in Palestine, Syria, and the neighbouring states, of creeds containing the names of many Babylonian divinities is therefore not to be wondered at, and the presence of West Semitic divinities in the religion of the Babylonians need not cause us any surprise.

The Babylonian script and its evidence.

In consequence of the determinative prefix for a god or a goddess being, in the oldest form, a picture of an eight-rayed star, it has been assumed that Assyro-Babylonian mythology is, either wholly or partly, astral in origin. This, however, is by no means certain, the character for "star" in the inscriptions being a combination of three such pictures, and not a single sign. The probability therefore is, that the use of the single star to indicate the name of a divinity arises merely from the fact that the character in question stands for /ana/, "heaven." Deities were evidently thus distinguished by the Babylonians because they regarded them as inhabitants of the realms above--indeed, the heavens being the place where the stars are seen, a picture of a star was the only way of indicating heavenly things. That the gods of the Babylonians were in many cases identified with the

stars and planets is certain, but these identifications seem to have taken place at a comparatively late date. An exception has naturally to be made in the case of the sun and moon, but the god Merodach, if he be, as seems certain, a deified Babylonian king, must have been identified with the stars which bear his name after his worshippers began to pay him divine honours as the supreme deity, and naturally what is true for him may also be so for the other gods whom they worshipped. The identification of some of the deities with stars or planets is, moreover, impossible, and if Êa, the god of the deep, and Anu, the god of the heavens, have their representatives among the heavenly bodies, this is probably the result of later development.[*]

[*] If there be any historical foundation for the statement that Merodach arranged the sun, the moon, the planets, and the stars, assigning to them their proper places and duties--a tradition which would make him the founder of the science of astronomy during his life upon earth--this, too, would tend to the probability that the origin of the gods of the Babylonians was not astral, as has been suggested, but that their identification with the heavenly bodies was introduced during the period of his reign.

Ancestor and hero-worship. The deification of kings.

Though there is no proof that ancestor-worship in general prevailed at any time in Babylonia, it would seem that the worship of heroes and prominent men was common, at least in early times. The tenth chapter of Genesis tells us of the story of Nimrod, who cannot be any other than the Merodach of the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions; and other examples, occurring in semi-mythological times, are /En-we-dur-an-ki/, the Greek Edoreschos, and /Gilgameš/, the Greek Gilgames, though Aelian's story of the latter does not fit in with the account as given by the inscriptions. In later times, the divine prefix is found before the names of many a Babylonian ruler--Sargon of Agadé,[*] Dungi of Ur (about 2500 B.C.), Rim-Sin or Eri-Aku (Arioch of Ellasar, about 2100 B.C.), and others. It was doubtless a kind of flattery to deify and pay these rulers divine honours during their lifetime, and on account of this, it is very probable that their godhood was utterly forgotten, in the case of those who were strictly historical, after their death. The deification of the kings of Babylonia and Assyria is probably due to the fact, that they were regarded as the representatives of God upon earth, and being his chief priests as well as his offspring (the personal names show that it was a common thing to regard children as the gifts of the gods whom their father worshipped), the divine fatherhood thus attributed to them naturally could, in the case of those of royal rank, give them a real claim to divine birth and

honours. An exception is the deification of the Babylonian Noah, Ut-napištim, who, as the legend of the Flood relates, was raised and made one of the gods by Aa or Ea, for his faithfulness after the great catastrophe, when he and his wife were translated to the "remote place at the mouth of the rivers." The hero Gilgameš, on the other hand, was half divine by birth, though it is not exactly known through whom his divinity came.

[*] According to Nabonidus's date 3800 B.C., though many Assyriologists regard this as being a millennium too early.

The earliest form of the Babylonian religion.

The state of development to which the religious system of the Babylonians had attained at the earliest period to which the inscriptions refer naturally precludes the possibility of a trustworthy history of its origin and early growth. There is no doubt, however, that it may be regarded as having reached the stage at which we find it in consequence of there being a number of states in ancient Babylonia (which was at that time like the Heptarchy in England) each possessing its own divinity--who, in its district, was regarded as supreme--with a number of lesser gods forming his court. It was the adding together of all these small pantheons which ultimately made that of Babylonia as a whole so exceedingly extensive. Thus the chief divinity of Babylon, as has already been stated, as Merodach; at Sippar and Larsa the sun-god Šamaš was worshipped; at Ur the moon-god Sin or Nannar; at Erech and Dêr the god of the heavens, Anu; at Muru, Ennigi, and Kakru, the god of the atmosphere, Hadad or Rimmon; at Êridu, the god of the deep, Aa or Êa; at Niffur[*] the god Bel; at Cuthah the god of war, Nergal; at Dailem the god Uraš; at Kiš the god of battle, Zagaga; Lugal-Amarda, the king of Marad, as the city so called; at Opis Zakar, one of the gods of dreams; at Agadé, Nineveh, and Arbela, Ištar, goddess of love and of war; Nina at the city Nina in Babylonia, etc. When the chief deities were masculine, they were naturally all identified with each other, just as the Greeks called the Babylonian Merodach by the name of Zeus; and as Zer-panîtum, the consort of Merodach, was identified with Juno, so the consorts, divine attendants, and children of each chief divinity, as far as they possessed them, could also be regarded as the same, though possibly distinct in their different attributes.

[*] Noufar at present, according to the latest explorers. Layard (1856) has Niffer, Loftus (1857) Niffar. The native spelling is Noufer, due to the French system of phonetics.

How the religion of the Babylonians developed.

The fact that the rise of Merodach to the position of king of the gods was due to the attainment, by the city of Babylon, of the position of capital of all Babylonia, leads one to suspect that the kingly rank of his father Êa, at an earlier period, was due to a somewhat similar cause, and if so, the still earlier kingship of Anu, the god of the heavens, may be in like manner explained. This leads to the question whether the first state to attain to supremacy was Dêr, Anu's seat, and whether Dêr was succeeded by Êridu, of which city Êa was the patron--concerning the importance of Babylon, Merodach's city, later on, there is no doubt whatever. The rise of Anu and Êa to divine overlordship, however, may not have been due to the political supremacy of the cities where they were worshipped--it may have come about simply on account of renown gained through religious enthusiasm due to wonders said to have been performed where they were worshipped, or to the reported discovery of new records concerning their temples, or to the influence of some renowned high-priest, like En-we-dur-an-ki of Sippar, whose devotion undoubtedly brought great renown to the city of his dominion.

Was Animism its original form?

But the question naturally arises, can we go back beyond the indications of the inscriptions? The Babylonians attributed life, in certain not very numerous cases, to such things as trees and plants, and naturally to the winds, and the heavenly bodies. Whether they regarded stones, rocks, mountains, storms, and rain in the same way, however, is doubtful, but it may be taken for granted, that the sea, with all its rivers and streams, was regarded as animated with the spirit of Êa and his children, whilst the great cities and temple-towers were pervaded with the spirit of the god whose abode they were. Innumerable good and evil spirits were believed in, such as the spirit of the mountain, the sea, the plain, and the grave. These spirits were of various kinds, and bore names which do not always reveal their real character--such as the /edimmu/, /utukku/, /šêdu/, /ašakku/ (spirit of fevers), /namtaru/ (spirit of fate), /âlû/ (regarded as the spirit of the south wind), /gallu/, /rabisu/, /labartu/, /labasu/, /ahhazu/ (the seizer), /lilu/ and /lilithu/ (male and female spirits of the mist), with their attendants.

All this points to animism as the pervading idea of the worship of the peoples of the Babylonian states in the prehistoric period--the attribution of life to every appearance of nature. The question is,

however, Is the evidence of the inscriptions sufficient to make this absolutely certain? It is hard to believe that such intelligent people, as the primitive Babylonians naturally were, believed that such things as stones, rocks, mountains, storms, and rain were, in themselves, and apart from the divinity which they regarded as presiding over them, living things. A stone might be a /bît îli/ or bethel--a "house of god," and almost invested with the status of a living thing, but that does not prove that the Babylonians thought of every stone as being endowed with life, even in prehistoric times. Whilst, therefore, there are traces of a belief similar to that which an animistic creed might be regarded as possessing, it must be admitted that these seemingly animistic doctrines may have originated in another way, and be due to later developments. The power of the gods to create living things naturally makes possible the belief that they had also power to endow with a soul, and therefore with life and intelligence, any seemingly inanimate object. Such was probably the nature of Babylonian animism, if it may be so called. The legend of Tiawthu (Tiawath) may with great probability be regarded as the remains of a primitive animism which was the creed of the original and comparatively uncivilised Babylonians, who saw in the sea the producer and creator of all the monstrous shapes which are found therein; but any development of this idea in other directions was probably cut short by the priests, who must have realised, under the influence of the doctrine of the divine rise to perfection, that animism in general was altogether incompatible with the creed which they professed.

Image-worship and Sacred Stones.

Whether image-worship was original among the Babylonians and Assyrians is uncertain, and improbable; the tendency among the people in early times being to venerate sacred stones and other inanimate objects. As has been already pointed out, the {diopetres} of the Greeks was probably a meteorite, and stones marking the position of the Semitic bethels were probably, in their origin, the same. The boulders which were sometimes used for boundary-stones may have been the representations of these meteorites in later times, and it is noteworthy that the Sumerian group for "iron," /an-bar/, implies that the early Babylonians only knew of that metal from meteoric ironstone. The name of the god Nirig or Ênu-rêštu (Ninip) is generally written with the same group, implying some kind of connection between the two --the god and the iron. In a well-known hymn to that deity certain stones are mentioned, one of them being described as the "poison-tooth"[*] coming forth on the mountain, recalling the sacred rocks at Jerusalem and Mecca. Boundary-stones in Babylonia were not sacred objects except in so far as they were sculptured with the signs of the

gods.[†] With regard to the Babylonian bethels, very little can be said, their true nature being uncertain, and their number, to all appearance, small. Gifts were made to them, and from this fact it would seem that they were temples--true "houses of god," in fact--probably containing an image of the deity, rather than a stone similar to those referred to in the Old Testament.

[*] So called, probably, not because it sent forth poison, but on account of its likeness to a serpent's fang.

[†] Notwithstanding medical opinion, their phallic origin is doubtful. One is sculptured in the form of an Eastern castellated fortress.

Idols.

With the Babylonians, the gods were represented by means of stone images at a very early date, and it is possible that wood was also used. The tendency of the human mind being to attribute to the Deity a human form, the Babylonians were no exception to the rule. Human thoughts and feelings would naturally accompany the human form with which the minds of men endowed them. Whether the gross human passions attributed to the gods of Babylonia in Herodotus be of early date or not is uncertain--a late period, when the religion began to degenerate, would seem to be the more probable.

The adoration of sacred objects.

It is probable that objects belonging to or dedicated to deities were not originally worshipped--they were held as divine in consequence of their being possessed or used by a deity, like the bow of Merodach, placed in the heavens as a constellation, etc. The cities where the gods dwelt on earth, their temples, their couches, the chariot of the sun in his temple-cities, and everything existing in connection with their worship, were in all probability regarded as divine simply in so far as they belonged to a god. Sacrifices offered to them, and invocations made to them, were in all likelihood regarded as having been made to the deity himself, the possessions of the divinity being, in the minds of the Babylonians, pervaded with his spirit. In the case of rivers, these were divine as being the children and offspring of Enki (Aa or Êa), the god of the ocean.

Holy places.

In a country which was originally divided into many small states, each having its own deities, and, to a certain extent, its own religious system, holy places were naturally numerous. As the spot where they placed Paradise, Babylonia was itself a holy place, but in all probability this idea is late, and only came into existence after the legends of the creation and the rise of Merodach to the kingship of heaven had become elaborated into one homogeneous whole.

An interesting list.

One of the most interesting documents referring to the holy places of Babylonia is a tiny tablet found at Nineveh, and preserved in the British Museum. This text begins with the word Tiaawthu "the sea," and goes on to enumerate, in turn, Tilmun (identified with the island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf); Engurra (the Abyss, the abode of Enki or Êa), with numerous temples and shrines, including "the holy house," "the temple of the seer of heaven and earth," "the abode of Zerpânîtum," consort of Merodach, "the throne of the holy place," "the temple of the region of Hades," "the supreme temple of life," "the temple of the ear of the corn-deity," with many others, the whole list containing what may be regarded as the chief sanctuaries of the land, to the number of thirty-one. Numerous other similar and more extensive lists, enumerating every shrine and temple in the country, also exist, though in a very imperfect state, and in addition to these, many holy places are referred to in the bilingual, historical, and other inscriptions. All the great cities of Babylonia, moreover, were sacred places, the chief in renown and importance in later days being the great city of Babylon, where Ê-sagila, "the temple of the high head," in which was apparently the shrine called "the temple of the foundation of heaven and earth," held the first place. This building is called by Nebuchadnezzar "the temple-tower of Babylon," and may better be regarded as the site of the Biblical "Tower of Babel" than the traditional foundation, Ê-zida, "the everlasting temple," in Borsippa (the Birs Nimroud)--notwithstanding that Borsippa was called the "second Babylon," and its temple-tower "the supreme house of life."

The Tower of Babel.

Though quite close to Babylon, there is no doubt that Borsippa was a most important religious centre, and this leads to the possibility, that its great temple may have disputed with "the house of the high head," Ê-sagila in Babylon, the honour of being the site of the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of mankind. There is no doubt,

however, that Ê-sagila has the prior claim, it being the temple of the supreme god of the later Babylonian pantheon, the counterpart of the God of the Hebrews who commanded the changing of the speech of the people assembled there. Supposing the confusion of tongues to have been a Babylonian legend as well as a Hebrew one (as is possible) it would be by command of Merodach rather than that of Nebo that such a thing would have taken place. Ê-sagila, which is now the ruin known as the mount of Amran ibn Ali, is the celebrated temple of Belus which Alexander and Philip attempted to restore.

In addition to the legend of the confusion of tongues, it is probable that there were many similar traditions attached to the great temples of Babylonia, and as time goes on, and the excavations bring more material, a large number of them will probably be recovered. Already we have an interesting and poetical record of the entry of Bel and Beltis into the great temple at Niffer, probably copied from some ancient source, and Gudea, a king of Lagaš (Telloh), who reigned about 2700 B.C., gives an account of the dream which he saw, in which he was instructed by the gods to build or rebuild the temple of Nin-Girsu in his capital city.

Ê-sagila according to Herodotus.

As the chief fane in the land after Babylon became the capital, and the type of many similar erections, Ê-sagila, the temple of Belus, merits just a short notice. According to Herodotus, it was a massive tower within an enclosure measuring 400 yards each way, and provided with gates of brass, or rather bronze. The tower within consisted of a kind of step-pyramid, the stages being seven in number (omitting the lowest, which was the platform forming the foundation of the structure). A winding ascent gave access to the top, where was a chapel or shrine, containing no statue, but regarded by the Babylonians as the abode of the god. Lower down was another shrine, in which was placed a great statue of Zeus (Bel-Merodach) sitting, with a large table before it. Both statue and table are said to have been of gold, as were also the throne and the steps. Outside the sanctuary (on the ramp, apparently) were two altars, one small and made of gold, whereon only unweaned lambs were sacrificed, and the other larger, for full-grown victims.

A Babylonian description.

In 1876 the well-known Assyriologist, Mr. George Smith, was fortunate enough to discover a Babylonian description of this temple, of which

he published a /précis/. According to this document, there were two courts of considerable extent, the smaller within the larger--neither of them was square, but oblong. Six gates admitted to the temple-area surrounding the platform upon which the tower was built. The platform is stated to have been square and walled, with four gates facing the cardinal points. Within this wall was a building connected with the great /zikkurat/ or tower--the principal edifice--round which were chapels or temples to the principal gods, on all four sides, and facing the cardinal points--that to Nebo and Tašmîr being on the east, to Aa or Êa and Nusku on the north, Anu and Bel on the south, and the series of buildings on the west, consisting of a double house--a small court between two wings, was evidently the shrine of Merodach (Belos). In these western chambers stood the couch of the god, and the golden throne mentioned by Herodotus, besides other furniture of great value. The couch was given as being 9 cubits long by 4 broad, about as many feet in each case, or rather more.

The centre of these buildings was the great /zikkurat/, or temple-tower, square on its plan, and with the sides facing the cardinal points. The lowest stage was 15 /gar/ square by 5 1/2 high (Smith, 300 feet by 110), and the wall, in accordance with the usual Babylonian custom, seems to have been ornamented with recessed groovings. The second stage was 13 /gar/ square by 3 in height (Smith, 260 by 60 feet). He conjectured, from the expression used, that it had sloping sides. Stages three to five were each one /gar/ (Smith, 20 feet) high, and respectively 10 /gar/ (Smith, 200 feet), 8 1/2 /gar/ (170 feet), and 7 /gar/ (140 feet) square. The dimensions of the sixth stage are omitted, probably by accident, but Smith conjectures that they were in proportion to those which precede. His description omits also the dimensions of the seventh stage, but he gives those of the sanctuary of Belus, which was built upon it. This was 4 /gar/ long, 3 1/2 /gar/ broad, and 2 1/2 /gar/ high (Smith, 80 x 70 x 50 feet). He points out, that the total height was, therefore, 15 /gar/, the same as the dimensions of the base, i.e., the lowest platform, which would make the total height of this world-renowned building rather more than 300 feet above the plains.

Other temple-towers.

Towers of a similar nature were to be found in all the great cities of Babylonia, and it is probable that in most cases slight differences of form were to be found. That at Niffer, for instance, seems to have had a causeway on each side, making four approaches in the form of a cross. But it was not every city which had a tower of seven stages in addition to the platform on which it was erected, and some of the

smaller ones at least seem to have had sloping or rounded sides to the basement-portion, as is indicated by an Assyrian bas-relief. Naturally small temples, with hardly more than the rooms on the ground floor, were to be found, but these temple-towers were a speciality of the country.

Their origin.

There is some probability that, as indicated in the tenth chapter of Genesis, the desire in building these towers was to get nearer the Deity, or to the divine inhabitants of the heavens in general--it would be easier there to gain attention than on the surface of the earth. Then there was the belief, that the god to whom the place was dedicated would come down to such a sanctuary, which thus became, as it were, the stepping-stone between heaven and earth. Sacrifices were also offered at these temple-towers (whether on the highest point or not is not quite certain), in imitation of the Chaldæan Noah, Ut-napištim, who, on coming out of the ark, made an offering /ina zikkurat šadê/, "on the peak of the mountain," in which passage, it is to be noted, the word /zikkurat/ occurs with what is probably a more original meaning.

CHAPTER III

THE BABYLONIAN STORY OF THE CREATION

This is the final development of the Babylonian creed. It has already been pointed out that the religion of the Babylonians in all probability had two stages before arriving at that in which the god Merodach occupied the position of chief of the pantheon, the two preceding heads having been, seemingly, Anu, the god of the heavens, and Êa or Aa, also called Enki, the god of the abyss and of deep wisdom. In order to show this, and at the same time to give an idea of their theory of the beginning of things, a short paraphrase of the contents of the seven tablets will be found in the following pages.

An Embodiment of doctrine.

As far as our knowledge goes, the doctrines incorporated in this legend would seem to show the final official development of the beliefs held by the Babylonians, due, in all probability, to the priests of Babylon after that city became the capital of the federated

states. Modifications of their creed probably took place, but nothing seriously affecting it, until after the abandonment of Babylon in the time of Seleucus Nicator, 300 B.C. or thereabouts, when the deity at the head of the pantheon seems not to have been Merodach, but Anu-Bêl. This legend is therefore the most important document bearing upon the beliefs of the Babylonians from the end of the third millennium B.C. until that time, and the philosophical ideas which it contains seem to have been held, in a more or less modified form, among the remnants who still retained the old Babylonian faith, until the sixth century of the present era, as the record by Damascius implies. Properly speaking, it is not a record of the creation, but the story of the fight between Bel and the Dragon, to which the account of the creation is prefixed by way of introduction.

Water the first creator.

The legend begins by stating that, when the heavens were unnamed and the earth bore no name, the primæval ocean was the producer of all things, and Mummu Tiawath (the sea) she who brought forth everything existing. Their waters (that is, of the primæval ocean and of the sea) were all united in one, and neither plains nor marshes were to be seen; the gods likewise did not exist, even in name, and the fates were undetermined--nothing had been decided as to the future of things. Then arose the great gods. Lahmu and Lahame came first, followed, after a long period, by Anšar and Kišar, generally identified with the "host of heaven" and the "host of earth," these being the meanings of the component parts of their names. After a further long period of days, there came forth their son Anu, the god of the heavens.

The gods.

Here the narrative is defective, and is continued by Damascius in his */Doubts and Solutions of the First Principles/*, in which he states that, after Anos (Anu), come Illinos (Ellila or Bel, "the lord" /par excellence/) and Aos (Aa, Ae, or Êa), the god of Eridu. Of Aos and Dauké (the Babylonian Aa and Damkina) is born, he says, a son called Belos (Bel-Merodach), who, they (apparently the Babylonians) say, is the fabricator of the world--the creator.

The designs against them.

At this point Damascius ends his extract, and the Babylonian tablet

also becomes extremely defective. The next deity to come into existence, however, would seem to have been Nudimmud, who was apparently the deity Aa or Êa (the god of the sea and of rivers) as the god of creation. Among the children of Tauthé (Tiawath) enumerated by Damascius is one named Moumis, who was evidently referred to in the document at that philosopher's disposal. If this be correct, his name, under the form of Mummu, probably existed in one of the defective lines of the first portion of this legend--in any case, his name occurs later on, with those of Tiawath and Apsu (the Deep), his parents, and the three seem to be compared, to their disadvantage, with the progeny of Lahmu and Lahame, the gods on high. As the ways of these last were not those of Tiawath's brood, and Apsu complained that he had no peace by day nor rest by night on account of their proceedings, the three representatives of the chaotic deep, Tiawath, Apsu, and Mummu, discussed how they might get rid the beings who wished to rise to higher things. Mummu was apparently the prime mover in the plot, and the face of Apsu grew bright at the thought of the evil plan which they had devised against "the gods their sons." The inscription being very mutilated here, its full drift cannot be gathered, but from the complete portions which come later it would seem that Mummu's plan was not a remarkably cunning one, being simply to make war upon and destroy the gods of heaven.

Tiawath's preparations.

The preparations made for this were elaborate. Restlessly, day and night, the powers of evil raged and toiled, and assembled for the fight. 'Mother Hubur,' as Tiawath is named in this passage, called her creative powers into action, and gave her followers irresistible weapons. She brought into being also various monsters--giant serpents, sharp of tooth, bearing stings, and with poison filling their bodies like blood; terrible dragons endowed with brilliance, and of enormous stature, reared on high, raging dogs, scorpion-men, fish-men, and many other terrible beings, were created and equipped, the whole being placed under the command of a deity named Kingu, whom she calls her "only husband," and to whom she delivers the tablets of fate, which conferred upon him the godhead of Anu (the heavens), and enabled their possessor to determine the gates among the gods her sons.

Kingu replaces Absu.

The change in the narrative which comes in here suggests that this is the point at which two legends current in Babylonia were united. Henceforward we hear nothing more of Apsu, the begetter of all things,

Tiawath's spouse, nor of Mummu, their son. In all probability there is good reason for this, and inscriptions will doubtless ultimately be found which will explain it, but until then it is only natural to suppose that two different legends have been pieced together to form a harmonious whole.

Tiawath's aim.

As will be gathered from the above, the story centres in the wish of the goddess of the powers of evil and her kindred to retain creation--the forming of all living things--in her own hands. As Tiawath means "the sea," and Apsu "the deep," it is probable that this is a kind of allegory personifying the productive power seen in the teeming life of the ocean, and typifying the strange and wonderful forms found therein, which were symbolical, to the Babylonian mind, of chaos and confusion, as well as of evil.

The gods hear of the conspiracy.

Aa, or Êa, having learned of the plot of Tiawath and her followers against the gods of heaven, naturally became filled with anger, and went and told the whole to Anšar, his father, who in his turn gave way to his wrath, and uttered cries of the deepest grief. After considering what they would do, Anšar applied to his son Anu, "the mighty and brave," saying that, if he would only speak to her, the great dragon's anger would be assuaged, and her rage disappear. In obedience to this behest, Anu went to try his power with the monster, but on beholding her snarling face, feared to approach her, and turned back. Nudimmud was next called upon to become the representative of the gods against their foe, but his success was as that of Anu, and it became needful to seek another champion.

And choose Merodach as their champion.

The choice fell upon Merodach, the Belus (Bel-Merodach) of Damascius's paraphrase, and at once met with an enthusiastic reception. The god asked simply that an "unchangeable command" might be given to him--that whatever he ordained should without fail come to pass, in order that he might destroy the common enemy. Invitations were sent to the gods asking them to a festival, where, having met together, they ate and drank, and "decided the fate" for Merodach their avenger, apparently meaning that he was decreed their defender in the conflict with Tiawath, and that the power of creating and annihilating by the

word of his mouth was his. Honours were then conferred upon him; princely chambers were erected for him, wherein he sat as judge "in the presence of his fathers," and the rule over the whole universe was given to him. The testing of his newly acquired power followed. A garment was placed in their midst:

"He spake with his mouth, and the garment was destroyed,
He spake to it again, and the garment was reproduced."

Merodach proclaimed king.

On this proof of the reality of the powers conferred on him, all the gods shouted "Merodach is king!" and handed to him sceptre, throne, and insignia of royalty. An irresistible weapon, which should shatter all his enemies, was then given to him, and he armed himself also with spear or dart, bow, and quiver; lightning flashed before him, and flaming fire filled his body. Anu, the god of the heavens, had given him a great net, and this he set at the four cardinal points, in order that nothing of the dragon, when he had defeated her, should escape. Seven winds he then created to accompany him, and the great weapon called /Abubu/, "the Flood," completed his equipment. All being ready, he mounted his dreadful, irresistible chariot, to which four steeds were yoked--steeds unsparing, rushing forward, rapid in flight, their teeth full of venom, foam-covered, experienced in galloping, schooled in overthrowing. Being now ready for the fray, Merodach fared forth to meet Tiawath, accompanied by the fervent good wishes of "the gods his fathers."

The fight with Tiawath.

Advancing, he regarded Tiawath's retreat, but the sight of the enemy was so menacing that even the great Merodach (if we understand the text rightly) began to falter. This, however, was not for long, and the king of the gods stood before Tiawath, who, on her side, remained firm and undaunted. In a somewhat long speech, in which he reproaches Tiawath for her rebellion, he challenges her to battle, and the two meet in fiercest fight. To all appearance the type of all evil did not make use of honest weapons, but sought to overcome the king of the gods with incantations and charms. These, however, had not the slightest effect, for she found herself at once enclosed in Merodach's net, and on opening her mouth to resist and free herself, the evil wind, which Merodach had sent on before him, entered, so that she could not close her lips, and thus inflated, her heart was overpowered, and she became a prey to her conqueror. Having cut her

asunder and taken out her heart, thus destroying her life, he threw her body down and stood thereon. Her followers then attempted to escape, but found themselves surrounded and unable to get forth. Like their mistress, they were thrown into the net, and sat in bonds, being afterwards shut up in prison. As for Kingu, he was raised up, bound, and delivered to be with Ugga, the god of death. The tablets of fate, which Tiawath had delivered to Kingu, were taken from him by Merodach, who pressed his seal upon them, and placed them in his breast. The deity Anšar, who had been, as it would seem, deprived of his rightful power by Tiawath, received that power again on the death of the common foe, and Nudimmud "saw his desire upon his enemy."

Tiawath's fate.

The dismemberment of Tiawath then followed, and her veins having been cut through, the north wind was caused by the deity to carry her blood away into secret places, a statement which probably typifies the opening of obstructions which prevent the rivers flowing from the north from running into the southern seas, helped thereto by the north wind. Finally her body was divided, like "a /mašdê/-fish," into two parts, one of which was made into a covering for the heavens--the "waters above the firmament" of Genesis i. 7.

Merodach orders the world anew.

Then came the ordering of the universe anew. Having made a covering for the heavens with half the body of the defeated Dragon of Chaos, Merodach set the Abyss, the abode of Nudimmud, in front, and made a corresponding edifice above--the heavens--where he founded stations for the gods Anu, Bel, and Ae. Stations for the great gods in the likeness of constellations, together with what is regarded as the Zodiac, were his next work. He then designated the year, setting three constellations for each month, and made a station for Nibiru--Merodach's own star--as the overseer of all the lights in the firmament. He then caused the new moon, Nannaru, to shine, and made him the ruler of the night, indicating his phases, one of which was on the seventh day, and the other, a /šabattu/, or day of rest, in the middle of the month. Directions with regard to the moon's movements seem to follow, but the record is mutilated, and their real nature consequently doubtful. With regard to other works which were performed we have no information, as a gap prevents their being ascertained. Something, however, seems to have been done with Merodach's net--probably it was placed in the heavens as a constellation, as was his bow, to which several names were given. Later on, the winds were bound

and assigned to their places, but the account of the arrangement of other things is mutilated and obscure, though it can be recognised that the details in this place were of considerable interest.

The creation of man.

To all appearance the gods, after he had ordered the universe and the things then existing, urged Merodach to further works of wonder. Taking up their suggestion, he considered what he should do, and then communicated to his father Ae his plan for the creation of man with his own blood, in order that the service and worship of the gods might be established. This portion is also unfortunately very imperfect, and the details of the carrying out of the plan are entirely wanting.

Berosus' narrative fills the gap.

It is noteworthy that this portion of the narrative has been preserved by Abydenus, George the Syncellus, and Eusebius, in their quotations from Berosus. According to this Chaldæan writer, there was a woman named Omoroca, or, in Chaldæan, Thalath (apparently a mistake for Thauath, i.e. Tiawath), whose name was equivalent to the Greek Thalassa, the sea. It was she who had in her charge all the strange creatures then existing. At this period, Belus (Bel-Merodach) came, and cut the woman asunder, forming out of one half the earth, and of the other the heavens, at the same time destroying all the creatures which were within her--all this being an allegory, for the whole universe consists of moisture, and creatures are constantly generated therein. The deity then cut off his own head, and the other gods mixed the blood, as it gushed out, with the earth, and from this men were formed. Hence it is that men are rational, and partake of divine knowledge.

A second creation.

This Belsus, "who is called Zeus," divided the darkness, separated the heavens from the earth, and reduced the universe to order. The animals which had been created, however, not being able to bear the light, died. Belus then, seeing the void thus made, ordered one of the gods to take off his head, and mix the blood with the soil, forming other men and animals which should be able to bear the light. He also formed the stars, the sun, the moon, and the five planets. It would thus seem that there were two creations, the first having been a failure because Belus had not foreseen that it was needful to produce beings which

should be able to bear the light. Whether this repetition was really in the Babylonian legend, or whether Berossus (or those who quote him) has merely inserted and united two varying accounts, will only be known when the cuneiform text is completed.

The concluding tablet.

The tablet of the fifty-one names completes the record of the tablets found at Nineveh and Babylon. In this Merodach receives the titles of all the other gods, thus identifying him with them, and leading to that tendency to monotheism of which something will be said later on. In this text, which is written, like the rest of the legend, in poetical form, Merodach is repeatedly called /Tutu/, a mystic word meaning "creator," and "begetter," from the reduplicate root /tu/ or /utu/--which was to all appearances his name when it was desired to refer to him especially in that character. Noteworthy in this portion is the reference to Merodach's creation of mankind:--

- Line 25. "Tuto: Aga-azaga (the glorious crown)--may he make the crowns glorious.
26. The lord of the glorious incantation bringing the dead to life;
27. He who had mercy on the gods who had been overpowered;
28. Made heavy the yoke which he had laid on the gods who were his enemies,
29. (And) to redeem(?) them, created mankind.
30. 'The merciful one,' 'he with whom is salvation,'
31. May his word be established, and not forgotten,
32. In the mouth of the black-headed ones[*] whom his hands have made."

[*] I.e. mankind.

Man the redeemer.

The phrase "to redeem them" is, in the original, /ana padi-šunu/, the verb being from /padû/, "to spare," "set free," and if this rendering be correct, as seems probable, the Babylonian reasons for the creation of mankind would be, that they might carry on the service and worship of the gods, and by their righteousness redeem those enemies of the gods who were undergoing punishment for their hostility. Whether by this Tiawath, Apsu, Mummu, Kingu, and the monsters whom she had created were included, or only the gods of heaven who had joined her, the record does not say. Naturally, this doctrine depends entirely

upon the correctness of the translation of the words quoted. Jensen, who first proposed this rendering, makes no attempt to explain it, and simply asks: "Does 'them' in 'to redeem(?) them' refer to the gods named in line 28 or to mankind and then to a future--how meant?--redemption? Eschatology? Zimmern's 'in their place' unprovable. Delitzsch refrains from an explanation."

The bilingual account of the creation. Aruru aids Merodach.

Whilst dealing with this part of the religious beliefs of the Babylonians, a few words are needed concerning the creation-story which is prefixed to an incantation used in a purification ceremony. The original text is Sumerian (dialectic), and is provided with a Semitic translation. In this inscription, after stating that nothing (in the beginning) existed, and even the great cities and temples of Babylonia were as yet unbuilt, the condition of the world is briefly indicated by the statement that "All the lands were sea." The renowned cities of Babylonia seem to have been regarded as being as much creations of Merodach as the world and its inhabitants--indeed, it is apparently for the glorification of those cities by attributing their origin to Merodach, that the bilingual account of the creation was composed.. "When within the sea there was a stream"--that is, when the veins of Tiawath had been cut through--Êridu (probably = Paradise) and the temple Ê-sagila within the Abyss were constructed, and after that Babylon and the earthly temple of Ê-sagila within it. Then he made the gods and the Annunnaki (the gods of the earth), proclaimed a glorious city as the seat of the joy of their hearts, and afterwards made a pleasant place in which the gods might dwell. The creation of mankind followed, in which Merodach was aided by the goddess Aruru, who made mankind's seed. Finally, plants, trees, and the animals, were produced, after which Merodach constructed bricks, beams, houses, and cities, including Niffer and Erech with their renowned temples.

We see here a change in the teaching with regard to Merodach--the gods are no longer spoken of as "his fathers," but he is the creator of the gods, as well as of mankind.

The order of the gods in the principal lists.

It is unfortunate that no lists of gods have been found in a sufficiently complete state to allow of the scheme after which they were drawn up to be determined without uncertainty. It may, nevertheless, be regarded as probable that these lists, at least in some cases, are arranged in conformity (to a certain extent) with the

appearance of the deities in the so-called creation-story. Some of them begin with Anu, and give him various names, among them being Anšar and Kišar, Lahmu and Lahame, etc. More specially interesting, however, is a well-known trilingual list of gods, which contains the names of the various deities in the following order:--

EXTRACTS FROM THE TRILINGUAL LIST
/Obverse/

Sumer. Dialect	Sumer. Standard	Common (Semit. or Sumer.)	Explanation
1. Dimmer	Dingir	Îlu	God.
2. U-ki	En-ki	Ê-a	Êa or Aa.
3. Gašan(?)-ki of Êa.	Nin-ki	Dawkina	Dauké, the consort
4. Mu-ul-lil	En-lil-la	Bêl	The God Bel.
5. E-lum	A-lim	Bêl	
6. Gašan(?)-lil	Nin-lil-la	dam-bi sal	Bel's consort.
7. U-lu-a	Ni-rig	Ênu-rêštu	The god of Niffer.
8. U-lib-a	Ni-rig	Ênu-rêštu	

9-12 have Ênu-rêštu's consort, sister, and attendant.

13. U-šab-sib	En-šag-duga	Nusku	Nusku
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14-19 have two other names of Nusku, followed by three names of his consort. A number of names of minor divinities then follow. At line 43 five names of Êa are given, followed by four of Merodach:--

48. U-bi-lu-lu	En-bi-lu-lu	Marduk	Merodach
49. U-Tin-dir ki	En-Tin-dir ki	Marduk	Merodach as "lord of Babylon."
50. U-dimmer-an-kia	En-dinger-an-kia	Marduk	Merodach as "lord god of heaven and earth."
51. U-ab-šar-u	En-ab-šar-u	Marduk	Merodach, apparently as "lord of the 36,000 steers."
52. U-bar-gi-si	Nin-bar-gi-si	Zer-panîtum	Merodach's consort.
53. Gašan-abzu	Nin-abzu	dam-bi sal	"the Lady of the Abyss," his consort.

The remainder of the obverse is mutilated, but gave the names of Nebo in Sumerian, and apparently also of Tašmêtum, his consort. The beginning of the reverse also is mutilated, but seems to have given the names of the sun-god, Šamaš, and his consort, followed by those of

Kîttu and Mêšarum, "justice and righteousness," his attendants. Other interesting names are:

/Reverse/

8. U-libir-si	En-ubar-si	Dumu-zi	Tammuz
9. Sir-tumu	Sir-du	ama Dumuzi-gi	the mother of
Tammuz			
12. Gašan-anna	Innanna	Ištar	Ištar (Venus) as
"lady of heaven."			
20.	Nin-si-anna	Innanna mul	Ištar the star (the
planet Venus).			
21. Nin	Nin-tag-tagā	Nanaa	a goddess identified
with Ištar.			
23. U-šah	Nina-šah	Pap-sukal	the gods'
messenger.			
24. U-banda	Lugal-banda	Lugal-banda	
26. U-Mersi	Nin-Girsu	Nin-Girsu	the chief god of
Lagaš.			
27. Ma-sib-sib	Ga-tum-duga	Bau	Bau, a goddess
identified with Gula.			

Four non-Semitic names of Gula follow, of which that in line 31 is the most interesting:--

31. Gašan-ti-dibba	Nin-tin-guua	Gula	"the lady saving from
death."			
33. Gašan-ki-gal	Ereš-ki-gala	Allatu	Persephone.
36. U-mu-zi-da	Nin-giš-zi-da	Nin-giš-zida	"the lord of the
everlasting tree."			
37. U-urugal	Ne-eri-gal	Nerigal	Nergal.
42. Mulu-hursag	Galu-hursag	Amurru	the Amorite god.
43. Gašan-gu-edina	Nin-gu-edina		(apparently the
consort of Amurru).			

In all probability this list is one of comparatively late date, though its chronological position with regard to the others is wholly uncertain--it may not be later, and may even be earlier, than those beginning with Anu, the god of the heavens. The important thing about it is, that it begins with /īlu/, god, in general, which is written, in the standard dialect (that of the second column) with the same character as that used for the name of Anu. After this comes Aa or Êa, the god of the earth, and his consort, followed by En-lilla, the older Bel--Illinos in Damascius. The name of Êa is repeated again in line 43 and following, where he is apparently re-introduced as the father of Merodach, whose names immediately follow. This peculiarity is also

found in other lists of gods and is undoubtedly a reflection of the history of the Babylonian religion. As this list replaces Anu by /Īlu/, it indicates the rule of Enki or Êa, followed by that of Merodach, who, as has been shown, became the chief divinity of the Babylonian pantheon in consequence of Babylon having become the capital of the country.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRINCIPAL GODS OF THE BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS

Anu.

The name of this divinity is derived from the Sumero-Akkadian /ana/, "heaven," of which he was the principal deity. He is called the father of the great gods, though, in the creation-story, he seems to be described as the son of Anšar and Kišar. In early names he is described as the father, creator, and god, probably meaning the supreme being. His consort was Anatu, and the pair are regarded in the lists as the same as the Lahmu and Lahame of the creation-story, who, with other deities, are also described as gods of the heavens. Anu was worshipped at Erech, along with Ištar.

Ea.

Is given as if it were the /Semitic/ equivalent of /Enki/, "the lord of the earth," but it would seem to be really a Sumerian word, later written /Ae/, and certain inscriptions suggest that the true reading was /Aa/. His titles are "king of the Abyss, creator of everything, lord of all," the first being seemingly due to the fact that Aa is a word which may, in its reduplicate form, mean "waters," or if read /Êa/, "house of water." He also, like Anu, is called "father of the gods." As this god was likewise "lord of deep wisdom," it was to him that his son Merodach went for advice whenever he was in doubt. On account of his knowledge, he was the god of artisans in general--potters, blacksmiths, sailors, builders, stone-cutters, gardeners, seers, barbers, farmers, etc. This is the Aas (a form which confirms the reading Aa) of Damascius, and the Oannes of the extracts from Berosus, who states that he was "a creature endowed with reason, with a body like that of a fish, and under the fish's head another head, with feet below, like those of a man, with a fish's tail." This description applies fairly well to certain bas-reliefs from Nimroud in

the British Museum. The creature described by Berosus lived in the Persian Gulf, landing during the day to teach the inhabitants the building of houses and temples, the cultivation of useful plants, the gathering of fruits, and also geometry, law, and letters. From him, too, came the account of the beginning of things referred to in chapter III. which, in the original Greek, is preceded by a description of the composite monsters said to have existed before Merodach assumed the rule of the universe.

The name of his consort, Damkina or Dawkina, probably means "the eternal spouse," and her other names, /Gašan-ki/ (Sumerian dialectic) and /Nin-ki/ (non-dialectic), "Lady of the earth," sufficiently indicates her province. She is often mentioned in the incantations with Êa.

The forsaking of the worship of Êa as chief god for that of Merodach seems to have caused considerable heartburning in Babylonia, if we may judge from the story of the Flood, for it was on account of his faithfulness that Utnipištīm, the Babylonian Noah, attained to salvation from the Flood and immortality afterwards. All through this adventure it was the god Êa who favoured him, and afterwards gave him immortality like that of the gods. There is an interesting Sumerian text in which the ship of Êa seems to be described, the woods of which its various parts were formed being named, and in it, apparently, were Enki (Êa), Damgal-nunna (Damkina), his consort, Asari-lu-duga (Merodach), In-ab (or Ineš), the pilot of Êridu (Êa's city), and Nin-igi-nagar-sir, "the great architect of heaven":--

"May the ship before thee bring fertility,
May the ship after thee bring joy,
In thy heart may it make joy of heart"

Êa was the god of fertility, hence this ending to the poetical description of the ship of Êa.

Bel.

The deity who is mentioned next in order in the list given above is the "older Bel," so called to distinguish him from Bel-Merodach. His principal names were /Mullil/ (dialectic) or /En-lilla/[*] (standard speech), the /Illinos/ of Damascius. His name is generally translated "lord of mist," so-called as god of the underworld, his consort being /Gašan-lil/ or /Nan-lilla/, "the lady of the mist," in Semitic Babylonian /Bêltu/, "the Lady," par excellence. Bel, whose name means "the lord," was so called because he was regarded as chief of the

gods. As there was considerable confusion in consequence of the title Bel having been given to Merodach, Tiglath-pileser I. (about 1200 B.C.) refers to him as the "older Bel" in describing the temple which he built for him at Aššur. Numerous names of men compounded with his occur until the latest times, implying that, though the favourite god was Merodach, the worship of Bel was not forgotten, even at Babylon--that he should have been adored at his own city, Niffur, and at Dur-Kuri-galzu, where Kuri-galzu I. built a temple for "Bel, the lord of the lands," was naturally to be expected. Being, like Êa, a god of the earth, he is regarded as having formed a trinity with Anu, the god of heaven, and Êa, the god of the deep, and prayer to these three was as good as invoking all the gods of the universe. Classification of the gods according to the domain of their power would naturally take place in a religious system in which they were all identified with each other, and this classification indicates, as Jastrow says, a deep knowledge of the powers of nature, and a more than average intelligence among the Babylonians--indeed, he holds it as a proof that, at the period of the older empire, there were schools and students who had devoted themselves to religious speculation upon this point. He also conjectures that the third commandment of the Law of Moses was directed against this doctrine held by the Babylonians.

[*] Ordinarily pronounced /Illila/, as certain glosses and Damascius's /Illinos/ (for /Illilos/) show.

Beltis.

This goddess was properly only the spouse of the older Bel, but as /Bêltu/, her Babylonian name, simply meant "lady" in general (just as /Bêl/ or /bêlu/ meant "lord"), it became a title which could be given to any goddess, and was in fact borne by Zer-panîtum, Ištar, Nanaa, and others. It was therefore often needful to add the name of the city over which the special /Bêltu/ presided, in order to make clear which of them was meant. Besides being the title of the spouse of the older Bel, having her earthly seat with him in Niffur and other less important shrines, the Assyrians sometimes name Bêltu the spouse of Aššur, their national god, suggesting an identification, in the minds of the priests, with that deity.

Ênu-rêštu or Nirig.[*]

Whether /Ênu-rêštu/ be a translation of /Nirig/ or not, is uncertain, but not improbable, the meaning being "primeval lord," or something similar, and "lord" that of the first element, /ni/, in the Sumerian

form. In support of this reading and rendering may be quoted the fact, that one of the descriptions of this divinity is /aššarid ilani âhê-šu/, "the eldest of the gods his brothers." It is noteworthy that this deity was a special favourite among the Assyrians, many of whose kings, to say nothing of private persons, bore his name as a component part of theirs. In the bilingual poem entitled /Ana-kime gimma/ ("Formed like Anu"), he is described as being the son of Bel (hence his appearance after Bel in the list printed above), and in the likeness of Anu, for which reason, perhaps, his divinity is called "Anuship." Beginning with words praising him, it seems to refer to his attitude towards the gods of hostile lands, against whom, apparently, he rode in a chariot of the sacred lapis-lazuli. Anu having endowed him with terrible glory, the gods of the earth feared to attack him, and his onrush was as that of a storm-flood. By the command of Bel, his course was directed towards Ê-kur, the temple of Bel at Niffur. Here he was met by Nusku, the supreme messenger of Bel, who, with words of respect and of praise, asks him not to disturb the god Bel, his father, in his seat, nor make the gods of the earth tremble in Upšukennaku (the heavenly festival-hall of the gods), and offers him a gift.[†] It will thus be seen that Ênu-rêštu was a rival to the older Bel, whose temple was the great tower in stages called Ê-kura, in which, in all probability, Ê-šu-me-du, the shrine of Ênu-rêštu, was likewise situated. The inscriptions call him "god of war," though, unlike Nergal, he was not at the same time god of disease and pestilence. To all appearance he was the god of the various kinds of stones, of which another legend states that he "determined their fate." He was "the hero, whose net overthrows the enemy, who summons his army to plunder the hostile land, the royal son who caused his father to bow down to him from afar." "The son who sat not with the nurse, and eschewed(?) the strength of milk," "the offspring who did not know his father." "He rode over the mountains and scattered seed--unanimously the plants proclaimed his name to their dominion, among them like a great wild bull he raises his horns."

[*] /Ênu-rêštu/ is the reading which I have adopted as the Semitic Babylonian equivalent of the name of this divinity, in consequence of the Aramaic transcription given by certain contract-tablets discovered by the American expedition to Niffer, and published by Prof. Clay of Philadelphia.

[†] The result of this request is not known, in consequence of the defective state of the tablets.

Many other interesting descriptions of the deity Nirig (generally read Nin-ip) occur, and show, with those quoted here, that his story was one of more than ordinary interest.

Nusku.

This deity was especially invoked by the Assyrian kings, but was in no wise exclusively Assyrian, as is shown by the fact that his name occurs in many Babylonian inscriptions. He was the great messenger of the gods, and is variously given as "the offspring of the abyss, the creation of Êa," and "the likeness of his father, the first-born of Bel." As Gibil, the fire-god, has likewise the same diverse parentage, it is regarded as likely that these two gods were identical. Nusku was the god whose command is supreme, the counsellor of the great gods, the protector of the Igigi (the gods of the heavens), the great and powerful one, the glorious day, the burning one, the founder of cities, the renewer of sanctuaries, the provider of feasts for all the Igigi, without whom no feast took place in Ê-kura. Like Nebo, he bore the glorious spectre, and it was said of him that he attacked mightily in battle. Without him the sun-god, the judge, could not give judgment.

All this points to the probability, that Nusku may not have been the fire-god, but the brother of the fire-god, i.e. either flame, or the light of fire. The sun-god, without light, could not see, and therefore could not give judgment: no feast could be prepared without fire and its flame. As the evidence of the presence of the shining orbs in the heavens--the light of their fires--he was the messenger of the gods, and was honoured accordingly. From this idea, too, he became their messenger in general, especially of Bel-Merodach, the younger Bel, whose requests he carried to the god Êa in the Deep. In one inscription he is identified with Nirig or Ênu-rêštu, who is described above.

Merodach.

Concerning this god, and how he arose to the position of king of all the gods of heaven, has been fully shown in chapter III. Though there is but little in his attributes to indicate any connection with Šamaš, there is hardly any doubt that he was originally a sun-god, as is shown by the etymology of his name. The form, as it has been handed down to us, is somewhat shortened, the original pronunciation having been /Amar-uduk/, "the young steer of day," a name which suggests that he was the morning sun. Of the four names given at the end of chapter III., two--"lord of Babylon," and "lord god of heaven and earth,"--may be regarded as expressing his more well-known attributes. /En-ab-šar-u/, however, is a provisional, though not impossible, reading and

rendering, and if correct, the "36,000 wild bulls" would be a metaphorical way of speaking of "the 36,000 heroes," probably meaning the gods of heaven in all their grades. The signification of /En-bilulu/ is unknown. Like most of the other gods of the Babylonian pantheon, however, Merodach had many other names, among which may be mentioned /Asari/, which has been compared with the Egyptian Osiris, /Asari-lu-duga/, "/Asari/ who is good," compared with Osiris Unnefer; /Namtila/, "life", /Tutu/, "begetter (of the gods), renewer (of the gods)," /Šar-azaga/, "the glorious incantation," /Mu-azaga/, "the glorious charm," and many others. The last two refer to his being the god who, by his kindness, obtained from his father Êa, dwelling in the abyss, those charms and incantations which benefited mankind, and restored the sick to health. In this connection, a frequent title given to him is "the merciful one," but most merciful was he in that he spared the lives of the gods who, having sided with Taiwath, were his enemies, as is related in the tablet of the fifty-one names. In connection with the fight he bore also the names, "annihilator of the enemy," "rooter out of all evil," "troubler of the evil ones," "life of the whole of the gods." From these names it is clear that Merodach, in defeating Tiawath, annihilated, at the same time, the spirit of evil, Satan, the accuser, of which she was, probably, the Babylonian type. But unlike the Saviour in the Christian creed, he saved not only man, at that time uncreated, but the gods of heaven also. As "king of the heavens," he was identified with the largest of the planets, Jupiter, as well as with other heavenly bodies. Traversing the sky in great zigzags, Jupiter seemed to the Babylonians to superintend the stars, and this was regarded as emblematic of Merodach shepherding them--"pasturing the gods like sheep," as the tablet has it.

A long list of gods gives as it were the court of Merodach, held in what was apparently a heavenly /Ê-sagila/, and among the spiritual beings mentioned are /Minâ-îkul-bêli/ and /Minâ-ištî-bêli/, "what my lord has eaten," and "what has my lord drunk," /Nadin-mê-gati/, "he who gives water for the hands," also the two door-keepers, and the four dogs of Merodach, wherein people are inclined to see the four satellites of Jupiter, which, it is thought, were probably visible to certain of the more sharp-sighted stargazers of ancient Babylonia. These dogs were called /Ukkumu/, /Akkulu/, /Ikšuda/, and /Itebu/, "Seizer," "Eater," "Grasper," and "Holder." Images of these beings were probably kept in the temple of Ê-sagila at Babylon.

Zer-panîtum.

This was the name of the consort of Merodach, and is generally read Sarp(b)anitem--a transcription which is against the native orthography

and etymology, namely, "seed-creatress" (Zer-banîtum). The meaning attributed to this word is partly confirmed by another name which Lehmann has pointed out that she possessed, namely, /Erua/ or /Aru'a/, who, in an inscription of Antiochus Soter (280-260 B.C.) is called "the queen who produces birth," but more especially by the circumstance, that she must be identical with Aruru, who created the seed of mankind along with Merodach. Why she was called "the lady of the abyss," and elsewhere "the voice of the abyss" (/Me-abzu/) is not known. Zer-panîtum was no mere reflection of Merodach, but one of the most important goddesses in the Babylonian pantheon. The tendency of scholars has been to identify her with the moon, Merodach being a solar deity and the meaning "silvery"--/Sarpanitum/, from /sarpu/, one of the words for "silver," was regarded as supporting this idea. She was identified with the Elamite goddess named Elagu, and with the Lahamum of the island of Bahrein, the Babylonian Tilmun.

Nebo and Tašmêtum.

As "the teacher" and "the hearer" these were among the most popular of the deities of Babylonia and Assyria. Nebo (in Semitic Babylonian Nabû) was worshipped at the temple-tower known as Ê-zida, "the everlasting house," at Borsippa, now the Birs Nimroud, traditionally regarded as the site of the Tower of Babel, though that title, as has already been shown, would best suit the similar structure known as Ê-sagila, "the house of the high head," in Babylon itself. In composition with men's names, this deity occurs more than any other, even including Merodach himself--a clear indication of the estimation in which the Babylonians and Assyrians held the possession of knowledge. The character with which his name is written means, with the pronunciation of /ak/, "to make," "to create," "to receive," "to proclaim," and with the pronunciation of /me/, "to be wise," "wisdom," "open of ear," "broad of ear," and "to make, of a house," the last probably referring to the design rather than to the actual building. Under the name of /Dim-šara/ he was "the creator of the writing of the scribes," as /Ni-zu/, "the god who knows" (/zu/, "to know"), as /Mermer/, "the speeder(?) of the command of the gods"--on the Sumerian side indicating some connection with Addu or Rimmon, the thunderer, and on the Semitic side with Ênu-rêštu, who was one of the gods' messengers. A small fragment in the British Museum gave his attributes as god of the various cities of Babylonia, but unfortunately their names are lost or incomplete. From what remains, however, we see that Nebo was god of ditching(?), commerce(?), granaries(?), fasting(?), and food; it was he who overthrew the land of the enemy, and who protected planting; and, lastly, he was god of Borsippa.

The worship of Nebo was not always as popular as it became in the later days of the Babylonian empire and after its fall, and Jastrow is of opinion that Hammurabi intentionally ignored this deity, giving the preference to Merodach, though he did not suppress the worship. Why this should have taken place is not by any means certain, for Nebo was a deity adored far and wide, as may be gathered from the fact that there was a mountain bearing his name in Moab, upon which Moses--also an "announcer," adds Jastrow--died. Besides the mountain, there was a city in Moab so named, and another in Judæa. That it was the Babylonian Nebo originally is implied by the form--the Hebrew corresponding word is /nabi/.

How old the worship of Tašmêtum, his consort, is, is doubtful, but her name first occurs in a date of the reign of Hammurabi. Details concerning her attributes are rare, and Jastrow regards this goddess as the result of Babylonian religious speculations. It is noteworthy that her worship appears more especially in later times, but it may be doubted whether it is a product of those late times, especially when we bear in mind the remarkable seal-impression on an early tablet of 3500-4500 B.C., belonging to Lord Amherst of Hackney, in which we see a male figure with wide-open mouth seizing a stag by his horns, and a female figure with no mouth at all, but with very prominent ears, holding a bull in a similar manner. Here we have the "teacher" and the "hearer" personified in a very remarkable manner, and it may well be that this primitive picture shows the idea then prevailing with regard to these two deities. It is to be noted that the name of Tašmêtum has a Sumerian equivalent, namely, /Kurnun/, and that the ideograph by which it is represented is one whose general meaning seems to be "to bind," perhaps with the additional signification of "to accomplish," in which case "she who hears" would also be "she who obeys."

Šamaš and his consort.

At all times the worship of the sun in Babylonia and Assyria was exceedingly popular, as, indeed, was to be expected from his importance as the greatest of the heavenly bodies and the brightest, without whose help men could not live, and it is an exceedingly noteworthy fact that this deity did not become, like Ra in Egypt, the head of the pantheon. This place was reserved for Merodach, also a sun-god, but possessing attributes of a far wider scope. Šamaš is mentioned as early as the reign of Ê-anna-tum, whose date is set at about 4200 B.C., and at this period his Semitic name does not, naturally, occur, the character used being /Utu/, or, in its longer form, /Utuki/.

It is worthy of note that, in consequence of the Babylonian idea of evolution in the creation of the world, less perfect beings brought forth those which were more perfect, and the sun was therefore the offspring of Nannara or Sin, the moon. In accordance with the same idea, the day, with the Semites, began with the evening, the time when the moon became visible, and thus becomes the offspring of the night. In the inscriptions Šamaš is described as "the light of things above and things below, the illuminator of the regions," "the supreme judge of heaven and earth," "the lord of living creatures, the gracious one of the lands." Dawning in the foundation of the sky, he opened the locks and threw wide the gates of the high heavens, and raised his head, covering heaven and earth with his splendour. He was the constantly righteous in heaven, the truth within the ears of the lands, the god knowing justice and injustice, righteousness he supported upon his shoulders, unrighteousness he burst asunder like a leather bond, etc. It will thus be seen, that the sun-god was the great god of judgment and justice--indeed, he is constantly alluded to as "the judge," the reason in all probability being, that as the sun shines upon the earth all day long, and his light penetrates everywhere, he was regarded as the god who knew and investigated everything, and was therefore best in a position to judge aright, and deliver a just decision. It is for this reason that his image appears at the head of the stele inscribed with Hammurabi's laws, and legal ceremonies were performed within the precincts of his temples. The chief seats of his worship were the great temples called Ê-babbara, "the house of great light," in the cities of Larsa and Sippar.

The consort of Šamaš was Aa, whose chief seat was at Sippar, side by side with Šamaš. Though only a weak reflex of the sun-god, her worship was exceedingly ancient, being mentioned in an inscription of Man-ištusu, who is regarded as having reigned before Sargon of Agadé. From the fact that, in one of the lists, she has names formed by reduplicating the name of the sun-god, /Utu/, she would seem once to have been identical with him, in which case it may be supposed that she personified the setting sun--"the double sun" from the magnified disc which he presents at sunset, when, according to a hymn to the setting sun sung at the temple at Borsippa, Aa, in the Sumerian line Kur-nirda, was accustomed to go to receive him. According to the list referred to above, Aa, with the name of Burida in Sumerian, was more especially the consort of Ša-zu, "him who knows the heart," one of the names of Merodach, who was probably the morning sun, and therefore the exact counterpart of the sun at evening.

Besides Šamaš and Utu, the latter his ordinary Sumerian name, the sun-god had several other non-Semitic names, including /Gišnu/,[*] "the light," /Ma-banda-anna/, "the bark of heaven," /U-ê/, "the rising

sun," /Mitra/, apparently the Persian Mithra; /Ume-šimaš/ and Nahunda, Elamite names, and Sahi, the Kassite name of the sun. He also sometimes bears the names of his attendants Kittu and Mēšaru, "Truth" and "Righteousness," who guided him upon his path as judge of the earth.

[*] It is the group expressing this word which is used for Šamaš in the name of Šamaš-šum-ukîn (Saosduchinos), the brother of Aššur-bani-âpli (Assurbanipal). The Greek equivalent implies the pronunciation /Šawaš/, as well as /Šamaš/.

Tammuz and Ištar.

The date of the rise of the myth of Tammuz is uncertain, but as the name of this god is found on tablets of the time of Lugal-anda and Uru-ka-gina (about 3500 B.C.), it can hardly be of later date than 4000 B.C., and may be much earlier. As he is repeatedly called "the shepherd," and had a domain where he pastured his flock, Professor Sayce sees in Tammuz "Daonus or Daos, the shepherd of Pantibibla," who, according to Berosus, ruled in Babylonia for 10 /sari/, or 36,000 years, and was the sixth king of the mythical period. According to the classic story, the mother of Tammuz had unnatural intercourse with her own father, being urged thereto by Aphrodite whom she had offended, and who had decided thus to avenge herself. Being pursued by her father, who wished to kill her for this crime, she prayed to the gods, and was turned into a tree, from whose trunk Adonis was afterwards born. Aphrodite was so charmed with the infant that, placing him in a chest, she gave him into the care of Persephone, who, however, when she discovered what a treasure she had in her keeping, refused to part with him again. Zeus was appealed to, and decided that for four months in the year Adonis should be left to himself, four should be spent with Aphrodite, and four with Persephone, and six with Aphrodite on earth. He was afterwards slain, whilst hunting, by a wild boar.

Nothing has come down to us as yet concerning this legend except the incident of his dwelling in Hades, whither Ištar, the Babylonian Venus, went in search of him. It is not by any means unlikely, however, that the whole story existed in Babylonia, and thence spread to Phœnicia, and afterwards to Greece. In Phœnicia it was adapted to the physical conditions of the country, and the place of Tammuz's encounter with the boar was said to be the mountains of Lebanon, whilst the river named after him, Adonis (now the Nahr Ibrahim), which ran red with the earth washed down by the autumn rains, was said to be so coloured in consequence of being mingled with his blood. The descent of Tammuz to the underworld, typified by the flowing down of

the earth-laden waters of the rivers to the sea, was not only celebrated by the Phœnicians, but also by the Babylonians, who had at least two series of lamentations which were used on this occasion, and were probably the originals of those chanted by the Hebrew women in the time of Ezekiel (about 597 B.C.). Whilst on earth, he was the one who nourished the ewe and her lamb, the goat and her kid, and also caused them to be slain--probably in sacrifice. "He has gone, he has gone to the bosom of the earth," the mourners cried, "he will make plenty to overflow for the land of the dead, for its lamentations for the day of his fall, in the unpropitious month of his year." There was also lamentation for the cessation of the growth of vegetation, and one of these hymns, after addressing him as the shepherd and husband of Ištar, "lord of the underworld," and "lord of the shepherd's seat," goes on to liken him to a germ which has not absorbed water in the furrow, whose bud has not blossomed in the meadow; to the sapling which has not been planted by the watercourse, and to the sapling whose root has been removed. In the "Lamentations" in the Manchester Museum, Ištar, or one of her devotees, seems to call for Tammuz, saying, "Return, my husband," as she makes her way to the region of gloom in quest of him. Ereš-ê-gala, "the lady of the great house" (Persephone), is also referred to, and the text seems to imply that Ištar entered her domain in spite of her. In this text other names are given to him, namely, /Tumu-giba/, "son of the flute," /Ama-elaggi/, and /Ši-umunnagi/, "life of the people."

The reference to sheep and goats in the British Museum fragment recalls the fact that in an incantation for purification the person using it is told to get the milk of a yellow goat which has been brought forth in the sheep-fold of Tammuz, recalling the flocks of the Greek sun-god Helios. These were the clouds illuminated by the sun, which were likened to sheep--indeed, one of the early Sumerian expressions for "fleece" was "sheep of the sky." The name of Tammuz in Sumerian is Dumu-zi, or in its rare fullest form, Dumu-zida, meaning "true" or "faithful son." There is probably some legend attached to this which is at present unknown.

In all probability Ištar, the spouse of Tammuz, is best known from her descent into Hades in quest of him when with Persephone (Ereš-ki-gal) in the underworld. In this she had to pass through seven gates, and an article of clothing was taken from her at each, until she arrived in the underworld quite naked, typifying the teaching, that man can take nothing away with him when he departs this life. During her absence, things naturally began to go wrong upon the earth, and the gods were obliged to intervene, and demand her release, which was ultimately granted, and at each gate, as she returned, the adornments which she had left were given back to her. It is uncertain whether the husband

whom she sought to release was set free, but the end of the inscription seems to imply that Ištar was successful in her mission.

In this story she typifies the faithful wife, but other legends show another side of her character, as in that of Gilgameš, ruler of her city Erech, to whom she makes love. Gilgameš, however, knowing the character of the divine queen of his city too well, reproaches her with her treatment of her husband and her other lovers--Tammuz, to whom, from year to year, she caused bitter weeping; the bright coloured Allala bird, whom she smote and broke his wings; the lion perfect in strength, in whom she cut wounds "by sevens"; the horse glorious in war, to whom she caused hardship and distress, and to his mother Silili bitter weeping; the shepherd who provided for her things which she liked, whom she smote and changed to a jackal; Išullanu, her father's gardener, whom she tried, apparently, to poison, but failing, she smote him, and changed him to a statue(?). On being thus reminded of her misdeeds, Ištar was naturally angry, and, ascending to heaven, complained to her father Anu and her mother Anatu, the result being, that a divine bull was sent against Gilgameš and Enki-du, his friend and helper. The bull, however, was killed, and a portion of the animal having been cut off, Enki-du threw it at the goddess, saying at the same time that, if he could only get hold of her, he would treat her similarly. Apparently Ištar recognised that there was nothing further to be done in the matter, so, gathering the hand-maidens, pleasure-women and whores, in their presence she wept over the portion of the divine bull which had been thrown at her.

The worship of Ištar, she being the goddess of love and war, was considerably more popular than that of her spouse, Tammuz, who, as among the western Semitic nations, was adored rather by the women than the men. Her worship was in all probability of equal antiquity, and branched out, so to say, in several directions, as may be judged by her many names, each of which had a tendency to become a distinct personality. Thus the syllabaries give the character which represents her name as having also been pronounced /Innanna/, /Ennen/, and /Nin/, whilst a not uncommon name in other inscriptions is /Ama-Innanna/, "mother Ištar." The principal seat of her worship in Babylonia was at Erech, and in Assyria at Nineveh--also at Arbela, and many other places. She was also honoured (at Erech and elsewhere) under the Elamite names of Tišpak and Šušinak, "the Susian goddess."

Nina.

From the name /Nin/, which Ištar bore, there is hardly any doubt that she acquired the identification with Nina, which is provable as early

as the time of the Lagašite kings, Lugal-anda and Uru-ka-gina. As identified with Aruru, the goddess who helped Merodach to create mankind, Ištar was also regarded as the mother of all, and in the Babylonian story of the Flood, she is made to say that she had begotten man, but like "the sons of the fishes," he filled the sea. Nina, then, as another form of Ištar, was a goddess of creation, typified in the teeming life of the ocean, and her name is written with a character standing for a house or receptacle, with the sign for "fish" within. Her earliest seat was the city of Nina in southern Babylonia, from which place, in all probability, colonists went northwards, and founded another shrine at Nineveh in Assyria, which afterwards became the great centre of her worship, and on this account the city was called after her Ninaa or Ninua. As their tutelary goddess, the fishermen in the neighbourhood of the Babylonian Nina and Lagaš were accustomed to make to her, as well as to Innanna or Ištar, large offerings of fish.

As the masculine deities had feminine forms, so it is not by any means improbable that the goddesses had masculine forms, and if that be the case, we may suppose that it was a masculine counterpart of Nina who founded Nineveh, which, as is well known, is attributed to Ninos, the same name as Nina with the Greek masculine termination.

Nin-Gursu.

This deity is principally of importance in connection with the ancient Babylonian state of Lagaš, the home of an old and important line of kings and viceroys, among the latter being the celebrated Gudea, whose statues and inscribed cylinders now adorn the Babylonian galleries of the Louvre at Paris. His name means "Lord of Girsu," which was probably one of the suburbs, and the oldest part, of Lagaš. This deity was son of En-lila or Bêl, and was identified with Nirig or Ênu-rêštu. To all appearance he was a sun-deity. The dialectic form of his name was /U-Mersi/, of which a variant, /En-Mersi/, occurs in an incantation published in the fourth volume of the /Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia/, pl. 27, where, for the Sumerian "Take a white kid of En-Mersi," the Semitic translation is "of Tammuz," showing that he was identified with the latter god. In the second volume of the same work Nin-Girsu is given as the pronunciation of the name of the god of agriculturalists, confirming this identification, Tammuz being also god of agriculture.

Bau.

This goddess at all times played a prominent part in ancient Babylonian religion, especially with the rulers before the dynasty of Hammurabi. She was the "mother" of Lagaš, and her temple was at Uru-azaga, a district of Lagaš, the chief city of Nin-Girsu, whose spouse she was. Like Nin-Girsu, she planted (not only grain and vegetation, but also the seed of men). In her character of the goddess who gave life to men, and healed their bodies in sickness, she was identified with Gula, one of those titles is "the lady saving from death". Ga-tum-duga, whose name probably means "making and producing good," was also exceedingly popular in ancient times, and though identified with Bau, is regarded by Jastrow as having been originally distinct from her.

Ereš-ki-gal or Allatu.

As the prototype of Persephone, this goddess is one of much importance for comparative mythology, and there is a legend concerning her of considerable interest. The text is one of those found at Tel-el-Armana, in Egypt, and states that the gods once made a feast, and sent to Ereš-ki-gal, saying that, though they could go down to her, she could not ascend to them, and asking her to send a messenger to fetch away the food destined for her. This she did, and all the gods stood up to receive her messenger, except one, who seems to have withheld this token of respect. The messenger, when he returned, apparently related to Ereš-ki-gal what had happened, and angered thereat, she sent him back to the presence of the gods, asking for the delinquent to be delivered to her, that she might kill him. The gods then discussed the question of death with the messenger, and told him to take to his mistress the god who had not stood up in his presence. When the gods were brought together, that the culprit might be recognised, one of them remained in the background, and on the messenger asking who it was who did not stand up, it was found to be Nerigal. This god was duly sent, but was not at all inclined to be submissive, for instead of killing him, as she had threatened, Ereš-ki-gal found herself seized by the hair and dragged from her throne, whilst the death-dealing god made ready to cut off her head. "Do not kill me, my brother, let me speak to thee," she cried, and on his loosing his hold upon her hair, she continued, "thou shalt be my husband, and I will be thy wife--I will cause you to take dominion in the wide earth. I will place the tablet of wisdom in thine hand--thou shalt be lord, I will be lady." Nerigal thereupon took her, kissed her, and wiped away her tears, saying, "Whatever thou hast asked me for months past now receives assent."

Ereš-ki-gal did not treat her rival in the affections of Tammuz so

gently when Ištar descended to Hades in search of the "husband of her youth." According to the story, not only was Ištar deprived of her garments and ornaments, but by the orders of Ereš-ki-gal, Namtar smote her with disease in all her members. It was not until the gods intervened that Ištar was set free. The meaning of her name is "lady of the great region," a description which is supposed to apply to Hades, and of which a variant, Ereš-ki-gal, "lady of the great house," occurs in the Hymns to Tammuz in the Manchester Museum.

Nergal.

This name is supposed to mean "lord of the great habitation," which would be a parallel to that of his spouse Ereš-ki-gal. He was the ruler of Hades, and at the same time god of war and of disease and pestilence. As warrior, he naturally fought on the side of those who worshipped him, as in the phrase which describes him as "the warrior, the fierce storm-flood overthrowing the land of the enemy." As pointed out by Jastrow, he differs from Nirig, who was also a god of war, in that he symbolises, as god of disease and death, the misery and destruction which accompany the strife of nations. It is in consequence of this side of his character that he appears also as god of fire, the destroying element, and Jensen says that Nergal was god of the midday or of the summer sun, and therefore of all the misfortunes caused by an excess of his heat.

The chief centre of his worship was Cuthah (/Kutû/, Sumerian /Gudua/) near Babylon, now represented by the mounds of Tel Ibrahîm. The identity with the Greek Ares and the Roman Mars is proved by the fact that his planet was /Muštabarrû-mûtanu/, "the death-spreader," which is probably the name of Mars in Semitic Babylonian.

Amurru.

Although this is not by any means a frequent name among the deities worshipped in Babylonia, it is worthy of notice on account of its bearing upon the date of the compilation of the tablet which has been taken as a basis of this list of gods. He was known as "Lord of the mountains," and his worship became very popular during the period of the dynasty to which Hammurabi belonged--say from 2200 to 1937 B.C., when Amurru was much combined with the names of men, and is found both on tablets and cylinder-seals. The ideographic manner of writing it is /Mar-tu/, a word that is used for /Amurru/, the land of the Amorites, which stood for the West in general. Amorites had entered Babylonia in considerable numbers during this period, so that there is but little

doubt that his popularity was largely due to their influence, and the tablet containing these names was probably drawn up, or at least had the Semitic equivalents added, towards the beginning of that period.

Sin or Nannara.

The cult of the moon-god was one of the most popular in Babylonia, the chief seat of his worship being at Uru (now Muqayyar) the Biblical Ur of the Chaldees. The origin of the name Sin is unknown, but it is thought that it may be a corruption of Zu-ena, "knowledge-lord," as the compound ideograph expressing his name may be read and translated. Besides this compound ideograph, the name of the god Sin was also expressed by the character for "30," provided with the prefix of divinity, an ideograph which is due to the thirty days of the month, and is thought to be of late date. With regard to Nannar, Jastrow explains it as being for Narnar, and renders it "light-producer." In a long hymn to this god he is described in many lines as "the lord, prince of the gods, who in heaven alone is supreme," and as "father Nannar." Among his other descriptive titles are "great Anu" (Sum. /ana gale/, Semitic Bab. /Anu rabû/)--another instance of the identification of two deities. He was also "lord of Ur," "lord of the temple Gišnu-gala," "lord of the shining crown," etc. He is also said to be "the mighty steer whose horns are strong, whose limbs are perfect, who is bearded with a beard of lapis-stone,[*] who is filled with beauty and fullness (of splendour)."

[*] Probably of the colour of lapis only, not made of the stone itself.

Besides Babylonia and Assyria, he was also worshipped in other parts of the Semitic east, especially at Harran, to which city Abraham migrated, scholars say, in consequence of the patron-deity being the same as at Ur of the Chaldees, where he had passed the earlier years of his life. The Mountain of Sinai and the Desert of Sin, both bear his name.

According to king Dungi (about 2700 B.C.), the spouse of Sin or Nannara was Nin-Uruwa, "the lady of Ur." Sargon of Assyria (722-705 B.C.) calls her Nin-gala.

Addu or Rammanu.

The numerous names which Hadad bears in the inscriptions, both non-Semitic and Semitic, testify to the popularity which this god enjoyed

at all times in Babylonia. Among his non-Semitic names may be mentioned Mer, Mermer, Muru, all, it may be imagined, imitative. Addu is explained as being his name in the Amorite language, and a variant form, apparently, which has lost its first syllable, namely, Dadu, also appears--the Assyrians seem always to have used the terminationless form of Addu, namely, Adad. In all probability Addu, Adad, and Dadu are derived from the West Semitic Hadad, but the other name, Rammanu, is native Babylonian, and cognate with Rimmon, which is thus shown by the Babylonian form to mean "the thunderer," or something similar. He was the god of winds, storms, and rain, feared on account of the former, and worshipped, and his favour sought, on account of the last. In his name Birqu, he appears as the god of lightning, and Jastrow is of opinion, that he is sometimes associated on that account with Šamaš, both of them being (although in different degrees) gods of light, and this is confirmed by the fact that, in common with the sun-god, he was called "god of justice." In the Assyrian inscriptions he appears as a god of war, and the kings constantly compare the destruction which their armies had wrought with that of "Adad the inundator." For them he was "the mighty one, inundating the regions of the enemy, lands and houses," and was prayed to strike the land of the person who showed hostility to the Assyrian king, with evil-working lightning, to throw want, famine, drought, and corpses therein, to order that he should not live one day longer, and to destroy his name and his seed in the land.

The original seat of his worship was Muru in South Babylonia, to which the patesi of Girsu in the time of Ibi-Sin sent grain as an offering. Its site is unknown. Other places (or are they other names of the same?) where he was worshipped were Ennigi and Kakru. The consort of Addu was Šala, whose worship was likewise very popular, and to whom there were temples, not only in Babylonia and Assyria, but also in Elam, seemingly always in connection with Addu.

Aššur.

In all the deities treated of above, we see the chief gods of the Babylonian and Assyrian pantheon, which were worshipped by both peoples extensively, none of them being specifically Assyrian, though worshipped by the Assyrians. There was one deity, however, whose name will not be found in the Babylonian lists of gods, namely, Aššur, the national god of Assyria, who was worshipped in the city of Aššur, the old capital of the country.

From this circumstance, it may be regarded as certain, that Aššur was the local god of the city whose name he bore, and that he attained to

the position of chief god of the Assyrian pantheon in the same way as Merodach became king of the gods in Babylonia--namely, because Aššur was the capital of the country. His acceptance as chief divinity, however, was much more general than that of Merodach, as temples to him were to be found all over the Assyrian kingdom--a circumstance which was probably due to Assyria being more closely united in itself than Babylonia, causing his name to arouse patriotic feelings wherever it might be referred to. This was probably partly due to the fact, that the king in Assyria was more the representative of the god than in Babylonia, and that the god followed him on warlike expeditions, and when engaged in religious ceremonies--indeed, it is not by any means improbable that he was thought to follow him wherever he went. On the sculptures he is seen accompanying him in the form of a circle provided with wings, in which is shown sometimes a full-length figure of the god in human form, sometimes the upper part only, facing towards and drawing his bow against the foe. In consequence of its general appearance, the image of the god has been likened to the sun in eclipse, the far-stretching wings being thought to resemble the long streamers visible at the moment of totality, and it must be admitted as probable that this may have given the idea of the symbol shown on the sculptures. As a sun-god, and at the same time not the god Šamaš, he resembled the Babylonian Merodach, and was possibly identified with him, especially as, in at least one text, Bêltu (Bêltis) is described as his consort, which would possibly identify Aššur's spouse with Zer-panîtum. The original form of his name would seem to have been Aušar, "water-field," probably from the tract where the city of Aššur was built. His identification with Merodach, if that was ever accepted, may have been due to the likeness of the word to Asari, one of that deity's names. The pronunciation Aššur, however, seems to have led to a comparison with the Anšar of the first tablet of the Creation-story, though it may seem strange that the Assyrians should have thought that their patron-god was a deity symbolising the "host of heaven." Nevertheless, the Greek transcription of Anšar, namely, /Assoros/, given by Damascius, certainly strengthens the indications of the ideograph in this matter. Delitzsch regards the word Aššur, or Ašur, as he reads it, as meaning "holy," and quotes a list of the gods of the city of Nineveh, where the word Aššur occurs three times, suggesting the exclamation "holy, holy, holy," or "the holy, holy, holy one." In all probability, however, the repetition of the name three times simply means that there were three temples dedicated to Aššur in the cities in question.[*] Jastrow agrees with Delitzsch in regarding Ašur as another form of Ašir (found in early Cappadocian names), but he translates it rather as "overseer" or "guardian" of the land and the people--the terminationless form of /aširu/, which has this meaning, and is applied to Merodach.

[*] Or there may have been three shrines to Aššur in each temple referred to.

As the use of the characters /An-šar/ for the god Aššur only appears at a late date (Jastrow says the eighth century B.C.), this would seem to have been the work of the scribes, who wished to read into the name the earlier signification of Anšar, "the host of heaven," an explanation fully in accord with Jastrow's reasonings with regard to the nature of the deity. As he represented no personification or power of nature, he says, but the general protecting spirit of the land, the king, the army, and the people, the capital of the country could be transferred from Aššur to Calah, from there back to Aššur, and finally to Nineveh, without affecting the position of the protecting god of the land in any way. He needed no temple--though such things were erected to him--he had no need to fear that he should suffer in esteem by the preference for some other god. As the embodiment of the spirit of the Assyrian people the personal side of his being remained to a certain extent in the background. If he was the "host of heaven," all the deities might be regarded as having their being in him.

Such was the chief deity of the Assyrians--a national god, grafted on to, but always distinct from, the rest of the pantheon, which, as has been shown, was of Babylonian origin, and always maintained the characteristics and stamp of its origin.

The spouse of Aššur does not appear in the historical texts, and her mention elsewhere under the title of Bêltu, "the lady," does not allow of any identification being made. In one inscription, however, Aššuritu is called the goddess, and Aššur the god, of the star Sib-zī-anna, identified by Jensen with Regulus, which was apparently the star of Merodach in Babylonia. This, however, brings us no nearer, for Aššuritu would simply mean "the Assurite (goddess)."

The minor divinities.

Among the hundreds of names which the lists furnish, a few are worthy of mention, either because of more than ordinary interest, or in consequence of their furnishing the name of some deity, chief in its locality, but identified elsewhere with one of the greater gods.

Aa.--This may be regarded either as the god Êa (though the name is written differently), or as the sun-god assuming the name of his consort; or (what is, perhaps, more probable) as a way of writing A'u or Ya'u (the Hebrew Jah), without the ending of the nominative. This last is also found under the form /Aa'u/, /ya'u/, /yau/, and /ya/.

Abil-addu.--This deity seems to have attained a certain popularity in later times, especially among immigrants from the West. As "the son of Hadad," he was the equivalent of the Syrian Ben-Hadad. A tablet in New York shows that his name was weakened in form to /Ablada/.

Aku, the moon-god among the heavenly bodies. It is this name which is regarded as occurring in the name of the Babylonian king Eri-Aku, "servant of the moon-god," the biblical Arioch (Gen. xiv.).

Amma-an-ki, Êa or Aa as lord of heaven and earth.

Amna.--A name only found in a syllabary, and assigned to the sun-god, from which it would seem that it is a form of the Egyptian Ammon.

Anunitum, the goddess of one of the two Sippars, called Sippar of Anunitum, who was worshipped in the temple Ê-ulmaš within the city of Agadé (Akkad). Sayce identifies, on this account, these two places as being the same. In a list of stars, Anunitum is coupled with Šinunutum, which are explained as (the stars of) the Tigris and Euphrates. These were probably names of Venus as the morning and evening (or evening and morning) star.

Apsu.--The deep dissociated from the evil connection with Tiawath, and regarded as "the house of deep wisdom," i.e. the home of the god Êa or Aa.

Aruru.--One of the deities of Sippar and Aruru (in the time of the dynasty of Hammurabi called Ya'ruru), of which she was the chief goddess. Aruru was one of the names of the "lady of the gods," and aided Merodach to make the seed of mankind.

Bêl.--As this name means "lord," it could be applied, like the Phœnician Baal, to the chief god of any city, as Bêl of Niffur, Bêl of Hursag-kalama, Bêl of Aratta, Bêl of Babylon, etc. This often indicates also the star which represented the chief god of a place.

Bêltu.--In the same way Bêltu, meaning "lady," meant also the chief goddess of any place, as "Aruru, lady of the gods of Sippar of Aruru," "Nin-mah, lady of the gods of Ê-mah," a celebrated temple within Babylon, recently excavated by the Germans, "Nin-hur-saga, lady of the gods of Kêš," etc.

Bunene.--A god associated with Šamaš and Ištar at Sippar and elsewhere. He "gave" and "renewed" to his worshippers.

Dagan.--This deity, whose worship extends back to an exceedingly early date, is generally identified with the Phœnician Dagon. Hammurabi seems to speak of the Euphrates as being "the boundary of Dagan," whom he calls his creator. In later inscriptions the form Daguna, which approaches nearer to the West Semitic form, is found in a few personal names. The Phœnician statues of this deity showed him with the lower part of his body in the form of a fish (see 1 Sam. v. 4). Whether the deities clothed in a fish's skin in the Nimroud gallery be Dagon or not is uncertain--they may be intended for Êa or Aa, the Oannes of Berosus, who was represented in this way. Probably the two deities were regarded as identical.

Damu.--a goddess regarded as equivalent to Gula by the Babylonians and Assyrians. She was goddess of healing, and made one's dreams happy.

Dumu-zi-abzu, "Tammuz of the Abyss."--This was one of the six sons of Êa or Aa, according to the lists. His worship is exceedingly ancient, and goes back to the time of E-anna-tum of Lagaš (about 4000 B.C.). What connection, if any, he may have with Tammuz, the spouse of Ištar, is unknown. Jastrow apparently regards him as a distinct deity, and translates his name "the child of the life of the water-deep."

Elali.--A deity identified with the Hebrew Helal, the new moon. Only found in names of the time of the Hammurabi dynasty, in one of which he appears as "a creator."

En-nugi is described as "lord of streams and canals," and "lord of the earth, lord of no-return." This last description, which gives the meaning of his name, suggests that he was one of the gods of the realm of Ereš-ki-gal, though he may have borne that name simply as god of streams, which always flow down, never the reverse.

Gibil.--One of the names of the god of fire, sometimes transcribed Girru by Assyriologists, the meaning apparently being "the fire-bearer" or "light-bearer." Girru is another name of this deity, and translates an ideographic group, rendered by Delitzsch "great" or "highest decider," suggesting the custom of trial by ordeal. He was identified with Nirig, in Semitic Ênu-rêštu.

Gušqi-banda or Kuski-banda, one of the names of Êa, probably as god of gold-workers.

Išum, "the glorious sacrificer," seemingly a name of the fire-god as a means whereby burnt offerings were made. Nûr-Išum, "light of Išum," is found as a man's name.

Kâawanu, the planet Saturn.

Lagamal.--A god identified with the Elamite Lagamar, whose name is regarded as existing in Chedorlaomer (cf. Gen. xiv. 2). He was the chief god of Mair, "the ship-city."

Lugal-Amarada or Lugal-Marad.--This name means "king of Marad," a city as yet unidentified. The king of this place seems to have been Nerigal, of whom, therefore, Lugal-Marad is another name.

Lugal-banda.--This name means "the powerful king," or something similar, and the god bearing it is supposed to be the same as Nerigal. His consort, however, was named Nin-sun (or Nin-gul).

Lugal-Du-azaga, "the king of the glorious seat."--The founder of Êridu, "the good city within the Abyss," probably the paradise (or a paradise) of the world to come. As it was the aim of every good Babylonian to dwell hereafter with the god whom he had worshipped upon earth, it may be conjectured that this was the paradise in the domain of Êa or Aa.

Mama, Mami.--Names of "the lady of the gods," and creatress of the seed of mankind, Aruru. Probably so called as the "mother" of all things. Another name of this goddess is Ama, "mother."

Mammitum, Mamitum, goddess of fate.

Mur, one of the names of Addu or Rammanu (Hadad or Rimmon).

Nanâ or Nanaa was the consort of Nebo at Borsippa, but appears as a form of Ištar, worshipped, with Anu her father, at Erech.

Nin-aha-kuku, a name of Êa or Aa and of his daughter as deity of the rivers, and therefore of gardens and plantations, which were watered by means of the small canals leading therefrom. As daughter of Êa, this deity was also "lady of the incantation."

Nin-azu, the consort of Ereš-ki-gal, probably as "lord physician." He is probably to be identified with Nerigal.

Nin-igi-nagar-si, a name somewhat more doubtful as to its reading than the others, designates Êa or Aa as "the god of the carpenter." He seems to have borne this as "the great constructor of heaven" or "of Anu."

Nin-mah, chief goddess of the temple Ê-mah in Babylon. Probably to be

identified with Aruru, and therefore with Zer-panîtum.

Nin-šah, a deity whose name is conjectured to mean "lord of the wild boar." He seems to have been a god of war, and was identified with Nirig or Ênu-rêštu and Pap-sukal.

Nin-sirsir, Êa as the god of sailors.

Nin-sun, as pointed out by Jastrow, was probably the same as Ištar or Nanâ of Erech, where she had a shrine, with them, in Ê-anna, "the house of Anu." He renders her name "the annihilating lady,"[*] "appropriate for the consort of a sun-god," for such he regards Lugal-banda her spouse. King Sin-gasid of Erech (about 3000 B.C.) refers to her as his mother.

[*] This is due to the second element of the name having, with another pronunciation, the meaning of "to destroy."

Nun-urra.--Êa, as the god of potters.

Pap-sukal.--A name of Nin-šah as the "divine messenger," who is also described as god "of decisions." Nin-šah would seem to have been one of the names of Pap-sukal rather than the reverse.

Qarradu, "strong," "mighty," "brave."--This word, which was formerly translated "warrior," is applied to several deities, among them being Bêl, Nergal, Nirig (Ênu-rêštu), and Šamaš, the sun-god.

Ragimu and Ramimu, names of Rimmon or Hadad as "the thunderer." The second comes from the same root as Rammanu (Rimmon).

Šuqamunu.--A deity regarded as "lord of watercourses," probably the artificial channels dug for the irrigation of fields.

Ura-gala, a name of Nerigal.

Uraš, a name of Nirig, under which he was worshipped at Dailem, near Babylon.

Zagaga, dialectic Zamama.--This deity, who was a god of war, was identified with Nirig. One of this titles was /bêl parakki/, "lord of the royal chamber," or "throne-room."

Zaraqu or Zariqu.--As the root of this name means "to sprinkle," he was probably also a god of irrigation, and may have presided over ceremonial purification. He is mentioned in names as the "giver of

seed" and "giver of a name" (i.e. offspring).

These are only a small proportion of the names found in the inscriptions, but short as the list necessarily is, the nature, if not the full composition, of the Babylonian pantheon will easily be estimated therefrom.

It will be seen that besides the identifications of the deities of all the local pantheons with each other, each divinity had almost as many names as attributes and titles, hence their exceeding multiplicity. In such an extensive pantheon, many of the gods composing it necessarily overlap, and identification of each other, to which the faith, in its primitive form, was a stranger, were inevitable. The tendency to monotheism which this caused will be referred to later on.

The gods and the heavenly bodies.

It has already been pointed out that, from the evidence of the Babylonian syllabary, the deities of the Babylonians were not astral in their origin, the only gods certainly originating in heavenly bodies being the sun and the moon. This leads to the supposition that the Babylonians, bearing these two deities in mind, may have asked themselves why, if these two were represented by heavenly bodies, the others should not be so represented also. Be this as it may, the other deities of the pantheon were so represented, and the full planetary scheme, as given by a bilingual list in the British Museum, was as follows:

Aku	Sin	the moon	Sin
Bišebi	Šamaš	the sun	Šamaš
Dapinu	Umun-sig-êa	Jupiter	Merodach
Zib[*]	Dele-bat	Venus	Ištar
Lu-lim	Lu-bat-sag-uš	Saturn	Nirig (acc. to Jensen)
Bibbu	Lubat-gud	Mercury	Nebo
Simutu	Muštabarru	Mars	Nergal
	mûtanu		

All the above names of planets have the prefix of divinity, but in other inscriptions the determinative prefix is that for "star," /kakkabu/.

[*] This is apparently a Sumerian dialectic form, the original word having seemingly been Zig.

Moon and Sun.

Unfortunately, all the above identifications of the planets with the deities in the fourth column are not certain, namely, those corresponding with Saturn, Mercury, and Mars. With regard to the others, however, there is no doubt whatever. The reason why the moon is placed before the sun is that the sun, as already explained, was regarded as his son. It was noteworthy also that the moon was accredited with two other offspring, namely, Mâšu and Mâštu--son and daughter respectively. As /mâšu/ means "twin," these names must symbolise the two halves, or, as we say, "quarters" of the moon, who were thus regarded, in Babylonian mythology, as his "twin children."

Jupiter and Saturn.

Concerning Jupiter, who is in the above called Dapinu (Semitic), and Umun-sig-êa (Sumerian), it has already been noted that he was called Nibiru--according to Jensen, Merodach as he who went about among the stars "pasturing" them like sheep, as stated in the Babylonian story of the Creation (or Bel and the Dragon). This is explained by him as being due to the comparatively rapid and extensive path of Jupiter on the ecliptic, and it would seem probable that the names of Saturn, /Kâawanu/ and /Sag-uš/ (the former, which is Semitic Babylonian, meaning "steadfast," or something similar, and the latter, in Sumerian, "head-firm" or "steadfast"--"phlegmatic"), to all appearance indicate in like manner the deliberation of his movements compared with those of the planet dedicated to the king of the gods.

Venus at sunrise and sunset.

A fragment of a tablet published in 1870 gives some interesting particulars concerning the planet Venus, probably explaining some as yet unknown mythological story concerning her. According to this, she was a female at sunset, and a male at sunrise; Ištar of Agadé (Akad or Akkad) at sunrise, and Ištar of Erech at sunset: Ištar of the stars at sunrise, and the lady of the gods at sunset.

And in the various months.

Ištar was identified with Nin-si-anna in the first month of the year (Nisan = March-April), with the star of the bow in Ab (August-September), etc. In Sebat (January-February) she was the star of the water-channel, Ikû, which was Merodach's star in Sivan (May-June), and

in Marcheswan her star was Rabbu, which also belonged to Merodach in the same month. It will thus be seen, that Babylonian astronomy is far from being as clear as would be desired, but doubtless many difficulties will disappear when further inscriptions are available.

Stars identified with Merodach.

The same fragment gives the celestial names of Merodach for every month of the year, from which it would appear, that the astrologers called him Umun-sig-êa in Nisan (March-April), Dapinu in Tammuz (June-July), Nibiru in Tisri (September-October), Šarru (the star Regulus), in Tebet (December-January), etc. The first three are names by which the planet Jupiter was known.

As for the planets and stars, so also for the constellations, which are identified with many gods and divine beings, and probably contain references, in their names and descriptions, to many legends. In the sixth tablet of the Creation-series, it is related of Merodach that, after creating the heavens and the stations for Anu, Bêl, and Ae,

"He built firmly the stations of the great gods--
Stars their likeness--he set up the /Lumali/,
He designated the year, he outlined the (heavenly) forms.
He set for the twelve months three stars each,
From the day when the year begins, . . . for signs."

As pointed out by Mr. Robert Brown, jr., who has made a study of these things, the "three stars" for each month occur on one of the remains of planispheres in the British Museum, and are completed by a tablet which gives them in list-form, in one case with explanations. Until these are properly identified, however, it will be impossible to estimate their real value. The signs of the Zodiac, which are given by another tablet, are of greater interest, as they are the originals of those which are in use at the present time:--

Month	Sign	Equivalent
Nisan (Mar.-Apr.)	The Labourer	The Ram
Iyyar (Apr.-May)	/Mulmula/ and the Bull of heaven	The Bull
Sivan (May-June)	/Sib-zi-anna/ and the great Twins	The Twins
Tammuz (June-July)	/Allul/ or /Nagar/	The Crab
Ab (July.-Aug.)	The Lion (or dog)	The Lion
Elul (Aug.-Sep.)	The Ear of corn(?)	The ear of Corn (Virgo)
Tisri (Sep.-Oct.)	The Scales	The Scales
Marcheswan (Oct.-Nov.)	The Scorpion	The Scorpion

Chisleu (Nov.-Dec.)	/Pa-bil-sag/	The Archer
Tebet (Dec.-Jan.)	/Sahar-maš/, the Fish-kid	The Goat
Sebat (Jan.-Feb.)	/Gula/	The Water-bearer
Adar (Feb.-Mar.)	The Water Channel and the Tails	The Fishes

Parallels in Babylonian legends.

The "bull of heaven" probably refers to some legend such as that of the story of Gilgameš in his conflict with the goddess Ištar when the divine bull was killed; /Sib-zi-anna/, "the faithful shepherd of heaven," suggests that this constellation may refer to Tammuz, the divine shepherd; whilst "the scorpion" reminds us of the scorpion-men who guarded the gate of the sun (Šamaš), when Gilgameš was journeying to gain information concerning his friend Enki-du, who had departed to the place of the dead. Sir Henry Rawlinson many years ago pointed out that the story of the Flood occupied the eleventh tablet of the Gilgameš series, corresponding with the eleventh sign of the Zodiac, Aquarius, or the Water-bearer.

Other star-names.

Other names of stars or constellations include "the weapon of Merodach's hand," probably that with which he slew the dragon of Chaos; "the Horse," which is described as "the god Zû," Rimmon's storm-bird--Pegasus; "the Serpent," explained as Ereš-ki-gal, the queen of Hades, who would therefore seem to have been conceived in that form; "the Scorpion," which is given as /Išhara tântim/, "Išhara of the sea," a description difficult to explain, unless it refer to her as the goddess of the Phœnician coast. Many other identifications, exceedingly interesting, await solution.

How the gods were represented. On cylinder-seals.

Many representations of the gods occur, both on bas-reliefs, boundary-stones, and cylindrical and ordinary seals. Unfortunately, their identification generally presents more or less difficulty, on account of the absence of indications of their identity. On a small cylinder-seal in the possession of the Rev. Dr. W. Hayes Ward, Merodach is shown striding along the serpentine body of Tiawath, who turns her head to attack him, whilst the god threatens her with a pointed weapon which he carries. Another, published by the same scholar, shows a deity, whom he regards as being Merodach, driven in a chariot drawn by a winged lion, upon whose shoulders stands a naked goddess, holding

thunderbolts in each hand, whom he describes as Zer-panîtum. Another cylinder-seal shows the corn-deity, probably Nisaba, seated in flounced robe and horned hat, with corn-stalks springing out from his shoulders, and holding a twofold ear of corn in his hand, whilst an attendant introduces, and another with a threefold ear of corn follows, a man carrying a plough, apparently as an offering. On another, a beautiful specimen from Assyria, Ištar is shown standing on an Assyrian lion, which turns his head as if to caress her feet. As goddess of war, she is armed with bow and arrows, and her star is represented upon the crown of her tiara.

On boundary-stones, etc.

On the boundary-stones of Babylonia and the royal monoliths of Assyria the emblems of the gods are nearly always seen. Most prominent are three horned tiaras, emblematic, probably, of Merodach, Anu, and Bêl (the older). A column ending in a ram's head is used for Êa or Ae, a crescent for Sin or Nannar, the moon-god; a disc with rays for Šamaš, the sun-god; a thunderbolt for Rimmon or Hadad, the god of thunder, lightning, wind, and storms; a lamp for Nusku, etc. A bird, perhaps a hawk, stood for Utu-gišgallu, a deity whose name has been translated "the southern sun," and is explained in the bilingual inscriptions as Šamaš, the sun-god, and Nirig, one of the gods of war. The emblem of Gal-alim, who is identified with the older Bêl, is a snarling dragon's head forming the termination of a pole, and that of Dun-ašaga is a bird's head similarly posed. On a boundary-stone of the time of Nebuchadnezzar I., about 1120 B.C., one of the signs of the gods shows a horse's head in a kind of shrine, probably the emblem of Rimmon's storm-bird, Zû, the Babylonian Pegasus.

Other divine figures.

One of the finest of all the representations of divinities is that of the "Sun-god-stone," found by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam at Abu-habbah (the ancient Sippar), which was one of the chief seats of his worship. It represents him, seated in his shrine, holding in his hand a staff and a ring, his usual emblems, typifying his position as judge of the world and his endless course. The position of Merodach as sun-god is confirmed by the small lapis-lazuli relief found by the German expedition at the mound known as Amran ibn 'Alī, as he also carries a staff and a ring, and his robe is covered with ornamental circles, showing, in all probability, his solar nature. In the same place another small relief representing Rimmon or Hadad was found. His robe has discs emblematic of the five planets, and he holds in each hand

a thunderbolt, one of which he is about to launch forth. Merodach is accompanied by a large two-horned dragon, whilst Hadad has a small winged dragon, typifying the swiftness of his course, and another animal, both of which he holds with cords.

CHAPTER V

THE DEMONS: EXORCISMS AND CEREMONIES

Good and evil spirits, gods and demons, were fully believed in by the Babylonians and Assyrians, and many texts referring to them exist. Naturally it is not in some cases easy to distinguish well between the special functions of these supernatural appearances which they supposed to exist, but their nature is, in most cases, easily ascertained from the inscriptions.

To all appearance, the Babylonians imagined that spirits resided everywhere, and lay in wait to attack mankind, and to each class, apparently, a special province in bringing misfortune, or tormenting, or causing pain and sickness, was assigned. All the spirits, however, were not evil, even those whose names would suggest that their character was such--there were good "liers in wait," for instance, as well as evil ones, whose attitude towards mankind was beneficent.

The /utukku/. This was a spirit which was supposed to do the will of Anu, the god of the heavens. There was the /utukku/ of the plain, the mountains, the sea, and the grave.

The /âlû/. Regarded as the demon of the storm, and possibly, in its origin, the same as the divine bull sent by Ištar to attack Gilgameš, and killed by Enki-du. It spread itself over a man, overpowering him upon his bed, and attacking his breast.

The /êdimmu/. This is generally, but wrongly, read /êkimmu/, and translated "the seizer," from /êkemu/, "to seize." In reality, however, it was an ordinary spirit, and the word is used for the wraiths of the departed. The "evil /êdimmu/" was apparently regarded as attacking the middle part of a man.

The /gallu/. As this word is borrowed from the Sumerian /galla/, which has a dialectic form, /mulla/, it is not improbable that it may be connected with the word /mula/, meaning "star," and suggesting something which is visible by the light it gives--possibly a will-o'-the-wisp,--though others are inclined to regard the word as being

connected with /gala/, "great." In any case, its meaning seems to have become very similar to "evil spirit" or "devil" in general, and is an epithet applied by the Assyrian king Aššur-bani-âpli to Te-umman, the Elamite king against whom he fought.

The /îlu limnu/, "evil god," was probably originally one of the deities of Tiawath's brood, upon whom Merodach's redemption had had no effect.

The /rabisu/ is regarded as a spirit which lay in wait to pounce upon his prey.

The /labartu/, in Sumerian /dimme/, was a female demon. There were seven evil spirits of this kind, who were apparently regarded as being daughters of Anu, the god of the heavens.

The /labasu/, in Sumerian /dimmea/, was apparently a spirit which overthrew, that being the meaning of the root from which the word comes.

The /âhhazu/, in Sumerian /dimme-kur/, was apparently so called as "the seizer," that being the meaning indicated by the root.

The /lilu/, in Sumerian /lila/, is generally regarded as "the night-monster," the word being referred to the Semitic root /lîl/ or /layl/, whence the Hebrew /layil/, Arabic /layl/, "night." Its origin, however, is Sumerian, from /lila/, regarded as meaning "mist." To the word /lilu/ the ancient Babylonians formed a feminine, /lilîthu/, which entered the Hebrew language under the form of /lilith/, which was, according to the rabbins, a beautiful woman, who lay in wait for children by night. The /lilu/ had a companion who is called his handmaid or servant.

The /namtaru/ was apparently the spirit of fate, and therefore of greater importance than those already mentioned. This being was regarded as the beloved son of Bêl, and offspring of /Ereš-ki-gal/ or Persephone, and he had a spouse named /Huš-bi-šaga/. Apparently he executed the instructions given him concerning the fate of men, and could also have power over certain of the gods.

The /šêdu/ were apparently deities in the form of bulls. They were destructive, of enormous power, and unsparing. In a good sense the /šêdu/ was a protecting deity, guarding against hostile attacks. Erech and the temple Ê-kura were protected by spirits such as these, and to one of them Išum, "the glorious sacrificer," was likened.

The /lamassu/, from the Sumerian /lama/, was similar in character to the /šêdu/, but is thought to have been of the nature of a colossus--a winged man-headed bull or lion. It is these creatures which the kings placed at the sides of the doors of their palaces, to protect the king's footsteps. In early Babylonian times a god named Lama was one of the most popular deities of the Babylonian pantheon.

A specimen incantation.

Numerous inscriptions, which may be regarded as dating, in their origin, from about the middle of the third millennium before Christ, speak of these supernatural beings, and also of others similar. One of the most perfect of these inscriptions is a large bilingual tablet of which a duplicate written during the period of the dynasty of Hammurabi (before 2000 B.C.) exists, and which was afterwards provided with a Semitic Babylonian translation. This inscription refers to the evil god, the evil /utukku/, the /utukku/ of the plain, of the mountain, of the sea, and of the grave; the evil /šêdu/, the glorious /âlû/, or divine bull, and the evil unsparing wind. There was also that which takes the form of a man, the evil face, the evil eye, the evil mouth, the evil tongue, the evil lip, the evil breath; also the afflicting /asakku/ (regarded as the demon of fever), the /asakku/ which does not leave a man: the afflicting /namtaru/ (fate), the severe /namtaru/, the /namtaru/ which does not quit a man. After this are mentioned various diseases, bodily pains, annoyances, such as "the old shoe, the broken shoe-lace, the food which afflicts the body of a man, the food which turns in eating, the water which chokes in drinking," etc. Other things to be exorcised included the spirit of death, people who had died of hunger, thirst, or in other ways; the handmaid of the /lilu/ who had no husband, the prince of the /lilu/ who had no wife, whether his name had been recorded or unrecorded.

The method of exorcising the demons causing all these things is curious. White and black yarn was spun, and fastened to the side and canopy of the afflicted person's bed--the white to the side and the top or canopy, the black to the left hand--and then, apparently, the following words were said:--

"Evil /utukku/, evil /âlû/, evil /êdimmu/, evil /gallu/, evil god, evil /rabisu/, /labartu/, /labasu/, /âhhazu/, /lilu/, /lilithu/, handmaid of /lilu/, sorcery, enchantment, magic, disaster, machination which is not good--may they not set their head to his head, their hand to his hand, their foot to his foot--may they not draw near. Spirit of heaven, mayest thou exorcise, spirit of earth, mayest thou exorcise."

But this was only the beginning of the real ceremony. The god Asari-alim-nunna (Merodach), "eldest son of Êridu," was asked to wash him in pure and bright water twice seven times, and then would the evil lier-in-wait depart, and stand aside, and a propitious /šêdu/ and a propitious /labartu/ reside in his body. The gates right and left having been thus, so to say, shut close, the evil gods, demons, and spirits would be unable to approach him, wherever he might be. "Spirit of heaven, exorcise, spirit of earth, exorcise." Then, after an invocation of Êrêš-ki-gal and Išum, the final paragraph was pronounced:--

"The afflicted man, by an offering of grace
In health like shining bronze shall be made bright.
As for that man,
Šamaš shall give him life.
Merodach, first-born son of the Abyss,
It is thine to purify and glorify.
Spirit of heaven, mayest thou exorcise, spirit of
earth, mayest thou exorcise."

Rites and ceremonies.

As may be expected, the Babylonians and Assyrians had numerous rites and ceremonies, the due carrying out of which was necessary for the attainment of the grace demanded, or for the efficacy of the thanks tendered for favours received.

Perhaps the oldest ceremony recorded is that which Ut-napištim, the Chaldæan Noah, made on the /zikkurat/ or peak of the mountain after the coming forth from the ship which had saved him and his from the Flood. The Patriarch's description of this ceremony is short:--

"I sent forth to the four winds, I poured out a libation
I made an offering on the peak of the mountain:
Seven and seven I set incense-vases there,
Into their depths I poured cane, cedar, and scented wood(?).
The gods smelled a savour,
The gods smelled a sweet savour,
The gods gathered like flies over the sacrificer."

Following in the footsteps of their great progenitor, the Babylonians and Assyrians became a most pious race, constantly rendering to their gods the glory for everything which they succeeded in bringing to a successful issue. Prayer, supplication, and self-abasement before their gods seem to have been with them a duty and a pleasure:--

"The time for the worship of the gods was my heart's delight,
The time of the offering to Ištar was profit and riches,"

sings Ludlul the sage, and all the people of his land were one with him in that opinion.

It is noteworthy that the offering of the Chaldæan Noah consisted of vegetable produce only, and there are many inscriptions referring to similar bloodless sacrifices, and detailing the ritual used in connection therewith. Sacrifices of animals, however, seem to have been constantly made--in any case, offerings of cattle and fowl, in list-form, are fairly numerous. Many a cylinder-seal has a representation of the owner bringing a young animal--a kid or a lamb--as an offering to the deity whom he worshipped, and in the inscriptions the sacrifice of animals is frequently referred to. One of the bilingual texts refers to the offering of a kid or some other young animal, apparently on behalf of a sick man. The text of this, where complete, runs as follows:--

"The fatling which is the 'head-raiser' of mankind--
He has given the fatling for his life.
He has given the head of the fatling for his head,
He has given the neck of the fatling for his neck,
He has given the breast of the fatling for his breast."

Whether human sacrifices were common or not is a doubtful point. Many cylinder-seals exist in which the slaying of a man is depicted, and the French Assyriologist Menant was of opinion that they represented a human offering to the gods. Hayes Ward, however, is inclined to doubt this explanation, and more evidence would seem, therefore, to be needed. He is inclined to think that, in the majority of cases, the designs referred to show merely the victims of divine anger or vengeance, punished by the deity for some misdeed or sin, either knowingly or unknowingly committed.

In the Assyrian galleries of the British Museum, Aššur-nasir-âpli, king of Assyria, is several times shown engaged in religious ceremonies--either worshipping before the sacred tree, or about to pour out, apparently, a libation to the gods before departing upon some expedition, and priests bringing offerings, either animal or vegetable, are also represented. Aššur-banî-âpli, who is identified with "the great and noble Asnapper," is shown, in bas-reliefs of the Assyrian Saloon, pouring out a thank-offering over the lions which he has killed, after his return from the hunt.

CHAPTER VI

PROBLEMS WHICH THE STUDY OFFERS

Monotheism.

As the matter of Babylonian monotheism has been publicly touched upon by Fried. Delitzsch in his "Babel und Bibel" lectures, a few words upon that important point will be regarded in all probability as appropriate. It has already been indicated that the giving of the names of "the gods his fathers" to Merodach practically identified them with him, thus leading to a tendency to monotheism. That tendency is, perhaps, hinted at in a letter of Aššur-banî-âpli to the Babylonians, in which he frequently mentions the Deity, but in doing so, uses either the word /îlu/, "God," Merodach, the god of Babylon, or Bêl, which may be regarded as one of his names. The most important document for this monotheistic tendency, however (confirming as it does the tablet of the fifty-one names), is that in which at least thirteen of the Babylonian deities are identified with Merodach, and that in such a way as to make them merely forms in which he manifested himself to men. The text of this inscription is as follows:--

". . .	is Merodach of planting.
Lugal-aki-. . .	is Merodach of the water-course.
Nirig	is Merodach of strength.
Nergal	is Merodach of war.
Zagaga	is Merodach of battle.
Bêl	is Merodach of lordship and domination.
Nebo	is Merodach of trading(?).
Sin	is Merodach the illuminator of the night.
Šamaš	is Merodach of righteous things.
Addu	is Merodach of rain.
Tišpak	is Merodach of frost(?).
Sig	is Merodach of green things(?).
Šuqamunu	is Merodach of the irrigation-channel."

Here the text breaks off, but must have contained several more similar identifications, showing how at least the more thoughtful of the Babylonians of old looked upon the host of gods whom they worshipped. What may be the date of this document is uncertain, but as the colophon seems to describe it as a copy of an older inscription, it may go back as far as 2000 years B.C. This is the period at which the name /Yaum-îlu/ "Jah is God," is found, together with numerous

references to /îlu/ as the name for the one great god, and is also, roughly, the date of Abraham, who, it may be noted, was a Babylonian of Ur of the Chaldees. It will probably not be thought too venturesome to say that his monotheism was possibly the result of the religious trend of thought in his time.

Dualism.

Damascius, in his valuable account of the belief of the Babylonians concerning the Creation, states that, like the other barbarians, they reject the doctrine of the one origin of the universe, and constitute two, Tauthé (Tiawath) and Apsu. This twofold principle, however, is only applicable to the system in that it makes of the sea and the deep (for such are the meanings of the two words) two personages--the female and the male personifications of primæval matter, from which all creation sprang, and which gave birth to the gods of heaven themselves. As far as the physical constituents of these two principals are concerned, their tenets might be described as having "materialistic monism" as their basis, but inasmuch as they believed that each of these two principals had a mind, the description "idealistic monism" cannot be applied to it--it is distinctly a dualism.

And Monism.

Divested of its idealistic side, however, there would seem to be no escape from regarding the Babylonian idea of the origin of things as monistic.[*] This idea has its reflection, though not its reproduction, in the first chapter of Genesis, in which, verses 2, 6, and 7, water is represented as the first thing existing, though not the first abode of life. This divergency from the Babylonian view was inevitable with a monotheistic nation, such as the Jews were, regarding as they did the Deity as the great source of everything existing. What effect the moving of the Spirit of God upon the face of the waters (v.2) was supposed by them to have had, is uncertain, but it is to be noted that it was the land (vv. 11, 12) which first brought forth, at the command of God.

[*] Monism. The doctrine which holds that in the universe there is only a single element or principle from which everything is developed, this single principle being either mind (/idealistic monism/) or matter (/materialistic monism/). (Annandale.)

The future life.

The belief in a future life is the natural outcome of a religious belief such as the Babylonians, Assyrians, and many of the surrounding nations possessed. As has been shown, a portion of their creed consisted in hero-worship, which pre-supposes that the heroes in question continued to exist, in a state of still greater power and glory, after the conclusion of their life here upon earth.

"The god Bêl hates me--I cannot dwell in this land, and in the territory of Bêl I cannot set my face. I shall descend then to the Abyss; with Aa my lord shall I constantly dwell." It is with these words that, by the counsel of the god Aa, Ut-napištim explained to those who questioned him the reason why he was building the ship or ark which was to save him and his from the Flood, and there is but little doubt that the author of the story implied that he announced thereby his approaching death, or his departure to dwell with his god without passing the dread portals of the great leveller. This belief in the life beyond the grave seems to have been that which was current during the final centuries of the third millennium before Christ--when a man died, it was said that his god took him to himself, and we may therefore suppose, that there were as many heavens--places of contentment and bliss--as there were gods, and that every good man was regarded as going and dwelling evermore with the deity which he had worshipped and served faithfully during his lifetime.

Gilgameš, the half-divine king of Erech, who reigned during the half-mythical period, on losing his friend and counsellor, Enki-du, set out to find him, and to bring him back, if possible, from the underworld where he was supposed to dwell. His death, however, had not been like that of an ordinary man; it was not Namtaru, the spirit of fate, who had taken him, nor a misfortune such as befalls ordinary men, but Nerigal's unsparing lie-in-wait--yet though Nerigal was the god of war, Enki-du had not fallen on the battlefield of men, but had been seized by the earth (apparently the underworld where the wicked are is meant) in consequence, seemingly, of some trick or trap which had been laid for him.

The gods were therefore prayed, in turn, to bring him back, but none of them listened except Êa, who begged him of Nerigal, whereupon the latter opened the entrance to the place where he was--the hole of the earth--and brought forth "the spirit (/utukku/) of Enki-du like mist." Immediately after this come the words, "Tell, my friend, tell, my friend--the law of the land which thou sawest, tell," and the answer, "I will not tell thee, friend, I will not tell thee--if I tell thee the law of the land which I saw, . . . sit down, weep." Ultimately,

however, the person appealed to--apparently the disembodied Enki-du--reveals something concerning the condition of the souls in the place of his sojourn after death, as follows:--

"Whom thou sawest [die] the death(?) [of][*] . . . [I see]--
In the resting-place of . . . reposing, pure waters he drinketh.
Whom in the battle thou sawest killed, I see--
His father and his mother raise his head,
And his wife upon [him leaneth?].
Whose corpse thou hast seen thrown down in the plain, I see--
His /edimmu/ in the earth repositeth not.
Whose /edimmu/ thou sawest without a caretaker, I see--
The leavings of the dish, the remains of the food,
Which in the street is thrown, he eateth."

[*] (?) "The death of the righteous," or something similar?

It is naturally difficult to decide in a passage like this, the difference existing between a man's /utukku/ and his /edimmu/, but the probability is, that the former means his spiritual essence, whilst the latter stands for the ghostly shadow of his body, resembling in meaning the /ka/ of the Egyptians. To all appearance the abode described above is not the place of the punishment of the wicked, but the dwelling of those accounted good, who, if lucky in the manner of their death, and the disposal of their bodies, enjoyed the highest happiness in the habitation of the blest. The other place, however, is otherwise described (it occurs in the account of Ištar's descent into Hades, and in the seventh tablet of the Gilgameš series--the latter differing somewhat):--

"Upon the land of No-return, the region of . . . ,
[Set] Istar, daughter of Sin, her ear.
The daughter of Sin set then her ear . . .
Upon the house of gloom, the seat of Irkalla--[*]
Upon the house whose entrance hath no exit,[†]
Upon the path whose way hath no return,
Upon the house whose enterers are deprived of light,
Where dust is their nourishment, their food mud,
Light they see not, in darkness they dwell,
Clothed also, like a bird, in a dress of feathers.
Upon the door and bolt the dust hath blown."

[*] One of the names of Nergal.

[†] Or "whose enterer goeth not forth."

Seven gates gave access to this place of gloom, and the porter, as he let the visitor in, took from her (the goddess Ištar in the narrative) at each an article of clothing, until, at the last, she entered quite naked, apparently typifying the fact that a man can take nothing with him when he dieth, and also, in this case, that he has not even his good deeds wherewith to clothe himself, for had they outweighed his evil ones, he would not have found himself in that dread abode.

On the arrival of Ištar in Hades, Erêš-ki-gal commanded Namtaru, the god of fate, to smite Ištar with disease in all her members--eyes, sides, feet, heart, and head. As things went wrong on the earth in consequence of the absence of the goddess of love, the gods sent a messenger to effect her release. When he reached the land of No-return, the queen of the region threatened him with all kinds of torments--the food of the gutters of the city were to be his food, the oil-jars of the city (naptha?) his drink, the gloom of the castle his resting-place, a stone slab his seat, and hunger and thirst were to shatter his strength. These were evidently the punishments inflicted there, but as the messenger threatened was a divine one, they were probably not put into execution, and he obtained his demand, for Ištar was set free, receiving back at each gate, in reverse order, the clothing and ornaments which had been taken from her when she had descended thither. It is uncertain whether Tammuz, for whom she had gone down, was set free also, but as he is referred to, it is not improbable that this was the case.

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Sacred Texts | Ancient Near East

« Previous: The Philistines: Index of Scriptural References Index Next: Records of
the Past »

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Myths of Crete & Pre-Hellenic Europe

By Donald A. Mackenzie

[1917]

Contents Start Reading Page Index Text [Zipped]

When I first saw learned of the existence of this book, I was a little surprised, since very little concrete information is available on this topic, and even less was known in 1917. However, to paraphrase a recent President of the United States, Myths of Crete depends on what your definition of of is....

There is substantial mythology about Crete. The Minoan civilization, which predated the better known classical Hellenic period by several hundred years, disappeared catastrophically, battered by volcanic eruptions and barbarian incursions. Successive generations, starting with the classical Greeks, created a vast number of myths about the vanished sea-empire. The Homeric epics, Daedalus and Icarus, King Minos and the Minotaur, and even, as Mackenzie points out, Atlantis, were all influenced by hearsay and speculation about the lost Cretan empire.

At the beginning of the 20th century archeologists finally started to excavate the Minoan ruins. Based largely on circumstantial evidence such as the vivid wall art and the startling Goddess iconography, popularizers like Mackenzie built an entire new set of myths about the ancient Cretans. This mythology was eagerly adopted by neo-pagans, starting with Robert Graves, who wrote a little-known science fiction novel on the subject, *Watch the Northwind Rise*.

What do we actually know about Minoan mythology as of today? In a word, nothing. The Minoans developed the first known European writing systems, known as Linear A and B. Linear B was deciphered by Michael Ventris in 1952. Only commercial documents have been found, as befits a sea-trading empire. The other Minoan script, Linear A, remains a mystery. Although the phonetic values of some Linear A symbols have been tentatively identified, they have yet to be translated. So we have no translated Minoan religious documents to work with, although we can infer that certain Linear A texts are magical or religious in nature because they are inscribed on ritual objects.

We can assume from the prevalence of female images in ritual contexts that the Minoans worshipped one or more Goddesses. We also know that animals played an important role in their rituals, particularly snakes and bulls. However, any attempt at this point to make definite statements about their mythology or spiritual practices is inferential at best.

One factual correction must be noted. The story of Schliemann's Atlantis bequest, reported in Chapter V, page 98, turned out to be a complete hoax. This yarn appeared in a sensationalist Hearst newspaper in 1914, and as this book was written only a few years later, we can probably forgive Mackenzie for reporting it as fact. The entire article, How I found the Lost Atlantis, along with our analysis of it, is also at sacred-texts.

Nevertheless, Mackenzie, who also wrote *Myths and Legends of Ancient Egypt*, manages to stretch the subject matter out into a full 300 page book. Informative, well researched and very readable, *Myths of Crete* is a unique book about a very opaque period of history.

--J.B. Hare, June 2002.

Title Page

Preface

Contents

Plates in Colour

Plates in Monochrome

Introduction

Chapter I. Primitive Europeans of the Glacial and Inter-glacial Periods

Chapter II. Palæolithic Magic and Religion

Chapter III. Ancient Peoples of the Goddess Cult

Chapter IV. History in Myth and Legend--Schliemann's Discoveries

Chapter V. Crete as the Lost Atlantis

Chapter VI. The Great Palace of Knossos

Chapter VII. Races and Myths of Neolithic Crete

Chapter VII. Pre-Hellenic Earth and Corn Mothers

Chapter IX. Growth of Cretan Culture and Commerce

Chapter X. Trading Relations with Troy

Chapter XI. Life in the Little Towns

Chapter XII. The Palace of Phæstos

Chapter XIII. Cave Deities and their Symbols

Chapter XIV. Decline of Crete and Rise of Greece

Sacred Texts | Classics

« Previous: Myths of Greece and Rome: Bibliography
Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe: Title Page »

Index Next: Myths of

Home Texts Audio Resources What's new FAQ Links Shop Glossary Contact

WZSE – Weekly Scripture

Avesta — Zoroastrian Archives

Today is month Day, day Day-pa-Adar, year AY 1395
It is the second Jashan of Dadvah (the Creator).

"Zoroastrianism is the oldest of the revealed world-religions, and it has probably had more influence on mankind, directly and indirectly, than any other single faith." - Boyce, Zoroastrians, 1979, p. 1.

"Zoroaster was thus the first to teach the doctrines of an individual judgment, Heaven and Hell, the future resurrection of the body, the general Last Judgment, and life everlasting for the reunited soul and body. These doctrines were to become familiar articles of faith to much of mankind, through borrowings by Judaism, Christianity and Islam; yet it is in Zoroastrianism itself that they have their fullest logical coherence...." - Boyce, op. cit. p. 29.

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AVESTA

(Ancient scriptures of Zoroastrianism)

YASNA: Sacred Liturgy and Gathas/Hymns of Zarathushtra...

Index...

Gâthâ-bâ-mâni: transliterated and translated into English by K. E. Kanga. Scanned by Soli Dastur. Used with permission.

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Multimedia Yasna (from SOAS)

KHORDA AVESTA: Book of Common Prayer...

Index...

Khorda Avesta (English) edited by K. E. Kanga, kindly contributed and scanned by Soli Dastur. Also available as an EPUB.

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Index...

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FRAGMENTS...

MIDDLE PERSIAN ("Pahlavi")

(Sacred literature preserved in the middle-Persian language)

Arda Viraf: visit to Heaven & Hell

Bundahishn Zoroastrian cosmology...

Greater Bundahishn

Chidag Andarz i Poryotkeshan: (Catechism)

Counsels of Adarbad Mahraspandan: Advice on living a good life

Dadestan-i Denig ("Religious Decisions")...

Denkard: A Ninth Century compendium of Zoroastrian wisdom...

Epistles of Manushchihir (A.D. 881)

Menog-i Khrad ("The Spirit of Wisdom")...

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PAZAND AND AVESTA NIRANGS, MASANI.; Translated from the Gujarati by Ervad Jal Noshirvan Panthaky. Used with permission.

My English Pocket Book of Nirangs

Pazand Texts...

Rivayat of Adur-Farnbag

Rivayat of Farnbag-Srosh

Sayings of Adarbad Mahraspandan: More advice on living a good life

Selections of Zadspram, a summary of Zoroastrian legend and beliefs...

Setāyashes, edited and translated by Ervad Jal Panthaky (2023)

Shayest Ne-Shayest ("Proper and Improper")...

Shkand-gumanig Vizar ("Doubt-dispelling Exposition"), a Zoroastrian apologetic...

Zand-i Vohuman Yasht, A Zoroastrian Apocalypse...

About the Style of Letter Writing

Ahriman's Utterance to the Dives (Drayishn-i Ahriman o Divan)

Explanation of Chess and arrangement of Vin-Artakhshir

Gatha Hymns recited for the departed (Gasān awar vitartakan Khvanend)

Kārnāmag ī Ardashīr ī Babagān Epic adventures of Ardashir, founder of the Sasanian Dynasty

Kartir's inscription on the Kabah of Zartusht, 3rd century royal inscription

Kartir's inscription at Naqsh-e Rostam

The Nature and Wisdom of a Fortunate Man

Yavisht i Friyan: a Pahlavi retelling of an ancient tale

Pahlavi Vendidad (excerpts)

The Yatkār-i-Zarīran or Memoirs of Zarīr

The Day Khordād of the Month Farvardin, Commonly Called Khordad-sal

Index Locorum

OTHER

Antia, Dr. Kersey: Argument for Acceptance and other articles

Dabestan-e Madaheb ("School of religious doctrines"): 17th century description of

religions and occult practices of India

Articles by Soli Dastur

Dhalla, M. N.

History of Zoroastrianism (1938), part 2, part 3, part 4, part 5, part 6, part 7

Saga of a Soul -- An Autobiography, part 2, part 3, part 4, part 5

World's Religions in Evolution (1953)

Drower, Peacock Angel (1941)

Dinshaw J. Irani, Understanding the Gathas . Also available as an [EPUB].

Kerr, Sam: Books and articles

Kisseh-i Sanjan History of emigration of Zoroastrians to India

Life of Zarathushtra told in pictures

Meherjirana: The Genealogy of the Naosari Priests, courtesy of Ervad Noshir Hormuzdiar.

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Rohinton Nariman

The Inner Fire — Faith, Choice, and Modern-Day Living in Zoroastrianism, with the kind permission of the author.

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Pazand Book of Jamaspi: Prophecies of the last Millennium

Persian Rivayats (15th to 18th century epistles)...

Pithawalla, Maneckji Bejanji: Steps to Prophet Zoroaster, with a book of daily Zoroastrian prayers

Sad Dar ("a hundred subjects")...

Kersi B. Shroff: "Ancient Sogdiana: A 'Zoroastrian stronghold'" (2016)

Kersi B. Shroff and Galina Woodova: "Journey to the Land of Ancient Fires, Azerbaijan" (2019)

`Ulema-i Islam

The Woodcutter and his Fortune (Mushkel Aasan) [HTML] [PDF]

Poems

Zartusht nameh ("Story of Zarathushtra")[HTML] [PDF]

Zoroastrianism (Parsism) Influence on Islam (Ignaz Goldziher)

Information on Zoroastrianism

Brief overview and Frequently Asked Questions

Recommended Reading

Religious timeline, by Dr. Pallan Ichaporia

Fire in Avesta. Ervad Gustad Panthaki (Used with permission)

Atash Neyayesh. Ervad Brigadier Behram Maneckshah Panthaki (Used with permission)

Upcoming events

Glossary of Zoroastrian terms

Angels in Zoroastrianism

Religious calendar, see also

Zoroastrian calendar calculator (Shahanshai, Kadmi, and Fasli dates for any calendar year. Kindly contributed by Soli Dastur.

2025 religious calendar (Fasli i.e. adjusted for seasons) [PDF] (2024)

Shahanshahi calendar, courtesy of ZANC.

Festival of Mihragan

Festival of Tiragan

Festival of Sadeh

S. H. Taqizadeh: Old Iranian Calendars

Ancient Zoroastrian millenium prophecies: comet to destroy earth

Farohar or Fravashi: What is it?

Resources

The Zoroastrian Shop

FEZANA Zoroastrian Shop

ZAMC Shop

Zoroastrian Culture Shop

Sudrehs, Daglis, and more by Golab Momenkhani (USA)

D. Shamji & Co.: Daglis, Safras, Jamas, Topis, and other traditional religious attire (Mumbai)

Phetas and pagdis

Other suppliers of religious supplies

Names (baby names): Avestan, Old Persian, Irani, and Parsi

Zoroastrian associations and organizations

The Parsi Directory

Jamshed K Daboo's YouTube channel

Journal of The Research & Historical Preservation Committee of FEZANA

Periodicals

Books and tapes... and Forthcoming

Zoroastrian shrine near Portland at the Vedanta Retreat (23000 NW Gilkison Rd, Scappoose, OR).

Rituals

The Kusti ritual: A Zoroastrian's most basic daily observance

The Kusti ritual: per Qadimi tradition

Afrinagan: a ceremony of blessing...

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Baresman -- its consecration and ceremony

Birth

Funeral ceremonies
The Gist of the Jashan celebration.
Jashan (Festival): a photo
"Khushaali Nu" Jashan Prayers for Celebrations Occasions with English translations
by Ervad Soli Dastur.
Marriage
The Navjote ritual: (Sudre-Pooshi) Initiation
The Padyab and Nahn rituals of purification
Ritual Implements
Vendidad service book, compiled by Ervad Jal Noshirvan Panthaky (2016). Used
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The Wedding ceremony

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Old Avestan Dictionary

Overview of the Avestan language
Pronunciation and writing
Fonts
Vocabulary
Bharucha: Lessons in Avesta (1907)
Indo-European language tree
Dictionary...
Avestan cognates and mnemonics
Weapons in the Avesta

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[Home](#) [Texts](#) [Audio](#) [Resources](#) [What's new](#) [FAQ](#) [Links](#) [Shop](#) [Glossary](#) [Contact](#)

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Index...

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Index...

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Index...

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 Kartir's inscription on the Kabah of Zartusht, 3rd century royal inscription
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 The Nature and Wisdom of a Fortunate Man
 Yavisht i Friyan: a Pahlavi retelling of an ancient tale
 Pahlavi Vendidad (excerpts)
 The Yatkār-i-Zarīran or Memoirs of Zarīr
 The Day Khordād of the Month Farvardin, Commonly Called Khordad-sal

Index Locorum

OTHER

Antia, Dr. Kersey: Argument for Acceptance and other articles
 Dabestan-e Madaheb ("School of religious doctrines"): 17th century description of religions and occult practices of India
 Articles by Soli Dastur

Dhalla, M. N.

History of Zoroastrianism (1938), part 2, part 3, part 4, part 5, part 6, part 7

Saga of a Soul -- An Autobiography, part 2, part 3, part 4, part 5

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`Ulema-i Islam

The Woodcutter and his Fortune (Mushkel Aasan) [HTML] [PDF]

Poems

Zartusht nameh ("Story of Zarathushtra")[HTML] [PDF]

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Information on Zoroastrianism

Brief overview and Frequently Asked Questions

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Atash Neyayesh. Ervad Brigadier Behram Maneckshah Panthaki (Used with permission)

Upcoming events

Glossary of Zoroastrian terms

Angels in Zoroastrianism

Religious calendar, see also

Zoroastrian calendar calculator (Shahanshai, Kadmi, and Fasli dates for any calendar year. Kindly contributed by Soli Dastur.

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Shahanshahi calendar, courtesy of ZANC.

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Festival of Tiragan

Festival of Sadeh

S. H. Tagizadeh: Old Iranian Calendars

Ancient Zoroastrian millenium prophecies: comet to destroy earth

Farohar or Fravashi: What is it?

Resources

The Zoroastrian Shop

FEZANA Zoroastrian Shop

ZAMC Shop

Zoroastrian Culture Shop

Sudrehs, Daglis, and more by Golab Momenkhani (USA)

D. Shamji & Co.: Daglis, Safras, Jamas, Topis, and other tradional religious attire (Mumbai)

Phetas and pagdis

Other suppliers of religious supplies

Names (baby names): Avestan, Old Persian, Irani, and Parsi

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Journal of The Research & Historical Preservation Committee of FEZANA

Periodicals

Books and tapes... and Forthcoming

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Rituals

The Kusti ritual: A Zoroastrian's most basic daily observance

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Afrinagan: a ceremony of blessing...

Baj, Dron, and ritual power

Baresman -- its consecration and ceremony

Birth

Funeral ceremonies

The Gist of the Jashan celebration.

Jashan (Festival): a photo
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by Ervad Soli Dastur.
Marriage
The Navjote ritual: (Sudre-Pooshi) Initiation
The Padyab and Nahn rituals of purification
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Old Avestan Dictionary

Overview of the Avestan language
Pronunciation and writing
Fonts
Vocabulary
Bharucha: Lessons in Avesta (1907)
Indo-European language tree
Dictionary...
Avestan cognates and mnemonics
Weapons in the Avesta

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[Home](#) [Texts](#) [Audio](#) [Resources](#) [What's new](#) [FAQ](#) [Links](#) [Shop](#) [Glossary](#) [Contact](#)

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YASNA: Sacred Liturgy and Gathas/Hymns of Zarathushtra...

[Index...](#)

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KHORDA AVESTA: Book of Common Prayer...

Index...

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Index...

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 Denkard: A Ninth Century compendium of Zoroastrian wisdom...
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 My English Pocket Book of Nirangs
 Pazand Texts...
 Rivayat of Adur-Farnbag
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 Shayest Ne-Shayest ("Proper and Improper")...
 Shkand-gumanig Vizar ("Doubt-dispelling Exposition"), a Zoroastrian apologetic...
 Zand-i Vohuman Yasht, A Zoroastrian Apocalypse...
 About the Style of Letter Writing
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 Explanation of Chess and arrangement of Vin-Artakhshir
 Gatha Hymns recited for the departed (Gasān awar vitartakan Khvanend)
 Kārnāmag ī Ardāshīr ī Babagān Epic adventures of Ardashir, founder of the Sasanian Dynasty
 Kartir's inscription on the Kabah of Zartusht, 3rd century royal inscription
 Kartir's inscription at Naqsh-e Rostam
 The Nature and Wisdom of a Fortunate Man
 Yavisht i Friyan: a Pahlavi retelling of an ancient tale
 Pahlavi Vendidad (excerpts)
 The Yatkar-i-Zariran or Memoirs of Zarir
 The Day Khordād of the Month Farvardin, Commonly Called Khordad-sal

Index Locorum

OTHER

Antia, Dr. Kersey: Argument for Acceptance and other articles
 Dabestan-e Madaheb ("School of religious doctrines"): 17th century description of religions and occult practices of India
 Articles by Soli Dastur
 Dhalla, M. N.
 History of Zoroastrianism (1938), part 2, part 3, part 4, part 5, part 6, part 7

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 World's Religions in Evolution (1953)
 Drower, Peacock Angel (1941)
 Dinshaw J. Irani, Understanding the Gathas . Also available as an [EPUB].
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 Kisseh-i Sanjan History of emigration of Zoroastrians to India
 Life of Zarathushtra told in pictures
 Meherjirana: The Genealogy of the Naosari Priests, courtesy of Ervad Noshir Hormuzdiar.
 J.J. Modi's My Travels Outside Bombay: Iran, Azerbaijan, Baku translated and kindly contributed by Soli Dastur.
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 Pazand Book of Jamaspi: Prophecies of the last Millennium
 Persian Rivayats (15th to 18th century epistles)...
 Pithawalla, Maneckji Bejanji: Steps to Prophet Zoroaster, with a book of daily Zoroastrian prayers
 Sad Dar ("a hundred subjects")...
 Kersi B. Shroff: "Ancient Sogdiana: A 'Zoroastrian stronghold'" (2016)
 Kersi B. Shroff and Galina Woodova: "Journey to the Land of Ancient Fires, Azerbaijan" (2019)
 `Ulema-i Islam
 The Woodcutter and his Fortune (Mushkel Aasan) [HTML] [PDF]
 Poems
 Zartusht nameh ("Story of Zarathushtra")[HTML] [PDF]
 Zoroastrianism (Parsism) Influence on Islam (Ignaz Goldziher)

Information on Zoroastrianism

Brief overview and Frequently Asked Questions
 Recommended Reading
 Religious timeline, by Dr. Pallan Ichaporia
 Fire in Avesta. Ervad Gustad Panthaki (Used with permission)
 Atash Neyayesh. Ervad Brigadier Behram Maneckshah Panthaki (Used with permission)
 Upcoming events
 Glossary of Zoroastrian terms
 Angels in Zoroastrianism
 Religious calendar, see also

Zoroastrian calendar calculator (Shahanshai, Kadmi, and Fasli dates for any calendar year. Kindly contributed by Soli Dastur.

2025 religious calendar (Fasli i.e. adjusted for seasons) [PDF] (2024)

Shahanshahi calendar, courtesy of ZANC.

Festival of Mihragan

Festival of Tiragan

Festival of Sadeh

S. H. Taqizadeh: Old Iranian Calendars

Ancient Zoroastrian millenium prophecies: comet to destroy earth

Farohar or Fravashi: What is it?

Resources

The Zoroastrian Shop

FEZANA Zoroastrian Shop

ZAMC Shop

Zoroastrian Culture Shop

Sudrehs, Daglis, and more by Golab Momenkhani (USA)

D. Shamji & Co.: Daglis, Safras, Jamas, Topis, and other tradional religious attire (Mumbai)

Phetas and pagdis

Other suppliers of religious supplies

Names (baby names): Avestan, Old Persian, Irani, and Parsi

Zoroastrian associations and organizations

The Parsi Directory

Jamshed K Daboo's YouTube channel

Journal of The Research & Historical Preservation Committee of FEZANA

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Books and tapes... and Forthcoming

Zoroastrian shrine near Portland at the Vedanta Retreat (23000 NW Gilkison Rd, Scappoose, OR).

Rituals

The Kusti ritual: A Zoroastrian's most basic daily observance

The Kusti ritual: per Qadimi tradition

Afrinagan: a ceremony of blessing...

Baj, Dron, and ritual power

Baresman -- its consecration and ceremony

Birth

Funeral ceremonies

The Gist of the Jashan celebration.

Jashan (Festival): a photo

"Khushaali Nu" Jashan Prayers for Celebrations Occasions with English translations

by Ervad Soli Dastur.

Marriage

The Navjote ritual: (Sudre-Pooshi) Initiation

The Padyab and Nahn rituals of purification

Ritual Implements

Vendidad service book, compiled by Ervad Jal Noshirvan Panthaky (2016). Used with permission.

Farokhshi ritual

Farokhshi service book Compiled by Jal Panthaky, used with permission.

The Wedding ceremony

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Sunjana's Pahlavi Grammar Kindly contributed by Sam Kerr and Soli Dastur.

Old Avestan Dictionary

Overview of the Avestan language

Pronunciation and writing

Fonts

Vocabulary

Bharucha: Lessons in Avesta (1907)

Indo-European language tree

Dictionary...

Avestan cognates and mnemonics

Weapons in the Avesta

"May your mind be master of its vow; may your soul be master of its vow; and may you live on in the joy of your soul all the nights of your life."

Vd. 18.27

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Homer, by Auguste Leloir [19th cent.] (Public Domain Image)
The Odyssey of Homer
tr. by Samuel Butler
[1900]
[Contents](#) [Start Reading](#) [Text \[Zipped\]](#)

This is the Homeric sequel: the tale of Ulysses, beset by a series of ever-more fantastic adventures on the way home from the Trojan War to his wife, patient Penelope. The vivid adventures of our ill-fated protagonist come to life in Butler's prose translation, told in a highly readable modern voice, informed by archaic consciousness.--J.B. Hare

[Title Page](#)

[Book I.](#)

[Book II.](#)

[Book III.](#)

[Book IV.](#)

[Book V.](#)

[Book VI.](#)

[Book VII.](#)

[Book VIII.](#)

[Book IX.](#)

[Book X.](#)

[Book XI.](#)

[Book XII.](#)

[Book XIII.](#)

[Book XIV.](#)

[Book XV.](#)

[Book XVI.](#)

[Book XVII.](#)

[Book XVIII.](#)

[Book XIX.](#)

[Book XX.](#)

[Book XXI.](#)

[Book XXII.](#)

[Book XXIII.](#)

[Book XXIV.](#)

[Sacred Texts | Classics](#)

[« Previous: Homeric: The Little Iliad \(Fragments\)](#)

[Index](#) [Next: The Odyssey of](#)

[Homer: Title Page »](#)

[Sacred Texts](#) [Classics](#) [Homer](#) [Buy this Book on Kindle](#)
The Apotheosis of Homer, Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres [19th cent.] (Public Domain Image)
The Iliad of Homer

tr. by Samuel Butler

[1898]

[Contents](#) [Start Reading](#) [Text \[Zipped\]](#)

This is Samuel Butler's translation of the core story of the Trojan War. The tale of the fateful war between the Achaeans and the city of Troy is one of the masterpieces of world literature.

[Title Page](#)

[Book I](#)

[Book II](#)

[Book III](#)

[Book IV](#)

[Book V](#)

[Book VI](#)

[Book VII](#)

[Book VIII](#)

[Book IX](#)

[Book X](#)

[Book XI](#)

[Book XII](#)

[Book XIII](#)

[Book XIV](#)

[Book XV](#)

[Book XVI](#)

[Book XVII](#)

[Book XVIII](#)

[Book XIX](#)

[Book XX](#)

[Book XXI](#)

[Book XXII](#)

[Book XXIII](#)

[Book XXIV](#)

[Sacred Texts | Classics](#)

[« Previous: The Iliad of Homer: Book XXIV](#)

[Index](#) [Next: Homerica: The Sack of](#)

[Ilium \(Fragments\) »](#)

[Sacred-Texts](#) [Classics](#) [Hesiod](#) [Greek](#)

[The Theogony of Hesiod](#)

[translated by Hugh G. Evelyn-White](#)

[\[1914\]](#)

(Il. 1-25) From the Heliconian Muses let us begin to sing, who hold the great and holy mount of Helicon, and dance on soft feet about the deep-blue spring and the altar of the almighty son of Cronos, and, when they have washed their tender bodies in Permessus or in the Horse's Spring or Olmeius, make their fair, lovely dances upon highest Helicon

and move with vigorous feet. Thence they arise and go abroad by night, veiled in thick mist, and utter their song with lovely voice, praising Zeus the aegis-holder and queenly Hera of Argos who walks on golden sandals and the daughter of Zeus the aegis-holder bright-eyed Athene, and Phoebus Apollo, and Artemis who delights in arrows, and Poseidon the earth-holder who shakes the earth, and reverend Themis and quick-glancing (1) Aphrodite, and Hebe with the crown of gold, and fair Dione, Leto, Iapetus, and Cronos the crafty counsellor, Eos and great Helios and bright Selene, Earth too, and great Oceanus, and dark Night, and the holy race of all the other deathless ones that are for ever. And one day they taught Hesiod glorious song while he was shepherding his lambs under holy Helicon, and this word first the goddesses said to me -- the Muses of Olympus, daughters of Zeus who holds the aegis:

(Il. 26-28) 'Shepherds of the wilderness, wretched things of shame, mere bellies, we know how to speak many false things as though they were true; but we know, when we will, to utter true things.'

(Il. 29-35) So said the ready-voiced daughters of great Zeus, and they plucked and gave me a rod, a shoot of sturdy laurel, a marvellous thing, and breathed into me a divine voice to celebrate things that shall be and things there were aforetime; and they bade me sing of the race of the blessed gods that are eternally, but ever to sing of themselves both first and last. But why all this about oak or stone? (2)

(Il. 36-52) Come thou, let us begin with the Muses who gladden the great spirit of their father Zeus in Olympus with their songs, telling of things that are and that shall be and that were aforetime with consenting voice. Unwearying flows the sweet sound from their lips, and the house of their father Zeus the loud-thunderer is glad at the lily-like voice of the goddesses as it spread abroad, and the peaks of snowy Olympus resound, and the homes of the immortals. And they uttering their immortal voice, celebrate in song first of all the reverend race of the gods from the beginning, those whom Earth and wide Heaven begot, and the gods sprung of these, givers of good things. Then, next, the goddesses sing of Zeus, the father of gods and men, as they begin and end their strain, how much he is the most excellent among the gods and supreme in power. And again, they chant the race of men and strong giants, and gladden the heart of Zeus within Olympus, -- the Olympian Muses, daughters of Zeus the aegis-holder.

(Il. 53-74) Them in Pieria did Mnemosyne (Memory), who reigns over the hills of Eleuther, bear of union with the father, the son of Cronos, a forgetting of ills and a rest from sorrow. For nine nights did wise Zeus lie with her, entering her holy bed remote from the immortals. And when a year was passed and the seasons came round as the months waned, and many days were accomplished, she bare nine daughters, all of one mind, whose hearts are set upon song and their spirit free from care, a little way from the topmost peak of snowy Olympus. There are their bright dancing-places and beautiful homes, and beside them the Graces and Himerus (Desire) live in delight. And they, uttering through their lips a lovely voice, sing the laws of all and the goodly ways of the immortals, uttering their lovely voice. Then went they to Olympus, delighting in their sweet voice, with heavenly song, and the dark earth resounded about them as they

chanted, and a lovely sound rose up beneath their feet as they went to their father. And he was reigning in heaven, himself holding the lightning and glowing thunderbolt, when he had overcome by might his father Cronos; and he distributed fairly to the immortals their portions and declared their privileges.

(Il. 75-103) These things, then, the Muses sang who dwell on Olympus, nine daughters begotten by great Zeus, Cleio and Euterpe, Thaleia, Melpomene and Terpsichore, and Erato and Polyhymnia and Urania and Calliope (3), who is the chiefest of them all, for she attends on worshipful princes: whomsoever of heaven-nourished princes the daughters of great Zeus honour, and behold him at his birth, they pour sweet dew upon his tongue, and from his lips flow gracious words. All the people look towards him while he settles causes with true judgements: and he, speaking surely, would soon make wise end even of a great quarrel; for therefore are there princes wise in heart, because when the people are being misguided in their assembly, they set right the matter again with ease, persuading them with gentle words. And when he passes through a gathering, they greet him as a god with gentle reverence, and he is conspicuous amongst the assembled: such is the holy gift of the Muses to men. For it is through the Muses and far-shooting Apollo that there are singers and harpers upon the earth; but princes are of Zeus, and happy is he whom the Muses love: sweet flows speech from his mouth. For though a man have sorrow and grief in his newly-troubled soul and live in dread because his heart is distressed, yet, when a singer, the servant of the Muses, chants the glorious deeds of men of old and the blessed gods who inhabit Olympus, at once he forgets his heaviness and remembers not his sorrows at all; but the gifts of the goddesses soon turn him away from these.

(Il. 104-115) Hail, children of Zeus! Grant lovely song and celebrate the holy race of the deathless gods who are for ever, those that were born of Earth and starry Heaven and gloomy Night and them that briny Sea did rear. Tell how at the first gods and earth came to be, and rivers, and the boundless sea with its raging swell, and the gleaming stars, and the wide heaven above, and the gods who were born of them, givers of good things, and how they divided their wealth, and how they shared their honours amongst them, and also how at the first they took many-folded Olympus. These things declare to me from the beginning, ye Muses who dwell in the house of Olympus, and tell me which of them first came to be.

(Il. 116-138) Verily at the first Chaos came to be, but next wide-bosomed Earth, the ever-sure foundations of all (4) the deathless ones who hold the peaks of snowy Olympus, and dim Tartarus in the depth of the wide-pathed Earth, and Eros (Love), fairest among the deathless gods, who unnerves the limbs and overcomes the mind and wise counsels of all gods and all men within them. From Chaos came forth Erebus and black Night; but of Night were born Aether (5) and Day, whom she conceived and bare from union in love with Erebus. And Earth first bare starry Heaven, equal to herself, to cover her on every side, and to be an ever-sure abiding-place for the blessed gods. And she brought forth long Hills, graceful haunts of the goddess-Nymphs who dwell amongst the glens of the hills. She bare also the fruitless deep with his raging swell, Pontus, without sweet union of love. But afterwards she lay with Heaven and bare deep-swirling

Oceanus, Coeus and Crius and Hyperion and Iapetus, Theia and Rhea, Themis and Mnemosyne and gold-crowned Phoebe and lovely Tethys. After them was born Cronos the wily, youngest and most terrible of her children, and he hated his lusty sire.

(Il. 139-146) And again, she bore the Cyclopes, overbearing in spirit, Brontes, and Steropes and stubborn-hearted Argos (6), who gave Zeus the thunder and made the thunderbolt: in all else they were like the gods, but one eye only was set in the midst of their fore-heads. And they were surnamed Cyclopes (Orb-eyed) because one orb'd eye was set in their foreheads. Strength and might and craft were in their works.

(Il. 147-163) And again, three other sons were born of Earth and Heaven, great and doughty beyond telling, Cottus and Briareos and Gyges, presumptuous children. From their shoulders sprang an hundred arms, not to be approached, and each had fifty heads upon his shoulders on their strong limbs, and irresistible was the stubborn strength that was in their great forms. For of all the children that were born of Earth and Heaven, these were the most terrible, and they were hated by their own father from the first.

And he used to hide them all away in a secret place of Earth so soon as each was born, and would not suffer them to come up into the light: and Heaven rejoiced in his evil doing. But vast Earth groaned within, being straitened, and she made the element of grey flint and shaped a great sickle, and told her plan to her dear sons. And she spoke, cheering them, while she was vexed in her dear heart:

(Il. 164-166) 'My children, gotten of a sinful father, if you will obey me, we should punish the vile outrage of your father; for he first thought of doing shameful things.'

(Il. 167-169) So she said; but fear seized them all, and none of them uttered a word. But great Cronos the wily took courage and answered his dear mother:

(Il. 170-172) 'Mother, I will undertake to do this deed, for I reverence not our father of evil name, for he first thought of doing shameful things.'

(Il. 173-175) So he said: and vast Earth rejoiced greatly in spirit, and set and hid him in an ambush, and put in his hands a jagged sickle, and revealed to him the whole plot.

(Il. 176-206) And Heaven came, bringing on night and longing for love, and he lay about Earth spreading himself full upon her (7).

Then the son from his ambush stretched forth his left hand and in his right took the great long sickle with jagged teeth, and swiftly lopped off his own father's members and cast them away to fall behind him. And not vainly did they fall from his hand; for all the bloody drops that gushed forth Earth received, and as the seasons moved round she bore the strong Erinyes and the great Giants with gleaming armour, holding long spears in their hands and the Nymphs whom they call Meliae (8) all over the boundless earth. And so soon as he had cut off the members with flint and cast them from the land into

the surging sea, they were swept away over the main a long time: and a white foam spread around them from the immortal flesh, and in it there grew a maiden. First she drew near holy Cythera, and from there, afterwards, she came to sea-girt Cyprus, and came forth an awful and lovely goddess, and grass grew up about her beneath her shapely feet. Her gods and men call Aphrodite, and the foam-born goddess and rich-crowned Cytherea, because she grew amid the foam, and Cytherea because she reached Cythera, and Cyprogenes because she was born in billowy Cyprus, and Philommedes (9) because sprang from the members. And with her went Eros, and comely Desire followed her at her birth at the first and as she went into the assembly of the gods. This honour she has from the beginning, and this is the portion allotted to her amongst men and undying gods, -- the whisperings of maidens and smiles and deceits with sweet delight and love and graciousness.

(Il. 207-210) But these sons whom he begot himself great Heaven used to call Titans (Strainers) in reproach, for he said that they strained and did presumptuously a fearful deed, and that vengeance for it would come afterwards.

(Il. 211-225) And Night bare hateful Doom and black Fate and Death, and she bare Sleep and the tribe of Dreams. And again the goddess murky Night, though she lay with none, bare Blame and painful Woe, and the Hesperides who guard the rich, golden apples and the trees bearing fruit beyond glorious Ocean. Also she bare the Destinies and ruthless avenging Fates, Clotho and Lachesis and Atropos (10), who give men at their birth both evil and good to have, and they pursue the transgressions of men and of gods: and these goddesses never cease from their dread anger until they punish the sinner with a sore penalty. Also deadly Night bare Nemesis (Indignation) to afflict mortal men, and after her, Deceit and Friendship and hateful Age and hard-hearted Strife.

(Il. 226-232) But abhorred Strife bare painful Toil and Forgetfulness and Famine and tearful Sorrows, Fightings also, Battles, Murders, Manslaughters, Quarrels, Lying Words, Disputes, Lawlessness and Ruin, all of one nature, and Oath who most troubles men upon earth when anyone wilfully swears a false oath.

(Il. 233-239) And Sea begat Nereus, the eldest of his children, who is true and lies not: and men call him the Old Man because he is trusty and gentle and does not forget the laws of righteousness, but thinks just and kindly thoughts. And yet again he got great Thaumases and proud Phoreys, being mated with Earth, and fair-cheeked Ceto and Eurybia who has a heart of flint within her.

(Il. 240-264) And of Nereus and rich-haired Doris, daughter of Ocean the perfect river, were born children (11), passing lovely amongst goddesses, Ploto, Eucrante, Sao, and Amphitrite, and Eudora, and Thetis, Galene and Glaucus, Cymothoe, Speo, Thoe and lovely Halie, and Pasithea, and Erato, and rosy-armed Eunice, and gracious Melite, and Eulimene, and Agaue, Doto, Proto, Pherusa, and Dynamene, and Nisaea, and Actaea, and Protomedea, Doris, Panopea, and comely Galatea, and lovely Hippothoe, and rosy-armed Hipponoe, and Cymodoce who with Cymatolege (12) and Amphitrite easily calms the waves upon the misty sea and the blasts of raging winds, and Cymo, and

Eione, and rich-crowned Alimede, and Glauconome, fond of laughter, and Pontoporea, Leagore, Euagore, and Laomedea, and Polynoe, and Autonoe, and Lysianassa, and Euarne, lovely of shape and without blemish of form, and Psamathe of charming figure and divine Menippe, Neso, Eupompe, Themisto, Pronoe, and Nemertes (13) who has the nature of her deathless father. These fifty daughters sprang from blameless Nereus, skilled in excellent crafts.

(Il. 265-269) And Thaumasp wedded Electra the daughter of deep-flowing Ocean, and she bare him swift Iris and the long-haired Harpies, Aello (Storm-swift) and Ocypetes (Swift-flier) who on their swift wings keep pace with the blasts of the winds and the birds; for quick as time they dart along.

(Il. 270-294) And again, Ceto bare to Phoreys the fair-cheeked Graiae, sisters grey from their birth: and both deathless gods and men who walk on earth call them Graiae, Pemphredo well-clad, and saffron-robed Enyo, and the Gorgons who dwell beyond glorious Ocean in the frontier land towards Night where are the clear-voiced Hesperides, Sthenno, and Euryale, and Medusa who suffered a woeful fate: she was mortal, but the two were undying and grew not old. With her lay the Dark-haired One (14) in a soft meadow amid spring flowers. And when Perseus cut off her head, there sprang forth great Chrysaor and the horse Pegasus who is so called because he was born near the springs (pegae) of Ocean; and that other, because he held a golden blade (aor) in his hands. Now Pegasus flew away and left the earth, the mother of flocks, and came to the deathless gods: and he dwells in the house of Zeus and brings to wise Zeus the thunder and lightning. But Chrysaor was joined in love to Callirrhoe, the daughter of glorious Ocean, and begot three-headed Geryones. Him mighty Heracles slew in sea-girt Erythea by his shambling oxen on that day when he drove the wide-browed oxen to holy Tiryns, and had crossed the ford of Ocean and killed Orthus and Eurytion the herdsman in the dim stead out beyond glorious Ocean.

(Il. 295-305) And in a hollow cave she bare another monster, irresistible, in no wise like either to mortal men or to the undying gods, even the goddess fierce Echidna who is half a nymph with glancing eyes and fair cheeks, and half again a huge snake, great and awful, with speckled skin, eating raw flesh beneath the secret parts of the holy earth. And there she has a cave deep down under a hollow rock far from the deathless gods and mortal men. There, then, did the gods appoint her a glorious house to dwell in: and she keeps guard in Arima beneath the earth, grim Echidna, a nymph who dies not nor grows old all her days.

(Il. 306-332) Men say that Typhaon the terrible, outrageous and lawless, was joined in love to her, the maid with glancing eyes. So she conceived and brought forth fierce offspring; first she bare Orthus the hound of Geryones, and then again she bare a second, a monster not to be overcome and that may not be described, Cerberus who eats raw flesh, the brazen-voiced hound of Hades, fifty-headed, relentless and strong. And again she bore a third, the evil-minded Hydra of Lerna, whom the goddess, white-armed Hera nourished, being angry beyond measure with the mighty Heracles. And her Heracles, the son of Zeus, of the house of Amphitryon, together with warlike

Iolaus, destroyed with the un pitying sword through the plans of Athene the spoil-driver. She was the mother of Chimaera who breathed raging fire, a creature fearful, great, swift-footed and strong, who had three heads, one of a grim-eyed lion; in her hinderpart, a dragon; and in her middle, a goat, breathing forth a fearful blast of blazing fire. Her did Pegasus and noble Bellerophon slay; but Echidna was subject in love to Orthus and brought forth the deadly Sphinx which destroyed the Cadmeans, and the Nemean lion, which Hera, the good wife of Zeus, brought up and made to haunt the hills of Nemea, a plague to men. There he preyed upon the tribes of her own people and had power over Tretus of Nemea and Apesas: yet the strength of stout Heracles overcame him.

(Il. 333-336) And Ceto was joined in love to Phorcys and bare her youngest, the awful snake who guards the apples all of gold in the secret places of the dark earth at its great bounds. This is the offspring of Ceto and Phoreys.

(Il. 334-345) And Tethys bare to Ocean eddying rivers, Nilus, and Alpheus, and deep-swirling Eridanus, Strymon, and Meander, and the fair stream of Ister, and Phasis, and Rhesus, and the silver eddies of Achelous, Nessus, and Rhodius, Haliacmon, and Heptaporus, Granicus, and Aesepus, and holy Simois, and Peneus, and Hermus, and Caicus fair stream, and great Sangarius, Ladon, Parthenius, Euenus, Ardescus, and divine Scamander.

(Il. 346-370) Also she brought forth a holy company of daughters (15) who with the lord Apollo and the Rivers have youths in their keeping -- to this charge Zeus appointed them -- Peitho, and Admete, and Ianthe, and Electra, and Doris, and Prymno, and Urania divine in form, Hippo, Clymene, Rhodea, and Callirrhoe, Zeuxo and Clytie, and Idyia, and Pasithoe, Plexaura, and Galaxaura, and lovely Dione, Melobosis and Thoe and handsome Polydora, Cerceis lovely of form, and soft eyed Pluto, Perseis, Ianeira, Acaste, Xanthe, Petraea the fair, Menestho, and Europa, Metis, and Eurynome, and Telesto saffron-clad, Chryseis and Asia and charming Calypso, Eudora, and Tyche, Amphirho, and Ocyrrhoe, and Styx who is the chiefest of them all. These are the eldest daughters that sprang from Ocean and Tethys; but there are many besides. For there are three thousand neat-ankled daughters of Ocean who are dispersed far and wide, and in every place alike serve the earth and the deep waters, children who are glorious among goddesses. And as many other rivers are there, babbling as they flow, sons of Ocean, whom queenly Tethys bare, but their names it is hard for a mortal man to tell, but people know those by which they severally dwell.

(Il. 371-374) And Theia was subject in love to Hyperion and bare great Helius (Sun) and clear Selene (Moon) and Eos (Dawn) who shines upon all that are on earth and upon the deathless Gods who live in the wide heaven.

(Il. 375-377) And Eurybia, bright goddess, was joined in love to Crius and bare great Astraeus, and Pallas, and Perses who also was eminent among all men in wisdom.

(Il. 378-382) And Eos bare to Astraeus the strong-hearted winds, brightening Zephyrus, and Boreas, headlong in his course, and Notus, -- a goddess mating in love with a god.

And after these Erigenia (16) bare the star Eosphorus (Dawn-bringer), and the gleaming stars with which heaven is crowned.

(Il. 383-403) And Styx the daughter of Ocean was joined to Pallas and bare Zelos (Emulation) and trim-ankled Nike (Victory) in the house. Also she brought forth Cratos (Strength) and Bia (Force), wonderful children. These have no house apart from Zeus, nor any dwelling nor path except that wherein God leads them, but they dwell always with Zeus the loud-thunderer. For so did Styx the deathless daughter of Ocean plan on that day when the Olympian Lightener called all the deathless gods to great Olympus, and said that whosoever of the gods would fight with him against the Titans, he would not cast him out from his rights, but each should have the office which he had before amongst the deathless gods. And he declared that he who was without office and rights as is just. So deathless Styx came first to Olympus with her children through the wit of her dear father. And Zeus honoured her, and gave her very great gifts, for her he appointed to be the great oath of the gods, and her children to live with him always. And as he promised, so he performed fully unto them all.

But he himself mightily reigns and rules.

(Il. 404-452) Again, Phoebe came to the desired embrace of Coeus.

Then the goddess through the love of the god conceived and brought forth dark-gowned Leto, always mild, kind to men and to the deathless gods, mild from the beginning, gentlest in all Olympus. Also she bare Asteria of happy name, whom Perses once led to his great house to be called his dear wife. And she conceived and bare Hecate whom Zeus the son of Cronos honoured above all. He gave her splendid gifts, to have a share of the earth and the unfruitful sea. She received honour also in starry heaven, and is honoured exceedingly by the deathless gods. For to this day, whenever any one of men on earth offers rich sacrifices and prays for favour according to custom, he calls upon Hecate. Great honour comes full easily to him whose prayers the goddess receives favourably, and she bestows wealth upon him; for the power surely is with her. For as many as were born of Earth and Ocean amongst all these she has her due portion. The son of Cronos did her no wrong nor took anything away of all that was her portion among the former Titan gods: but she holds, as the division was at the first from the beginning, privilege both in earth, and in heaven, and in sea. Also, because she is an only child, the goddess receives not less honour, but much more still, for Zeus honours her. Whom she will she greatly aids and advances: she sits by worshipful kings in judgement, and in the assembly whom she will is distinguished among the people. And when men arm themselves for the battle that destroys men, then the goddess is at hand to give victory and grant glory readily to whom she will. Good is she also when men contend at the games, for there too the goddess is with them and profits them: and he who by might and strength gets the victory wins the rich prize easily with joy, and brings glory to his parents. And she is good to stand by horsemen, whom she will: and to those whose business is in the grey discomfortable sea, and who pray to Hecate and the loud-crashing Earth-Shaker, easily the glorious goddess gives great catch, and easily she takes it away as soon as seen, if so she will. She is good in the byre with Hermes to

increase the stock. The droves of kine and wide herds of goats and flocks of fleecy sheep, if she will, she increases from a few, or makes many to be less. So, then, albeit her mother's only child (17), she is honoured amongst all the deathless gods. And the son of Cronos made her a nurse of the young who after that day saw with their eyes the light of all-seeing Dawn. So from the beginning she is a nurse of the young, and these are her honours.

(Il. 453-491) But Rhea was subject in love to Cronos and bare splendid children, Hestia (18), Demeter, and gold-shod Hera and strong Hades, pitiless in heart, who dwells under the earth, and the loud-crashing Earth-Shaker, and wise Zeus, father of gods and men, by whose thunder the wide earth is shaken. These great Cronos swallowed as each came forth from the womb to his mother's knees with this intent, that no other of the proud sons of Heaven should hold the kingly office amongst the deathless gods. For he learned from Earth and starry Heaven that he was destined to be overcome by his own son, strong though he was, through the contriving of great Zeus (19). Therefore he kept no blind outlook, but watched and swallowed down his children: and unceasing grief seized Rhea. But when she was about to bear Zeus, the father of gods and men, then she besought her own dear parents, Earth and starry Heaven, to devise some plan with her that the birth of her dear child might be concealed, and that retribution might overtake great, crafty Cronos for his own father and also for the children whom he had swallowed down. And they readily heard and obeyed their dear daughter, and told her all that was destined to happen touching Cronos the king and his stout-hearted son. So they sent her to Lyctus, to the rich land of Crete, when she was ready to bear great Zeus, the youngest of her children. Him did vast Earth receive from Rhea in wide Crete to nourish and to bring up. Thither came Earth carrying him swiftly through the black night to Lyctus first, and took him in her arms and hid him in a remote cave beneath the secret places of the holy earth on thick-wooded Mount Aegaeum; but to the mightily ruling son of Heaven, the earlier king of the gods, she gave a great stone wrapped in swaddling clothes. Then he took it in his hands and thrust it down into his belly: wretch! he knew not in his heart that in place of the stone his son was left behind, unconquered and untroubled, and that he was soon to overcome him by force and might and drive him from his honours, himself to reign over the deathless gods.

(Il. 492-506) After that, the strength and glorious limbs of the prince increased quickly, and as the years rolled on, great Cronos the wily was beguiled by the deep suggestions of Earth, and brought up again his offspring, vanquished by the arts and might of his own son, and he vomited up first the stone which he had swallowed last. And Zeus set it fast in the wide-pathed earth at goodly Pytho under the glens of Parnassus, to be a sign thenceforth and a marvel to mortal men (20). And he set free from their deadly bonds the brothers of his father, sons of Heaven whom his father in his foolishness had bound. And they remembered to be grateful to him for his kindness, and gave him thunder and the glowing thunderbolt and lightening: for before that, huge Earth had hidden these. In them he trusts and rules over mortals and immortals.

(Il. 507-543) Now Iapetus took to wife the neat-ankled mad Clymene, daughter of Ocean, and went up with her into one bed. And she bare him a stout-hearted son, Atlas:

also she bare very glorious Menoetius and clever Prometheus, full of various wiles, and scatter-brained Epimetheus who from the first was a mischief to men who eat bread; for it was he who first took of Zeus the woman, the maiden whom he had formed. But Menoetius was outrageous, and far-seeing Zeus struck him with a lurid thunderbolt and sent him down to Erebus because of his mad presumption and exceeding pride. And Atlas through hard constraint upholds the wide heaven with unwearying head and arms, standing at the borders of the earth before the clear-voiced Hesperides; for this lot wise Zeus assigned to him. And ready-witted Prometheus he bound with inextricable bonds, cruel chains, and drove a shaft through his middle, and set on him a long-winged eagle, which used to eat his immortal liver; but by night the liver grew as much again everyway as the long-winged bird devoured in the whole day. That bird Heracles, the valiant son of shapely-ankled Alcmena, slew; and delivered the son of Iapetus from the cruel plague, and released him from his affliction -- not without the will of Olympian Zeus who reigns on high, that the glory of Heracles the Theban-born might be yet greater than it was before over the plenteous earth. This, then, he regarded, and honoured his famous son; though he was angry, he ceased from the wrath which he had before because Prometheus matched himself in wit with the almighty son of Cronos. For when the gods and mortal men had a dispute at Mecone, even then Prometheus was forward to cut up a great ox and set portions before them, trying to befool the mind of Zeus. Before the rest he set flesh and inner parts thick with fat upon the hide, covering them with an ox paunch; but for Zeus he put the white bones dressed up with cunning art and covered with shining fat. Then the father of men and of gods said to him:

(Il. 543-544) 'Son of Iapetus, most glorious of all lords, good sir, how unfairly you have divided the portions!'

(Il. 545-547) So said Zeus whose wisdom is everlasting, rebuking him. But wily Prometheus answered him, smiling softly and not forgetting his cunning trick:

(Il. 548-558) 'Zeus, most glorious and greatest of the eternal gods, take which ever of these portions your heart within you bids.' So he said, thinking trickery. But Zeus, whose wisdom is everlasting, saw and failed not to perceive the trick, and in his heart he thought mischief against mortal men which also was to be fulfilled. With both hands he took up the white fat and was angry at heart, and wrath came to his spirit when he saw the white ox-bones craftily tricked out: and because of this the tribes of men upon earth burn white bones to the deathless gods upon fragrant altars. But Zeus who drives the clouds was greatly vexed and said to him:

(Il. 559-560) 'Son of Iapetus, clever above all! So, sir, you have not yet forgotten your cunning arts!'

(Il. 561-584) So spake Zeus in anger, whose wisdom is everlasting; and from that time he was always mindful of the trick, and would not give the power of unwearying fire to the Melian (21) race of mortal men who live on the earth. But the noble son of Iapetus outwitted him and stole the far-seen gleam of unwearying fire in a hollow fennel stalk. And Zeus who thunders on high was stung in spirit, and his dear heart was angered

when he saw amongst men the far-seen ray of fire. Forthwith he made an evil thing for men as the price of fire; for the very famous Limping God formed of earth the likeness of a shy maiden as the son of Cronos willed. And the goddess bright-eyed Athene girded and clothed her with silvery raiment, and down from her head she spread with her hands a brodered veil, a wonder to see; and she, Pallas Athene, put about her head lovely garlands, flowers of new-grown herbs. Also she put upon her head a crown of gold which the very famous Limping God made himself and worked with his own hands as a favour to Zeus his father. On it was much curious work, wonderful to see; for of the many creatures which the land and sea rear up, he put most upon it, wonderful things, like living beings with voices: and great beauty shone out from it.

(Il. 585-589) But when he had made the beautiful evil to be the price for the blessing, he brought her out, delighting in the finery which the bright-eyed daughter of a mighty father had given her, to the place where the other gods and men were. And wonder took hold of the deathless gods and mortal men when they saw that which was sheer guile, not to be withstood by men.

(Il. 590-612) For from her is the race of women and female kind: of her is the deadly race and tribe of women who live amongst mortal men to their great trouble, no helpmeets in hateful poverty, but only in wealth. And as in thatched hives bees feed the drones whose nature is to do mischief -- by day and throughout the day until the sun goes down the bees are busy and lay the white combs, while the drones stay at home in the covered skeps and reap the toil of others into their own bellies -- even so Zeus who thunders on high made women to be an evil to mortal men, with a nature to do evil. And he gave them a second evil to be the price for the good they had: whoever avoids marriage and the sorrows that women cause, and will not wed, reaches deadly old age without anyone to tend his years, and though he at least has no lack of livelihood while he lives, yet, when he is dead, his kinsfolk divide his possessions amongst them. And as for the man who chooses the lot of marriage and takes a good wife suited to his mind, evil continually contends with good; for whoever happens to have mischievous children, lives always with unceasing grief in his spirit and heart within him; and this evil cannot be healed.

(Il. 613-616) So it is not possible to deceive or go beyond the will of Zeus; for not even the son of Iapetus, kindly Prometheus, escaped his heavy anger, but of necessity strong bands confined him, although he knew many a wile.

(Il. 617-643) But when first their father was vexed in his heart with Obriareus and Cottus and Gyes, he bound them in cruel bonds, because he was jealous of their exceeding manhood and comeliness and great size: and he made them live beneath the wide-pathed earth, where they were afflicted, being set to dwell under the ground, at the end of the earth, at its great borders, in bitter anguish for a long time and with great grief at heart. But the son of Cronos and the other deathless gods whom rich-haired Rhea bare from union with Cronos, brought them up again to the light at Earth's advising. For she herself recounted all things to the gods fully, how that with these they would gain victory and a glorious cause to vaunt themselves. For the Titan gods and as many as

sprang from Cronos had long been fighting together in stubborn war with heart-grieving toil, the lordly Titans from high Othyrs, but the gods, givers of good, whom rich-haired Rhea bare in union with Cronos, from Olympus. So they, with bitter wrath, were fighting continually with one another at that time for ten full years, and the hard strife had no close or end for either side, and the issue of the war hung evenly balanced. But when he had provided those three with all things fitting, nectar and ambrosia which the gods themselves eat, and when their proud spirit revived within them all after they had fed on nectar and delicious ambrosia, then it was that the father of men and gods spoke amongst them:

(Il. 644-653) 'Hear me, bright children of Earth and Heaven, that I may say what my heart within me bids. A long while now have we, who are sprung from Cronos and the Titan gods, fought with each other every day to get victory and to prevail. But do you show your great might and unconquerable strength, and face the Titans in bitter strife; for remember our friendly kindness, and from what sufferings you are come back to the light from your cruel bondage under misty gloom through our counsels.'

(Il. 654-663) So he said. And blameless Cottus answered him again: 'Divine one, you speak that which we know well: nay, even of ourselves we know that your wisdom and understanding is exceeding, and that you became a defender of the deathless ones from chill doom. And through your devising we are come back again from the murky gloom and from our merciless bonds, enjoying what we looked not for, O lord, son of Cronos. And so now with fixed purpose and deliberate counsel we will aid your power in dreadful strife and will fight against the Titans in hard battle.'

(Il. 664-686) So he said: and the gods, givers of good things, applauded when they heard his word, and their spirit longed for war even more than before, and they all, both male and female, stirred up hated battle that day, the Titan gods, and all that were born of Cronos together with those dread, mighty ones of overwhelming strength whom Zeus brought up to the light from Erebus beneath the earth. An hundred arms sprang from the shoulders of all alike, and each had fifty heads growing upon his shoulders upon stout limbs. These, then, stood against the Titans in grim strife, holding huge rocks in their strong hands. And on the other part the Titans eagerly strengthened their ranks, and both sides at one time showed the work of their hands and their might. The boundless sea rang terribly around, and the earth crashed loudly: wide Heaven was shaken and groaned, and high Olympus reeled from its foundation under the charge of the undying gods, and a heavy quaking reached dim Tartarus and the deep sound of their feet in the fearful onset and of their hard missiles. So, then, they launched their grievous shafts upon one another, and the cry of both armies as they shouted reached to starry heaven; and they met together with a great battle-cry.

(Il. 687-712) Then Zeus no longer held back his might; but straight his heart was filled with fury and he showed forth all his strength. From Heaven and from Olympus he came forthwith, hurling his lightning: the bold flew thick and fast from his strong hand together with thunder and lightning, whirling an awesome flame. The life-giving earth crashed around in burning, and the vast wood crackled loud with fire all about. All the land

seethed, and Ocean's streams and the unfruitful sea. The hot vapour lapped round the earthborn Titans: flame unspeakable rose to the bright upper air: the flashing glare of the thunder- stone and lightning blinded their eyes for all that there were strong. Astounding heat seized Chaos: and to see with eyes and to hear the sound with ears it seemed even as if Earth and wide Heaven above came together; for such a mighty crash would have arisen if Earth were being hurled to ruin, and Heaven from on high were hurling her down; so great a crash was there while the gods were meeting together in strife. Also the winds brought rumbling earthquake and duststorm, thunder and lightning and the lurid thunderbolt, which are the shafts of great Zeus, and carried the clangour and the warcry into the midst of the two hosts. An horrible uproar of terrible strife arose: mighty deeds were shown and the battle inclined. But until then, they kept at one another and fought continually in cruel war.

(Il. 713-735) And amongst the foremost Cottus and Briareos and Gyes insatiate for war raised fierce fighting: three hundred rocks, one upon another, they launched from their strong hands and overshadowed the Titans with their missiles, and buried them beneath the wide-pathed earth, and bound them in bitter chains when they had conquered them by their strength for all their great spirit, as far beneath the earth to Tartarus. For a brazen anvil falling down from heaven nine nights and days would reach the earth upon the tenth: and again, a brazen anvil falling from earth nine nights and days would reach Tartarus upon the tenth. Round it runs a fence of bronze, and night spreads in triple line all about it like a neck-circlet, while above grow the roots of the earth and unfruitful sea. There by the counsel of Zeus who drives the clouds the Titan gods are hidden under misty gloom, in a dank place where are the ends of the huge earth. And they may not go out; for Poseidon fixed gates of bronze upon it, and a wall runs all round it on every side. There Gyes and Cottus and great-souled Obriareus live, trusty warders of Zeus who holds the aegis.

(Il. 736-744) And there, all in their order, are the sources and ends of gloomy earth and misty Tartarus and the unfruitful sea and starry heaven, loathsome and dank, which even the gods abhor.

It is a great gulf, and if once a man were within the gates, he would not reach the floor until a whole year had reached its end, but cruel blast upon blast would carry him this way and that. And this marvel is awful even to the deathless gods.

(Il. 744-757) There stands the awful home of murky Night wrapped in dark clouds. In front of it the son of Iapetus (22) stands immovably upholding the wide heaven upon his head and unwearying hands, where Night and Day draw near and greet one another as they pass the great threshold of bronze: and while the one is about to go down into the house, the other comes out at the door.

And the house never holds them both within; but always one is without the house passing over the earth, while the other stays at home and waits until the time for her journeying come; and the one holds all-seeing light for them on earth, but the other holds in her arms Sleep the brother of Death, even evil Night, wrapped in a vaporous

cloud.

(Il. 758-766) And there the children of dark Night have their dwellings, Sleep and Death, awful gods. The glowing Sun never looks upon them with his beams, neither as he goes up into heaven, nor as he comes down from heaven. And the former of them roams peacefully over the earth and the sea's broad back and is kindly to men; but the other has a heart of iron, and his spirit within him is pitiless as bronze: whomsoever of men he has once seized he holds fast: and he is hateful even to the deathless gods.

(Il. 767-774) There, in front, stand the echoing halls of the god of the lower-world, strong Hades, and of awful Persephone. A fearful hound guards the house in front, pitiless, and he has a cruel trick. On those who go in he fawns with his tail and both his ears, but suffers them not to go out back again, but keeps watch and devours whomsoever he catches going out of the gates of strong Hades and awful Persephone.

(Il. 775-806) And there dwells the goddess loathed by the deathless gods, terrible Styx, eldest daughter of back-flowing (23) Ocean. She lives apart from the gods in her glorious house vaulted over with great rocks and propped up to heaven all round with silver pillars. Rarely does the daughter of Thaumas, swift-footed Iris, come to her with a message over the sea's wide back.

But when strife and quarrel arise among the deathless gods, and when any of them who live in the house of Olympus lies, then Zeus sends Iris to bring in a golden jug the great oath of the gods from far away, the famous cold water which trickles down from a high and beetling rock. Far under the wide-pathed earth a branch of Oceanus flows through the dark night out of the holy stream, and a tenth part of his water is allotted to her. With nine silver-swirling streams he winds about the earth and the sea's wide back, and then falls into the main (24); but the tenth flows out from a rock, a sore trouble to the gods. For whoever of the deathless gods that hold the peaks of snowy Olympus pours a libation of her water is forsworn, lies breathless until a full year is completed, and never comes near to taste ambrosia and nectar, but lies spiritless and voiceless on a strewn bed: and a heavy trance overshadows him. But when he has spent a long year in his sickness, another penance and a harder follows after the first. For nine years he is cut off from the eternal gods and never joins their councils or their feasts, nine full years. But in the tenth year he comes again to join the assemblies of the deathless gods who live in the house of Olympus. Such an oath, then, did the gods appoint the eternal and primeval water of Styx to be: and it spouts through a rugged place.

(Il. 807-819) And there, all in their order, are the sources and ends of the dark earth and misty Tartarus and the unfruitful sea and starry heaven, loathsome and dank, which even the gods abhor.

And there are shining gates and an immovable threshold of bronze having unending roots and it is grown of itself (25). And beyond, away from all the gods, live the Titans, beyond gloomy Chaos. But the glorious allies of loud-crashing Zeus have their dwelling upon Ocean's foundations, even Cottus and Gyes; but Briareos, being goodly, the

deep-roaring Earth-Shaker made his son-in-law, giving him Cymopolea his daughter to wed.

(Il. 820-868) But when Zeus had driven the Titans from heaven, huge Earth bare her youngest child Typhoeus of the love of Tartarus, by the aid of golden Aphrodite. Strength was with his hands in all that he did and the feet of the strong god were untiring. From his shoulders grew an hundred heads of a snake, a fearful dragon, with dark, flickering tongues, and from under the brows of his eyes in his marvellous heads flashed fire, and fire burned from his heads as he glared. And there were voices in all his dreadful heads which uttered every kind of sound unspeakable; for at one time they made sounds such that the gods understood, but at another, the noise of a bull bellowing aloud in proud ungovernable fury; and at another, the sound of a lion, relentless of heart; and at anothers, sounds like whelps, wonderful to hear; and again, at another, he would hiss, so that the high mountains re-echoed. And truly a thing past help would have happened on that day, and he would have come to reign over mortals and immortals, had not the father of men and gods been quick to perceive it. But he thundered hard and mightily: and the earth around resounded terribly and the wide heaven above, and the sea and Ocean's streams and the nether parts of the earth. Great Olympus reeled beneath the divine feet of the king as he arose and earth groaned thereat. And through the two of them heat took hold on the dark-blue sea, through the thunder and lightning, and through the fire from the monster, and the scorching winds and blazing thunderbolt. The whole earth seethed, and sky and sea: and the long waves raged along the beaches round and about, at the rush of the deathless gods: and there arose an endless shaking. Hades trembled where he rules over the dead below, and the Titans under Tartarus who live with Cronos, because of the unending clamour and the fearful strife. So when Zeus had raised up his might and seized his arms, thunder and lightning and lurid thunderbolt, he leaped from Olympus and struck him, and burned all the marvellous heads of the monster about him. But when Zeus had conquered him and lashed him with strokes, Typhoeus was hurled down, a maimed wreck, so that the huge earth groaned. And flame shot forth from the thunder- stricken lord in the dim rugged glens of the mount (26), when he was smitten. A great part of huge earth was scorched by the terrible vapour and melted as tin melts when heated by men's art in channelled (27) crucibles; or as iron, which is hardest of all things, is softened by glowing fire in mountain glens and melts in the divine earth through the strength of Hephaestus (28). Even so, then, the earth melted in the glow of the blazing fire. And in the bitterness of his anger Zeus cast him into wide Tartarus.

(Il. 869-880) And from Typhoeus come boisterous winds which blow damply, except Notus and Boreas and clear Zephyr. These are a god-sent kind, and a great blessing to men; but the others blow fitfully upon the seas. Some rush upon the misty sea and work great havoc among men with their evil, raging blasts; for varying with the season they blow, scattering ships and destroying sailors. And men who meet these upon the sea have no help against the mischief. Others again over the boundless, flowering earth spoil the fair fields of men who dwell below, filling them with dust and cruel uproar.

(Il. 881-885) But when the blessed gods had finished their toil, and settled by force their

struggle for honours with the Titans, they pressed far-seeing Olympian Zeus to reign and to rule over them, by Earth's prompting. So he divided their dignities amongst them.

(Il. 886-900) Now Zeus, king of the gods, made Metis his wife first, and she was wisest among gods and mortal men. But when she was about to bring forth the goddess bright-eyed Athene, Zeus craftily deceived her with cunning words and put her in his own belly, as Earth and starry Heaven advised. For they advised him so, to the end that no other should hold royal sway over the eternal gods in place of Zeus; for very wise children were destined to be born of her, first the maiden bright-eyed Tritogeneia, equal to her father in strength and in wise understanding; but afterwards she was to bear a son of overbearing spirit, king of gods and men. But Zeus put her into his own belly first, that the goddess might devise for him both good and evil.

(Il. 901-906) Next he married bright Themis who bare the Horae (Hours), and Eunomia (Order), Dike (Justice), and blooming Eirene (Peace), who mind the works of mortal men, and the Moerae (Fates) to whom wise Zeus gave the greatest honour, Clotho, and Lachesis, and Atropos who give mortal men evil and good to have.

(Il. 907-911) And Eurynome, the daughter of Ocean, beautiful in form, bare him three fair-cheeked Charites (Graces), Aglaea, and Euphrosyne, and lovely Thaleia, from whose eyes as they glanced flowed love that unnerves the limbs: and beautiful is their glance beneath their brows.

(Il. 912-914) Also he came to the bed of all-nourishing Demeter, and she bare white-armed Persephone whom Aidoneus carried off from her mother; but wise Zeus gave her to him.

(Il. 915-917) And again, he loved Mnemosyne with the beautiful hair: and of her the nine gold-crowned Muses were born who delight in feasts and the pleasures of song.

(Il. 918-920) And Leto was joined in love with Zeus who holds the aegis, and bare Apollo and Artemis delighting in arrows, children lovely above all the sons of Heaven.

(Il. 921-923) Lastly, he made Hera his blooming wife: and she was joined in love with the king of gods and men, and brought forth Hebe and Ares and Eileithyia.

(Il. 924-929) But Zeus himself gave birth from his own head to bright-eyed Tritogeneia (29), the awful, the strife-stirring, the host-leader, the unwearying, the queen, who delights in tumults and wars and battles. But Hera without union with Zeus -- for she was very angry and quarrelled with her mate -- bare famous Hephaestus, who is skilled in crafts more than all the sons of Heaven.

(Il. 929a-929t) (30) But Hera was very angry and quarrelled with her mate. And because of this strife she bare without union with Zeus who holds the aegis a glorious son, Hephaestus, who excelled all the sons of Heaven in crafts. But Zeus lay with the fair-cheeked daughter of Ocean and Tethys apart from Hera.... ((LACUNA))deceiving

Metis (Thought) although she was full wise. But he seized her with his hands and put her in his belly, for fear that she might bring forth something stronger than his thunderbolt: therefore did Zeus, who sits on high and dwells in the aether, swallow her down suddenly. But she straightway conceived Pallas Athene: and the father of men and gods gave her birth by way of his head on the banks of the river Triton. And she remained hidden beneath the inward parts of Zeus, even Metis, Athena's mother, worker of righteousness, who was wiser than gods and mortal men. There the goddess (Athena) received that (31) whereby she excelled in strength all the deathless ones who dwell in Olympus, she who made the host-scaring weapon of Athena. And with it (Zeus) gave her birth, arrayed in arms of war.

(Il. 930-933) And of Amphitrite and the loud-roaring Earth-Shaker was born great, wide-ruling Triton, and he owns the depths of the sea, living with his dear mother and the lord his father in their golden house, an awful god.

(Il. 933-937) Also Cytherea bare to Ares the shield-piercer Panic and Fear, terrible gods who drive in disorder the close ranks of men in numbing war, with the help of Ares, sacker of towns: and Harmonia whom high-spirited Cadmus made his wife.

(Il. 938-939) And Maia, the daughter of Atlas, bare to Zeus glorious Hermes, the herald of the deathless gods, for she went up into his holy bed.

(Il. 940-942) And Semele, daughter of Cadmus was joined with him in love and bare him a splendid son, joyous Dionysus, -- a mortal woman an immortal son. And now they both are gods.

(Il. 943-944) And Alemena was joined in love with Zeus who drives the clouds and bare mighty Heracles.

(Il. 945-946) And Hephaestus, the famous Lamé One, made Aglaea, youngest of the Graces, his buxom wife.

(Il. 947-949) And golden-haired Dionysus made brown-haired Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, his buxom wife: and the son of Cronos made her deathless and unageing for him.

(Il. 950-955) And mighty Heracles, the valiant son of neat-ankled Alemena, when he had finished his grievous toils, made Hebe the child of great Zeus and gold-shod Hera his shy wife in snowy Olympus. Happy he! For he has finished his great works and lives amongst the dying gods, untroubled and unaging all his days.

(Il. 956-962) And Perseis, the daughter of Ocean, bare to unwearying Helios Circe and Aeetes the king. And Aeetes, the son of Helios who shows light to men, took to wife fair-cheeked Idyia, daughter of Ocean the perfect stream, by the will of the gods: and she was subject to him in love through golden Aphrodite and bare him neat-ankled Medea.

(Il. 963-968) And now farewell, you dwellers on Olympus and you islands and continents and thou briny sea within. Now sing the company of goddesses, sweet-voiced Muses of Olympus, daughter of Zeus who holds the aegis, -- even those deathless one who lay with mortal men and bare children like unto gods.

(Il. 969-974) Demeter, bright goddess, was joined in sweet love with the hero Iasion in a thrice-ploughed fallow in the rich land of Crete, and bare Plutus, a kindly god who goes everywhere over land and the sea's wide back, and him who finds him and into whose hands he comes he makes rich, bestowing great wealth upon him.

(Il. 975-978) And Harmonia, the daughter of golden Aphrodite, bare to Cadmus Ino and Semele and fair-cheeked Agave and Autonoe whom long haired Aristaeus wedded, and Polydorus also in rich-crowned Thebe.

(Il. 979-983) And the daughter of Ocean, Callirrhoe was joined in the love of rich Aphrodite with stout hearted Chrysaor and bare a son who was the strongest of all men, Geryones, whom mighty Heracles killed in sea-girt Erythea for the sake of his shambling oxen.

(Il. 984-991) And Eos bare to Tithonus brazen-crested Memnon, king of the Ethiopians, and the Lord Emathion. And to Cephalus she bare a splendid son, strong Phaethon, a man like the gods, whom, when he was a young boy in the tender flower of glorious youth with childish thoughts, laughter-loving Aphrodite seized and caught up and made a keeper of her shrine by night, a divine spirit.

(Il. 993-1002) And the son of Aeson by the will of the gods led away from Aetes the daughter of Aetes the heaven-nurtured king, when he had finished the many grievous labours which the great king, over bearing Pelias, that outrageous and presumptuous doer of violence, put upon him. But when the son of Aeson had finished them, he came to Iolcus after long toil bringing the coy-eyed girl with him on his swift ship, and made her his buxom wife. And she was subject to Iason, shepherd of the people, and bare a son Medeus whom Cheiron the son of Philyra brought up in the mountains. And the will of great Zeus was fulfilled.

(Il. 1003-1007) But of the daughters of Nereus, the Old man of the Sea, Psamathe the fair goddess, was loved by Aeacus through golden Aphrodite and bare Phocus. And the silver-shod goddess Thetis was subject to Peleus and brought forth lion-hearted Achilles, the destroyer of men.

(Il. 1008-1010) And Cytherea with the beautiful crown was joined in sweet love with the hero Anchises and bare Aeneas on the peaks of Ida with its many wooded glens.

(Il. 1011-1016) And Circe the daughter of Helios, Hyperion's son, loved steadfast Odysseus and bare Agrius and Latinus who was faultless and strong: also she brought forth Telegonus by the will of golden Aphrodite. And they ruled over the famous

Tyrenians, very far off in a recess of the holy islands.

(Il. 1017-1018) And the bright goddess Calypso was joined to Odysseus in sweet love, and bare him Nausithous and Nausinous.

(Il. 1019-1020) These are the immortal goddesses who lay with mortal men and bare them children like unto gods.

(Il. 1021-1022) But now, sweet-voiced Muses of Olympus, daughters of Zeus who holds the aegis, sing of the company of women.

ENDNOTES:

(1) The epithet probably indicates coquettishness.

(2) A proverbial saying meaning, 'why enlarge on irrelevant topics?'

(3) 'She of the noble voice': Calliope is queen of Epic poetry.

(4) Earth, in the cosmology of Hesiod, is a disk surrounded by the river Oceanus and floating upon a waste of waters. It is called the foundation of all (the qualification 'the deathless ones...' etc. is an interpolation), because not only trees, men, and animals, but even the hills and seas (Il. 129, 131) are supported by it.

(5) Aether is the bright, untainted upper atmosphere, as distinguished from Aer, the lower atmosphere of the earth.

(6) Brontes is the Thunderer; Steropes, the Lightener; and Arges, the Vivid One.

(7) The myth accounts for the separation of Heaven and Earth. In Egyptian cosmology Nut (the Sky) is thrust and held apart from her brother Geb (the Earth) by their father Shu, who corresponds to the Greek Atlas.

(8) Nymphs of the ash-trees, as Dryads are nymphs of the oak-trees. Cp. note on "Works and Days", l. 145.

(9) 'Member-loving': the title is perhaps only a perversion of the regular PHILOMEIDES (laughter-loving).

(10) Cletho (the Spinner) is she who spins the thread of man's life; Lachesis (the Disposer of Lots) assigns to each man his destiny; Atropos (She who cannot be turned) is the 'Fury with the abhorred shears.'

(11) Many of the names which follow express various qualities or aspects of the sea: thus Galene is 'Calm', Cymothoe is the 'Wave-swift', Pherusa and Dynamene are 'She who speeds (ships)' and 'She who has power'.

(12) The 'Wave-receiver' and the 'Wave-stiller'.

(13) 'The Unerring' or 'Truthful'; cp. l. 235.

(14) i.e. Poseidon.

(15) Goettling notes that some of these nymphs derive their names from lands over which they preside, as Europa, Asia, Doris, Ianeira ('Lady of the Ionians'), but that most are called after some quality which their streams possessed: thus Xanthe is the 'Brown' or 'Turbid', Amphirho is the 'Surrounding' river, Ianthe is 'She who delights', and Ocyrrhoe is the 'Swift-flowing'.

(16) i.e. Eos, the 'Early-born'.

(17) Van Lennep explains that Hecate, having no brothers to support her claim, might

have been slighted.

(18) The goddess of the hearth (the Roman "Vesta"), and so of the house. Cp. "Homeric Hymns" v.22 ff.; xxxix.1 ff.

(19) The variant reading 'of his father' (sc. Heaven) rests on inferior MS. authority and is probably an alteration due to the difficulty stated by a Scholiast: 'How could Zeus, being not yet begotten, plot against his father?' The phrase is, however, part of the prophecy. The whole line may well be spurious, and is rejected by Heyne, Wolf, Gaisford and Guyet.

(20) Pausanias (x. 24.6) saw near the tomb of Neoptolemus 'a stone of no great size', which the Delphians anointed every day with oil, and which he says was supposed to be the stone given to Cronos.

(21) A Scholiast explains: 'Either because they (men) sprang from the Melian nymphs (cp. l. 187); or because, when they were born (?), they cast themselves under the ash-trees, that is, the trees.' The reference may be to the origin of men from ash-trees: cp. "Works and Days", l. 145 and note.

(22) sc. Atlas, the Shu of Egyptian mythology: cp. note on line 177.

(23) Oceanus is here regarded as a continuous stream enclosing the earth and the seas, and so as flowing back upon himself.

(24) The conception of Oceanus is here different: he has nine streams which encircle the earth and the flow out into the 'main' which appears to be the waste of waters on which, according to early Greek and Hebrew cosmology, the disk-like earth floated.

(25) i.e. the threshold is of 'native' metal, and not artificial.

(26) According to Homer Typhoeus was overwhelmed by Zeus amongst the Arimi in Cilicia. Pindar represents him as buried under Aetna, and Tzetzes reads Aetna in this passage.

(27) The epithet (which means literally 'well-bored') seems to refer to the spout of the crucible.

(28) The fire god. There is no reference to volcanic action: iron was smelted on Mount Ida; cp. "Epigrams of Homer", ix. 2-4.

(29) i.e. Athena, who was born 'on the banks of the river Triton' (cp. l. 929l)

(30) Restored by Peppmüller. The nineteen following lines from another recension of lines 889-900, 924-9 are quoted by Chrysippus (in Galen).

(31) sc. the aegis. Line 929s is probably spurious, since it disagrees with l. 929q and contains a suspicious reference to Athens.

Sacred Texts | Classics

« Previous: Hesiod Index Next: Hesiod: Works and Days »

Sacred Texts Classics Virgil

THE AENEID

by Virgil

Title Page [Latin]

Book I [Latin]

Book II [Latin]

Book III [Latin]

Book IV [Latin]

Book V [Latin]
Book VI [Latin]
Book VII [Latin]
Book VIII [Latin]
Book IX [Latin]
Book X [Latin]
Book XI [Latin]
Book XII [Latin]

Sacred Texts | Classics

« Previous: The Aeneid of Virgil: Book XII

Index Next: Title Page »

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Alexander Pope, Joseph Addison, William Congreve and other eminent hands

Contents Start Reading

Title Page

English

Book The First

Book the Second

Book the Third

Book the Fourth

Book the Fifth

Book the Sixth

Book the Seventh

Book the Eighth

Book the Nine

Book the Tenth

Book the Eleventh

Book the Twelfth

Book the Thirteenth

Book the Fourteenth

Book the Fifteenth

Latin

Liber Primus

Liber Secundus

Liber Tertius

Liber Quartus

Liber Quintus

Liber Sextus

Liber Septimus
Liber Octavus
Liber Nonus
Liber Decimus
Liber Undecimus
Liber Duodecimus
Liber Tertius Decimus
Liber Quartus Decimus
Liber Quintus Decimus

Sacred Texts | Classics

« Previous: File Moved! Index Next: Metamorphoses of Ovid: English: Book The First »

Sacred-texts Classical Paganism Legends & Sagas

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BULFINCH'S MYTHOLOGY

THE AGE OF FABLE

OR STORIES OF GODS AND HEROES

by Thomas Bulfinch

[1855]

CHAPTER I. Introduction.

CHAPTER II. Prometheus And Pandora.

CHAPTER III. Apollo And Daphne- Pyramus And Thisbe- Cephalus And Procris.

CHAPTER IV. Juno And Her Rivals, Io And Callisto- Diana And Actaeon- Latona And The Rustics.

CHAPTER V. Phaeton.

CHAPTER VI. Midas- Baucis And Philemon.

CHAPTER VII. Proserpine- Glaucus And Scylla.

CHAPTER VIII. Pygmalion- Dryope- Venus And Adonis- Apollo And Hyacinthus.

CHAPTER IX. Ceyx And Halcyone: Or, The Halcyon Birds.

CHAPTER X. Vertumnus And Pomona.

CHAPTER XI. Cupid And Psyche.

CHAPTER XII. Cadmus- The Myrmidons.

CHAPTER XIII. Nisus And Scylla- Echo And Narcissus- Clytie- Hero And Leander.

CHAPTER XIV. Minerva- Niobe.

CHAPTER XV. The Graeae And Gorgons- Perseus- Medusa- Atlas- Andromeda.

CHAPTER XVI. Monsters. Giants, Sphinx, Pegasus, And Chimaera, Centaurs, Griffin, And Pygmies.

CHAPTER XVII. The Golden Fleece- Medea

CHAPTER XVIII. Meleager And Atalanta.

CHAPTER XIX. Hercules- Hebe And Ganymede.

CHAPTER XX. Theseus- Daedalus- Castor And Pollux.

CHAPTER XXI. Bacchus- Ariadne.

CHAPTER XXII. The Rural Deities- Erisichthon- Rhoecus- The Water Deities- The Camenae- The Winds.

CHAPTER XXIII. Achelous And Hercules- Admetus And Alcestis- Antigone- Penelope.
CHAPTER XXIV. Orpheus And Eurydice- Aristaeus- Amphion- Linus- Thamyris-
Marsyas- Melampus- Musaeus.
CHAPTER XXV. Arion- Ibycus- Simonides- Sappho.
CHAPTER XXVI. Endymion- Orion- Aurora And Tithonus- Acis And Galatea.
CHAPTER XXVII. The Trojan War.
CHAPTER XXVIII. The Fall Of Troy- Return Of The Greeks- Agamemnon, Orestes And
Electra.
CHAPTER XXIX. Adventures Of Ulysses- The Lotus-eaters- Cyclops- Circe -sirens-
Scylla And Charybdis- Calypso.
CHAPTER XXX. The Phaeacians- Fate Of The Suitors.
CHAPTER XXXI. Adventures Of Aeneas- The Harpies- Dido- Palinurius.
CHAPTER XXXII. The Infernal Regions- The Sibyl.
CHAPTER XXXIII. Aeneas In Italy- Camilla- Evander- Nisus And Euryalus- Mezentius-
Turnus.
CHAPTER XXXIV. Pythagoras- Egyptian Deities- Oracles.
CHAPTER XXXV. Origin Of Mythology- Statues Of Gods And Goddesses- Poets Of
Mythology.
CHAPTER XXXVI. Modern Monsters- The Phoenix- Basilisk- Unicorn- -salamander.
CHAPTER XXXVII. Eastern Mythology- Zoroaster- Hindu Mythology- Castes- Buddha-
Grand Lama.
CHAPTER XXXVIII. Northern Mythology- Valhalla- The Valkyrior.
CHAPTER XXXIX. Thor's Visit To Jotunheim.
CHAPTER XL. The Death Of Baldur- The Elves- Runic Letters- Skalds- Iceland.
CHAPTER XLI. The Druids- Iona.
CHAPTER XLII. Beowulf.
Proverbial Expressions

Sacred Texts | Classics

« Previous: Proverbial Expressions

Index Next: File Moved! »

The Masks of Odin:

Wisdom of the Ancient Norse

Elsa-Brita Titchenell

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Contents

Foreword

Preface

Acknowledgments
Pronunciation Guide
Bibliography
Glossary
Plates: Codex Regius

PART I: COMMENTARY

- 1 Myths — A Time Capsule
- 2 The Tree of Life — Yggdrasil
- 3 Gods and Giants
- 4 Cosmic Creation
- 5 Terrestrial Creation
- 6 Nature's Kingdoms
- 7 Rig, Loki, and the Mind
- 8 Human Death and Rebirth
- 9 Initiation

PART II: NOTES, TRANSLATED LAYS, AND STORIES

- 10 Voluspa (The Sibyl's Prophecy)
 - 11 Gylfaginning (The Apotheosis of Gylfe)
 - 12 Havamal (The High One's Words)
 - 13 Vaftrudnismal (The Lay of Illusion)
 - 14 Thor and Loki in Jotunheim (Gianthome)
 - 15 Hymiskvadet (Hymer's Lay)
 - 16 Grímnismal (Grimner's Lay)
 - 17 Trymskvadet (The Theft of Thor's Hammer)
 - 18 Kvadet om Rig (The Lay of Rig)
 - 19 Loki Steals the Brisinga-Gem
 - 20 Grottasongr (The Song of the Mill)
 - 21 Volundskvadet (The Lay of Volund)
 - 22 Lokasenna (Loki's Flyting)
 - 23 Allvismal (The Lay of Allwise)
 - 24 Grogaldern and Fjolsvinn's Ordskipte (The Spells of Groa and Verywise's Exchange)
 - 25 Skirnismal (The Lay of Skirner)
 - 26 Vegtamskvadet (The Lay of Waywont)
 - 27 Odens Korpvalder (The Lay of Odin's Corpse or The Lay of Odin's Ravens)
 - 28 A Summing Up
- Foreword

A good many people hearing of the Edda or of the Norse myths think mainly of Balder, the sun-god, who was slain by a twig of mistletoe; or they may conjure up mighty Thor, hurler of thunderbolts and lightning, whose footsteps make the earth quake. Or perhaps they remember Loki, trickster, mischief-maker without malice, who seems constantly to stir up trouble, yet as often by imaginative wit and intelligence resolves the difficulties he

has caused.

The Masks of Odin is a provocative study of "the wisdom of the ancient Norse." While it portrays the various aspects and forms that Odin assumes in order to gain knowledge of the nine worlds inhabited by gods and giants, humans, elves, and dwarfs, Elsa-Brita Titchenell has a larger purpose in view. As a serious student of both Edda and Theosophy her loom is cosmic in reach, its warp representing the theosophia perennis or enduring god-wisdom and its woof the Edda, whose many-colored threads she weaves into colorful and often inspiring patterns of interpretation.

The world's oldest traditions hold that long ago all peoples, however widely separated, were the common inheritors of a body of sacred truths initially imparted to the earliest humanities by divine beings from higher regions; and, further, that myth-makers of every land were in greater or less degree transmitters of this archaic wisdom/science. Against this backdrop the author undertakes to interpret some of the more important sagas of the Norse Edda, retranslating them from the Swedish text and comparing it with the original Icelandic. Her aim is not to hammer out just another version of the Edda when already several in English are available both in prose and verse, but rather "to penetrate to the core of inspired meaning" hidden within the world's mythic lore. To attempt this would have been out of the question, she believes, but for two radical changes in the general thought life: first, the disclosure about a century ago of a significant portion of the universal theosophic philosophy by H. P. Blavatsky and its emancipating effect on the human spirit, and second, the new developments in Western science.

In Part I Elsa Titchenell outlines the broad features of the principal characters involved in the drama of cosmic and terrestrial creation as recorded in the Edda, including the gifts to early mankind of spirit, mind, and vitality by three Aesir (gods) so that we humans in time might become "godmakers." Relating theosophic teachings and current findings of astrophysics and physics to traditional mythic symbols she depicts the ancient mythographers as philosophers and scientists of stature. To the Norse bards or skalds, the interplay between gods and giants represented the continuous interaction of spirit and matter on a series of "shelves" or planes as "rivers of lives" moved, each after its own manner, through mansion after mansion of planetary and solar spheres within Allfather-Odin's domain.

In Part II, the author's Notes preceding the translated lays provide the reader with an invaluable guide through the often bewildering maze of metaphor and symbolic allusion. The opening saga is the well-known Voluspa or Sibyl's Prophecy, that tells of the formation of worlds, of Odin's search for wisdom in the spheres of matter, and of the "toppling of the world tree" when the gods withdraw and earth is no more — until the Vala (Sibyl) sees another earth rising from the sea as old ills are resolved and the Aesir return. In the High One's Song, we read of Odin's consummate experience when for nine whole nights he "hung in the windtorn tree," the Tree of Life, so that he might "raise the runes" and drink the mead of omniscience.

There is much to delight and instruct in the retelling of lay after lay, each with its own

story and truth to impart. Admittedly only a portion of the available material is treated, and this is drawn chiefly from the Poetic or Elder Edda of Saemund the Wise. Cognizant, moreover, of the challenge posed by the mystery-language of symbolism in use by the poet-philosophers of old, the author is hopeful that others will find in this "fragment of runic wisdom" the stimulus to pursue further and more complete studies of the ancient Norse records.

Whether writing as Eddist or theosophist, amateur scientist, mythographer, or translator, Elsa-Brita Titchenell by lucid and perceptive scholarship has earned for *The Masks of Odin* an honored place among Edda literature.

GRACE F. KNOCHE
Preface

It was in the early 1950s when the writer picked up a book at random in the Theosophical University Library in Altadena — a beautifully bound volume of the Edda in Swedish. Though familiar since childhood with at least some portions of the Norse "god-stories" this was the first time I had read the poetic lays of the Elder Edda. Browsing through the verses and delighting in their picturesque "kennings," I was enjoying the quaint turns of phrase when suddenly, as by a lightning bolt, I was struck by a dazzling flash of meaning, a hint of basic truth. Skeptical at first, I began to read with greater attention and soon became convinced that the Edda ranks among the world's sacred traditions as a genuine scripture, a goldmine of natural history and spiritual treasure. This is connoted also by its Swedish name: *gudasaga* — a divine story or god-spell — the archaic form of the word "gospel."

Many years later, after much scrutiny and comparison with other myths, enough evidence of the Edda's scriptural content had accumulated to warrant collating at least a few fragments that seem to have secreted in them a discernible esoteric meaning. Among the great wealth of material in the Norse myths it has been necessary to be selective, partly because there are several versions of many of the tales, partly because the purpose of this book is to bring out and suggest interpretations of those myths which are of particular relevance in our time.

Most of the lays and stories herein are translated from the *Codex Regius* — the "royal codex" — which was written down by Saemund the Wise a thousand years ago, though their content has doubtless been known much longer than that. Today they are luminous with meaning due to two seemingly independent circumstances: first, the disclosure of a generous portion of the universal theosophic philosophy in the late nineteenth century and the broadening influence this has exerted; and second, following closely thereafter, the development of a more enlightened science in the West.

The story of *Codex Regius* is itself a fascinating one. King Frederik III of Denmark sent Thormod Torfaeus to Iceland with an open letter dated 27 May 1662 which empowered him to purchase ancient manuscripts and other material containing information on Icelandic history. He delivered it to Bishop Brynjolv Sveinsson, an ardent collector of

memorabilia since his accession to the bishopric of Skalholt in 1639. Soon afterward the bishop sent the king a gift of several manuscripts; Torfaeus made a catalogue of these which Gudbrand Vigfusson lists in his *Prolegomena* to the *Sturlunga Saga*. In this collection the manuscript cited as No. 6 is titled "Edda Saemundi; quarto." It was a treasure of the Royal Library at Copenhagen until a few years ago when it was returned to Iceland, where it is now housed in the Arna Magnussonar collection. No one knows how Bishop Brynjolv came in possession of it, but he must have acquired it some twenty years before Torfaeus' arrival as he had inscribed the first page with his own name in Latin, *Lupus Loricatus* (contracted to *[[symbol]]* — cf. plate 1 of the photographic reproduction of *Voluspa* from the *Codex Regius* manuscript), with the date 1643; he also had a copy made on white parchment.

Several versions of the Edda are extant in part. One collection of handwritten texts is that of Arne Magnusson, believed to emanate from the same source as Saemund's; another is the *Codex Wormianus* (from which are taken the *Songs of Rig* and *Waywont*), and *Flatoboken*. The *Spells of Groa*, *Verywise's Exchange*, and the *Lay of Odin's Corpse* are from Swedish translations of paper copies; these do not occur in *Codex Regius*. The *Song of the Mill* is from Snorri's Edda.

The lays, rendered here were first translated into English from the two Swedish versions of Godecke and Sander, with frequent reference to the commentaries of the Swedish scholar Viktor Rydberg; thereafter the result was compared with the Wimmer and Jonsson *Saemundar Edda*, a photographic facsimile of the old Icelandic *Codex Regius* manuscript with a printed transliteration facing each page. It is a continuous text with no divisions and only an inserted title to mark the beginning of each lay. Most translations break it into verses of six or eight lines as indicated by the rhythm, but we have chosen in many cases to write the verses as quatrains. There is no rhyming, but an alliterative pattern which with the distinctive tetrameter used in many very early epics gives the lays a peculiar charm.

The Edda consists of two main divisions, as do most scriptures that deal with the creation of cosmos and the evolution of mankind. The first applies to the surrounding world, the second to the "heroes": races of humanity and their development through stages of immaturity into the thinking, self-conscious men and women we have become. The latter tales sometimes make use of geographic features and of actual historic events to illustrate the much larger picture they disguise. This work concentrates mainly on the earlier portion, which deals with grand principles and universal events, searching out the basic philosophy of divine nature which is valid throughout the vicissitudes of the human venture.

In translating, both alliteration and meter have unfortunately very often had to be sacrificed, as our purpose is to convey the philosophic and scientific import rather than merely reproduce the poetic style. There already exist several English renditions in verse and prose, many of them accompanied by detailed analyses of the verse forms used in the original. In brief, our aim is not to produce merely another translation but to attempt to penetrate to the core of inspired meaning often concealed within myths.

Interpreting and clarifying that inner sense in the Edda is made possible by resorting to the foremost elucidating work of our time, *The Secret Doctrine*, whose author, H. P. Blavatsky juxtaposed a prodigious array of myths relating to cosmogony as well as human history and the destiny of living beings. In that work are keys showing that the same majestic pattern underlies the varied expressions of different mythic scriptures; we are given an overview of the universe, its periodicity of function and repose, and we discern how divine consciousness reflects itself periodically as a kosmos in space and time.

To find the information the Edda contains we must examine the etymology of names and their connotations, which in some cases are numerous. For this Cleasby's Icelandic Dictionary, completed by Gudbrand Vigfusson in 1869, has proved of inestimable value for it contains copious quotations from the original manuscripts and sometimes presents a strikingly intuitive perception. *Undersökningar i Germansk Mitologi* (Teutonic Mythology) by Viktor Rydberg also contains scrupulous examination of terms and much information.

One great problem with a book such as this is to arrange the material in a practical manner without necessitating undue repetition. The lays are reproduced in English with the flavor as nearly unchanged as may be and each one is preceded by explanatory notes. In addition certain themes are given special attention; inevitably some of these will occur more than once though each approach is somewhat different. In the notes, verse numbers are given to indicate whence an interpretation has been derived. Needless to say, many meanings are often contained in a single passage, and frequently they are mere hints requiring some personal insight on the part of the reader, for it is not always possible to elucidate each symbol adequately, nor is it necessary. The spelling of names is intentionally inconsistent, some being given in Icelandic (e.g., Aesir), others in Swedish (e.g., Ager), both to make them easier to distinguish visually by the English-speaking reader and because in many cases the root of a name has a suggestive meaning in one language but does not occur, or has a slightly different connotation, in the other. There are also many instances where the Icelandic grammatical variants, or a Swedish plural or definite form, would make an otherwise familiar word all but unrecognizable, necessitating inevitable compromises in an English rendition. When possible, names have been translated into English to enable a reader to find his own interpretation. A glossary and index have been provided.

Acknowledgments

Many thanks are due to a number of people who have helped bring this book into being: first to the late James A. Long who, during his leadership of the Theosophical Society, encouraged my study of the Edda and included eight articles on its theosophic content in Volume IV of the magazine *Sunrise* during 1954-5, with some half dozen more appearing later over a period of years; also to Kirby Van Mater, without whose prodding this book would never have been begun; thereafter to Sarah Belle Dougherty, who read the manuscript and proposed shuffling the material into better order, to Gertrude (Trudy) Hockinson who typed and retyped large portions of the manuscript; to Rod Casper of Millikan Library at the California Institute of Technology, who helped me procure

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ELSA-BRITA TITCHENELL

May 31, 1985

Altadena, California

Pronunciation Guide

Each language really has an alphabet all its own; even though the same written symbols may be used, the sounds they represent are subtly different in each spoken tongue. Particularly is this true of the vowels, whereof English has five, Swedish nine, and Old Icelandic seventeen. Many of the names of the Edda's characters have several spellings, all equally valid, some Icelandic, others Old Norse, others Swedish, Danish, or Norwegian. We have used Swedish or Icelandic spelling, substituting for the extra Icelandic letters the closest English equivalents. Thus þ is commonly th as in Thor, while ð is given as d. The following pronunciation guide is a compromise giving merely an indication of the actual sounds. The vowels:

Vowel - Long / Short Equivalent

a as in father / sat

e as in say / set

i as in fatigue / sit

o as in move / soot

u as u minus the "ee" sound / hut

y as in French tu / Gluck

á as in corps / sot

ä as in care / set

ö as in French deux / neuf

Consonants are pronounced approximately as in English. The g is hard before hard

vowels (a, o, u, a), but soft, like y, before the other (soft) vowels; r is trilled as in Scottish speech or like the French.

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Sorla Thattr, "little thread," which is part of the Younger Edda.

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Contents

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The Masks of Odin:
Wisdom of the Ancient Norse
Elsa-Brita Titchenell

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Contents

Foreword

Preface

Acknowledgments

Pronunciation Guide

Bibliography

Glossary

Plates: Codex Regius

PART I: COMMENTARY

- 1 Myths — A Time Capsule
- 2 The Tree of Life — Yggdrasil
- 3 Gods and Giants
- 4 Cosmic Creation
- 5 Terrestrial Creation
- 6 Nature's Kingdoms
- 7 Rig, Loki, and the Mind
- 8 Human Death and Rebirth
- 9 Initiation

PART II: NOTES, TRANSLATED LAYS, AND STORIES

- 10 Voluspa (The Sibyl's Prophecy)
 - 11 Gylfaginning (The Apotheosis of Gylfe)
 - 12 Havamal (The High One's Words)
 - 13 Vaftrudnismal (The Lay of Illusion)
 - 14 Thor and Loki in Jotunheim (Giant's Home)
 - 15 Hymiskvadet (Hymer's Lay)
 - 16 Grimnismal (Grimner's Lay)
 - 17 Trymskvadet (The Theft of Thor's Hammer)
 - 18 Kvadet om Rig (The Lay of Rig)
 - 19 Loki Steals the Brisinga-Gem
 - 20 Grottasongr (The Song of the Mill)
 - 21 Volundskvadet (The Lay of Volund)
 - 22 Lokasenna (Loki's Flyting)
 - 23 Allvismal (The Lay of Allwise)
 - 24 Grogaldern and Fjolsvinn's Ordskifte (The Spells of Groa and Verywise's Exchange)
 - 25 Skirnismal (The Lay of Skirner)
 - 26 Vegtamskvadet (The Lay of Waywont)
 - 27 Odens Korpvald (The Lay of Odin's Corpse or The Lay of Odin's Ravens)
 - 28 A Summing Up
- Foreword

A good many people hearing of the Edda or of the Norse myths think mainly of Balder, the sun-god, who was slain by a twig of mistletoe; or they may conjure up mighty Thor, hurler of thunderbolts and lightning, whose footsteps make the earth quake. Or perhaps they remember Loki, trickster, mischief-maker without malice, who seems constantly to stir up trouble, yet as often by imaginative wit and intelligence resolves the difficulties he has caused.

The Masks of Odin is a provocative study of "the wisdom of the ancient Norse." While it portrays the various aspects and forms that Odin assumes in order to gain knowledge of the nine worlds inhabited by gods and giants, humans, elves, and dwarfs, Elsa-Brita Titchenell has a larger purpose in view. As a serious student of both Edda and Theosophy her loom is cosmic in reach, its warp representing the theosophia perennis

or enduring god-wisdom and its woof the Edda, whose many-colored threads she weaves into colorful and often inspiring patterns of interpretation.

The world's oldest traditions hold that long ago all peoples, however widely separated, were the common inheritors of a body of sacred truths initially imparted to the earliest humanities by divine beings from higher regions; and, further, that myth-makers of every land were in greater or less degree transmitters of this archaic wisdom/science. Against this backdrop the author undertakes to interpret some of the more important sagas of the Norse Edda, retranslating them from the Swedish text and comparing it with the original Icelandic. Her aim is not to hammer out just another version of the Edda when already several in English are available both in prose and verse, but rather "to penetrate to the core of inspired meaning" hidden within the world's mythic lore. To attempt this would have been out of the question, she believes, but for two radical changes in the general thought life: first, the disclosure about a century ago of a significant portion of the universal theosophic philosophy by H. P. Blavatsky and its emancipating effect on the human spirit, and second, the new developments in Western science.

In Part I Elsa Titchenell outlines the broad features of the principal characters involved in the drama of cosmic and terrestrial creation as recorded in the Edda, including the gifts to early mankind of spirit, mind, and vitality by three Aesir (gods) so that we humans in time might become "godmakers." Relating theosophic teachings and current findings of astrophysics and physics to traditional mythic symbols she depicts the ancient mythographers as philosophers and scientists of stature. To the Norse bards or skalds, the interplay between gods and giants represented the continuous interaction of spirit and matter on a series of "shelves" or planes as "rivers of lives" moved, each after its own manner, through mansion after mansion of planetary and solar spheres within Allfather-Odin's domain.

In Part II, the author's Notes preceding the translated lays provide the reader with an invaluable guide through the often bewildering maze of metaphor and symbolic allusion. The opening saga is the well-known Voluspa or Sibyl's Prophecy, that tells of the formation of worlds, of Odin's search for wisdom in the spheres of matter, and of the "toppling of the world tree" when the gods withdraw and earth is no more — until the Vala (Sibyl) sees another earth rising from the sea as old ills are resolved and the Aesir return. In the High One's Song, we read of Odin's consummate experience when for nine whole nights he "hung in the windtorn tree," the Tree of Life, so that he might "raise the runes" and drink the mead of omniscience.

There is much to delight and instruct in the retelling of lay after lay, each with its own story and truth to impart. Admittedly only a portion of the available material is treated, and this is drawn chiefly from the Poetic or Elder Edda of Saemund the Wise. Cognizant, moreover, of the challenge posed by the mystery-language of symbolism in use by the poet-philosophers of old, the author is hopeful that others will find in this "fragment of runic wisdom" the stimulus to pursue further and more complete studies of the ancient Norse records.

Whether writing as Eddist or theosophist, amateur scientist, mythographer, or translator, Elsa-Brita Titchenell by lucid and perceptive scholarship has earned for *The Masks of Odin* an honored place among Edda literature.

GRACE F. KNOCHE
Preface

It was in the early 1950s when the writer picked up a book at random in the Theosophical University Library in Altadena — a beautifully bound volume of the Edda in Swedish. Though familiar since childhood with at least some portions of the Norse "god-stories" this was the first time I had read the poetic lays of the Elder Edda. Browsing through the verses and delighting in their picturesque "kennings," I was enjoying the quaint turns of phrase when suddenly, as by a lightning bolt, I was struck by a dazzling flash of meaning, a hint of basic truth. Skeptical at first, I began to read with greater attention and soon became convinced that the Edda ranks among the world's sacred traditions as a genuine scripture, a goldmine of natural history and spiritual treasure. This is connoted also by its Swedish name: *gudasaga* — a divine story or god-spell — the archaic form of the word "gospel."

Many years later, after much scrutiny and comparison with other myths, enough evidence of the Edda's scriptural content had accumulated to warrant collating at least a few fragments that seem to have secreted in them a discernible esoteric meaning. Among the great wealth of material in the Norse myths it has been necessary to be selective, partly because there are several versions of many of the tales, partly because the purpose of this book is to bring out and suggest interpretations of those myths which are of particular relevance in our time.

Most of the lays and stories herein are translated from the *Codex Regius* — the "royal codex" — which was written down by Saemund the Wise a thousand years ago, though their content has doubtless been known much longer than that. Today they are luminous with meaning due to two seemingly independent circumstances: first, the disclosure of a generous portion of the universal theosophic philosophy in the late nineteenth century and the broadening influence this has exerted; and second, following closely thereafter, the development of a more enlightened science in the West.

The story of *Codex Regius* is itself a fascinating one. King Frederik III of Denmark sent Thormod Torfaeus to Iceland with an open letter dated 27 May 1662 which empowered him to purchase ancient manuscripts and other material containing information on Icelandic history. He delivered it to Bishop Brynjolv Sveinsson, an ardent collector of memorabilia since his accession to the bishopric of Skalholt in 1639. Soon afterward the bishop sent the king a gift of several manuscripts; Torfaeus made a catalogue of these which Gudbrand Vigfusson lists in his *Prolegomena to the Sturlunga Saga*. In this collection the manuscript cited as No. 6 is titled "Edda Saemundi; quarto." It was a treasure of the Royal Library at Copenhagen until a few years ago when it was returned to Iceland, where it is now housed in the Arna Magnussonar collection. No one knows how Bishop Brynjolv came in possession of it, but he must have acquired it some twenty

years before Torfaeus' arrival as he had inscribed the first page with his own name in Latin, Lupus Loricatus (contracted to  — cf. plate 1 of the photographic reproduction of Voluspa from the Codex Regius manuscript), with the date 1643; he also had a copy made on white parchment.

Several versions of the Edda are extant in part. One collection of handwritten texts is that of Arne Magnusson, believed to emanate from the same source as Saemund's; another is the Codex Wormianus (from which are taken the Songs of Rig and Waywont), and Flatoboken. The Spells of Groa, Verywise's Exchange, and the Lay of Odin's Corpse are from Swedish translations of paper copies; these do not occur in Codex Regius. The Song of the Mill is from Snorri's Edda.

The lays, rendered here were first translated into English from the two Swedish versions of Godecke and Sander, with frequent reference to the commentaries of the Swedish scholar Viktor Rydberg; thereafter the result was compared with the Wimmer and Jonsson Saemundar Eddu, a photographic facsimile of the old Icelandic Codex Regius manuscript with a printed transliteration facing each page. It is a continuous text with no divisions and only an inserted title to mark the beginning of each lay. Most translations break it into verses of six or eight lines as indicated by the rhythm, but we have chosen in many cases to write the verses as quatrains. There is no rhyming, but an alliterative pattern which with the distinctive tetrameter used in many very early epics gives the lays a peculiar charm.

The Edda consists of two main divisions, as do most scriptures that deal with the creation of cosmos and the evolution of mankind. The first applies to the surrounding world, the second to the "heroes": races of humanity and their development through stages of immaturity into the thinking, self-conscious men and women we have become. The latter tales sometimes make use of geographic features and of actual historic events to illustrate the much larger picture they disguise. This work concentrates mainly on the earlier portion, which deals with grand principles and universal events, searching out the basic philosophy of divine nature which is valid throughout the vicissitudes of the human venture.

In translating, both alliteration and meter have unfortunately very often had to be sacrificed, as our purpose is to convey the philosophic and scientific import rather than merely reproduce the poetic style. There already exist several English renditions in verse and prose, many of them accompanied by detailed analyses of the verse forms used in the original. In brief, our aim is not to produce merely another translation but to attempt to penetrate to the core of inspired meaning often concealed within myths. Interpreting and clarifying that inner sense in the Edda is made possible by resorting to the foremost elucidating work of our time, The Secret Doctrine, whose author, H. P. Blavatsky juxtaposed a prodigious array of myths relating to cosmogony as well as human history and the destiny of living beings. In that work are keys showing that the same majestic pattern underlies the varied expressions of different mythic scriptures; we are given an overview of the universe, its periodicity of function and repose, and we discern how divine consciousness reflects itself periodically as a kosmos in space and

time.

To find the information the Edda contains we must examine the etymology of names and their connotations, which in some cases are numerous. For this Cleasby's Icelandic Dictionary, completed by Gudbrand Vigfusson in 1869, has proved of inestimable value for it contains copious quotations from the original manuscripts and sometimes presents a strikingly intuitive perception. Undersökningar i Germansk Mitologi (Teutonic Mythology) by Viktor Rydberg also contains scrupulous examination of terms and much information.

One great problem with a book such as this is to arrange the material in a practical manner without necessitating undue repetition. The lays are reproduced in English with the flavor as nearly unchanged as may be and each one is preceded by explanatory notes. In addition certain themes are given special attention; inevitably some of these will occur more than once though each approach is somewhat different. In the notes, verse numbers are given to indicate whence an interpretation has been derived. Needless to say, many meanings are often contained in a single passage, and frequently they are mere hints requiring some personal insight on the part of the reader, for it is not always possible to elucidate each symbol adequately, nor is it necessary. The spelling of names is intentionally inconsistent, some being given in Icelandic (e.g., Aesir), others in Swedish (e.g., Ager), both to make them easier to distinguish visually by the English-speaking reader and because in many cases the root of a name has a suggestive meaning in one language but does not occur, or has a slightly different connotation, in the other. There are also many instances where the Icelandic grammatical variants, or a Swedish plural or definite form, would make an otherwise familiar word all but unrecognizable, necessitating inevitable compromises in an English rendition. When possible, names have been translated into English to enable a reader to find his own interpretation. A glossary and index have been provided.

Acknowledgments

Many thanks are due to a number of people who have helped bring this book into being: first to the late James A. Long who, during his leadership of the Theosophical Society, encouraged my study of the Edda and included eight articles on its theosophic content in Volume IV of the magazine Sunrise during 1954-5, with some half dozen more appearing later over a period of years; also to Kirby Van Mater, without whose prodding this book would never have been begun; thereafter to Sarah Belle Dougherty, who read the manuscript and proposed shuffling the material into better order, to Gertrude (Trudy) Hockinson who typed and retyped large portions of the manuscript; to Rod Casper of Millikan Library at the California Institute of Technology, who helped me procure research materials; A. Studley Hart, who performed some editorial magic; my dear friend Ingrid (Binnie) Van Mater, who not only read the work with a clear and critical eye but also checked the entries of the index and glossary and assisted with all the ticklish unavoidable tasks that must precede completion of a book. Thereafter she, Manuel Oderberg, Eloise and Studley Hart proofread it. In addition I must thank the production staff of Theosophical University Press, notably Will Thackara, Raymond Rugland, Mark Davidson, and John Van Mater, Jr., who took endless pains with the craftsmanship of

the work. Above all, my grateful thanks are due to Grace F. Knoche, without whose constant support none of the above would have come about.

ELSA-BRITA TITCHENELL

May 31, 1985

Altadena, California

Pronunciation Guide

Each language really has an alphabet all its own; even though the same written symbols may be used, the sounds they represent are subtly different in each spoken tongue. Particularly is this true of the vowels, whereof English has five, Swedish nine, and Old Icelandic seventeen. Many of the names of the Edda's characters have several spellings, all equally valid, some Icelandic, others Old Norse, others Swedish, Danish, or Norwegian. We have used Swedish or Icelandic spelling, substituting for the extra Icelandic letters the closest English equivalents. Thus þ is commonly th as in Thor, while ð is given as d. The following pronunciation guide is a compromise giving merely an indication of the actual sounds. The vowels:

Vowel - Long / Short Equivalent

a as in father / sat

e as in say / set

i as in fatigue / sit

o as in move / soot

u as u minus the "ee" sound / hut

y as in French tu / Gluck

á as in corps / sot

ä as in care / set

ö as in French deux / neuf

Consonants are pronounced approximately as in English. The g is hard before hard vowels (a, o, u, á), but soft, like y, before the other (soft) vowels; r is trilled as in Scottish speech or like the French.

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Contents

Theosophical Society Homepage

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The Masks of Odin — Elsa-Brita Titchenell

Chapter 1

Myths — A Time Capsule

Among the most intriguing things about myths is the air they have of being more permanent than life. Anonymous and timeless, they seem to exist uncreated in some universal limbo, waiting to be discovered. Their message is as eternal as boundless space, as pervasive as the energies that swirl cosmic dust into spirals and spin atomic worlds into the organized formations that are larger worlds.

There can exist but one truth, one all-embracing reality, which is the common property of all mankind. It has always existed and it exists today. Out of the white light of that primordial truth radiate the mythologies and scriptures of the world and, though the light still remains, it is diffracted through innumerable human minds into the prismatic colors of partial knowledge and diverse beliefs. Nevertheless, by comparing the different mythologies we may still discern in them the truth which gave them rise.

Among the many expressions of ancient lore in various parts of the globe we find that the Norse Eddas contain science and philosophy of a high order, a rounded knowledge which also constituted religion to some long forgotten people who must have preceded the Viking age by no one knows how long. Judging by the thoughts they incorporated in their tales they included in their world picture an awareness of many of the forces and potencies we know by different names and which have been rediscovered by science during the past century or so. Considering that the Norse tradition, though dating back in essentials to an unknown prehistory, has had to pass through the rough-and-tumble world of the Viking warriors and has no doubt had to draw on a more vivid palette in depicting the adventures of gods and giants than originally used, it is remarkable how much profound philosophy is recognizable to us today.

Many generations which told and retold the tales probably lacked understanding of their import; for them the tales served merely to while away the long dark nights and people the skies and earth with gods and heroes. If they incidentally preserved the ancient lore for later, more receptive generations, who is to say this was not an objective of the mythographers? It truly is a miracle that these songs and stories continue to exist at all, when you consider how few of our bestselling books survive even the year of their publication. If myths recorded merely commonplace events, real or imaginary, they would have been forgotten long ago. Their longevity must be due to a built-in permanence which rests on a substratum of reality, quite independent of climatic and regional traits which lend their coloration to the stories. Most people are familiar with a wealth of classic tales, epics, and the mythologies of several groups of people; we learn them as children and, as parents, pass them on without questioning whence they have come, simply because they are interesting and we enjoy them. And yet in our languages the very word "myth" has come to mean something spurious without any basis in fact. Transmitted for ages by word of mouth, sung by rememberers who had to learn by rote incredible quantities of verse, it is a moot question whether those bards were less exact than the written word. We all know how vehemently children object to any change in the wording of the classic fairy tales. Perhaps they instinctively recognize that these stories are sacred and must be protected from adulteration.

Not all myths are of course equally meaningful. Some are merely entertaining; others strongly suggest factual science, albeit worded in an unfamiliar dialect, while subjects which we regard as discrete and separate — astronomy, biology, anthropology, psychology, physics — are treated as an integrated whole. Allusions to long forgotten history are meaningless to us; however, myths dealing with themes having timeless and universal application — the creation of worlds, astronomical events, natural history — preserve for ages science, philosophy, and religion, and emerge from obscurity whenever a generation is receptive to their message.

As every mythology descended from the oldest traditions echoes the same grand cosmogony and imparts similar instructions for ethical living in its own distinctive code, we can partly decipher that code by comparing various systems. Without such decoding many a fairy tale, archaeological find, legend, opera, and myth, remains empty of significance, a cover without a book, a frame surrounding a blank canvas. But if we look for the inner message in the myths we may indeed find them a valuable time capsule — not full of things, but compact of wisdom which in the guise of stories keeps intact our heritage of all that has lasting value.

THE LANGUAGE OF MYTHS

Mythology is not just a collection of stories; it is a language. Like other languages it uses symbols to convey ideas according to standard associations: symbols such as "up," "high," "lofty" denote things that are noble and elevating, and "down," "low," "base" things that are ignoble and undesirable.

A kind of symbol often found in the Eddas is the "kenning." It used to be believed that to give your real name to a stranger was to give him power over you, and so a descriptive

epithet, a kenning, was preferred. To understand the Eddas we must therefore examine the etymology of names, for more often than not this will supply a key to the part played by a character in a particular situation. We have tried to translate the kennings as they occur, so as to give the reader an opportunity to discern their meanings for himself. Often a kenning is used also to draw attention to the particular aspect of a person or object which is relevant at the time.

For example, as the sorrowing Idun lies weeping, fallen from the Tree of Life, the lay recounts how "tears fell from her brain's shields." To translate this "from her eyes" would of course be permissible but would rob the poem of its distinctive flavor. Similarly the Tree of Life, Yggdrasil, is seldom designated twice in the same way. It may be called the "life supporter," "the shade giver," "the soil mulcher," "the noble ash tree," "Odin's horse," or "Odin's gallows" (whereon he is crucified).

The Norse myths also make use of puns, which can be a most effective and intricate method of teaching. One outstanding example is the tale of Cinderella, whose very title holds a wealth of wisdom. She is the French Cendrillon, and the English Little Polly Flinders (who sat among the cinders). It is a tale too well known to need repeating, and the symbology is quite clear. Briefly, the orphaned child is enslaved by the wicked stepmother and her brood of evils: the human soul that has lost touch with its father in heaven comes under the sway of the lower side of nature with which it is not truly kin. Note that it is a stepmother, not a true parent, who plays the villain. Alienated from its proper place, the soul labors to regain its rightful condition. By purity and virtue it earns the help of its fairy godmother, the spiritual soul. Many tales use this theme of a mysterious godmother and giver of gifts, which latter represent a soul's finer qualities unfolded through merit. This elven power uniting the human soul with its divine source is the channel (elf) which confers on its child all earned spiritual endowments.

The Norse Cinderella is named Askungen — (ask ash + unge child), "the ash child." She is a scion of the "noble ash tree," Yggdrasil, the Tree of Life, which bears the worlds with all their life forms on its branches. All living beings are children of the cosmic Ash Tree from the minutest particle to the largest. What is more, each of us is not only a member of the cosmic tree, but a tree of life in his own right.

The ash child is also cyclically reborn from the ashes of its former self, like the phoenix. There is also a connection with Gullveig, "the thirst for gold," which urges the conscious mind to seek the "gold" of the mystical alchemists — wisdom. Gullveig is said to be "thrice burned and thrice reborn, yet still she lives" (Voluspa 22).

If Askungen is written as-kunnigr, there are revealed further meanings of this versatile term: first, "god-kin" — i.e., of divine lineage; and again, "god-knowing" — having knowledge of divinity; and "knowing as a god" — possessing divine wisdom; and yet again "known to the gods." Any one of these could describe the rare soul who has attained human perfection. A further meaning emerges if we divide the word as-kungen: this means "the king of aesir," implying that the ruler of the gods is inherent in the story's orphaned waif. Thus an ingenious play on words makes the title of this fairy tale convey

a rich philosophy.

Many interpreters have emphasized the part played by racial migrations in the mythic histories, and doubtless the Odin whose exploits and leadership live on in story form did represent an early people, possibly from one of the deeper strata of Troy, as has been suggested by more than one mythologist. Nevertheless, this in no way disallows other applications of the sagas — astronomical, psychological, and spiritual. The same applies to others of the divine cast of characters. The entire pantheon represents properties existing in nature — and in ourselves — and they evidently have a vital importance not only for us terrestrial kingdoms, but they also affect the quality of life throughout the solar realm.

The effective imparting of ideas demands three factors: first, the message to be imparted; second, the means of expression used to convey the message; third, an understanding mind prepared to receive it. It follows that mythic scriptures must draw on perennial common knowledge and recurring events to illustrate their truths. Therefore things that figure in the public mind are in evidence throughout the myths: war and battles are prominently featured, because these have all too frequently been a familiar part of the human scene; moreover they vividly portray the conflict that takes place in the soul of an individual who has embarked on the pursuit of inner goals and high ideals. This furtherance of human progress toward a nobler stature is in large part what the epics aim to encourage.

THE HERO TALES

The hero tales of the Eddas have a markedly dual character. They are both quasi-historical and legendary, and they deal with a profusion of events which interlink large numbers of characters in a web of plots and counterplots, feuds and subterfuge. Many of the incidents related are so involved and their protagonists so numerous that tracing the thread of the stories poses a challenge to the most dedicated genealogist. However, with some background of mythic methodology we may discern a glimmer of light pointing to a pattern that fits the progression of the earliest human races, their characteristics, and their methods of living and means of propagation.

The theosophic philosophy places man among the creators of our world from the very beginning, when he and the globe itself were still not of physical substance as we now know it, but condensing very slowly from a primordial nebula. The names of the earliest heroes give us interesting confirmation of this, if they indeed represent distinct groups of humanity during that stage of formation. If their exploits are a way of symbolizing the progress of these early races, we can trace our ancestry from amorphous wisps of cloud to gelatinous and finally fleshy beings; from sexless to androgynous to bisexual organisms; and from unthinking, dreamy, non-conscious movers into gradually awakening intelligences. By the more experienced kingdom of the lowest gods the protohumans were guided and taught to plan, to cultivate and to harvest, to fashion objects, temper tools, and in the course of time to become self-sufficient and independent. In the hero tales we may see, by the manner in which the characters interact, how life forms altered over immense lengths of time and thereby also changed

the composition of the globe. Successive phyla, human and nonhuman, followed one another, competing for habitat and viability, with antagonists and relatives conquering and superseding one another and with multiple marriages bringing radically different offspring into the picture. Some were neither human nor bestial but curiously malleable creatures, performing unexpected and uncritically accepted acts.

To relate the epics to humanity's prehistory would demand the untangling of the many intertwined threads of narrative — a monumental undertaking with no surety of correct interpretation or sequence. The lengthy saga of Sigurd Fafnesbane (bane of Fafnir) is suggestive of those remote aeons. The Germanic version is well known as part of the Nibelungen cycle.

The name Nibelungen, or Niflungar in the Norse, means "children of the mist" (nifl nebula). Strongly reminiscent of the "Sons of the Fire Mist" in The Secret Doctrine, these too appear to be forces which were instrumental in bringing into being the primordial world. The Niflungar were followed by the Volsungar, which means "children of volsi (phallus)," a much later humanity which by then had begun to propagate by sexual means — a development which theosophy places in the third and subsequent humanities.

Interspersed with the saga are numerous feuds which evidently have reference to a succession of races, branch races, and lesser tribes, as well as to various types of rudimentary consciousness characteristic of peoples in the early stages of our planet's life. The story contains a welter of deception and revenge, blood feuds carried on through generations, all told in the dispassionate, unjudging narrative style which is one of the hallmarks of genuine mythology. Appraisals are the province of fiction and reflect the passing mores of an age; mythic accounts record events without praise or blame.

Hidden within the symbolism of these tales with their many digressions we may detect, by the very abundance of anecdotes, the ages-long sweep of the early development of our planet, when its matter was still condensing and all the kingdoms of nature were in process of formation. Increasing substantiality and variety of form afforded the means for physical evolution, while it also set in motion the momentum which would tend to retard the development of spirituality. Before the turning point this was mercifully counteracted by the event recorded as the coming of Rig, when a ray of the god Heimdal, "the whitest Ase," entered humanity in three successive stages. (The Lay of Rig, ch. 18) Our lineage is therefore thrice divine. Also, like Sigurd (Fafnesbane), we are god-taught and, like him, deluded by the wiles of matter, we must repair and reconstitute the sword we have inherited: the will by which to overcome illusion and awaken the sleeping Valkyrie in the soul.

SCIENCE IN THE EDDA

In order to recognize references to facts and artifacts in legends and mythic tradition we ourselves must be familiar with the things they refer to. It takes a technologist of the same kind to recognize a description of another's technological invention, and it takes knowledge of a natural phenomenon to recognize a description of it in myth. References

in the myths to electricity, magnetism, or conductivity passed unnoticed by scholars of earlier centuries who knew little or nothing of such things; that the Edda's "winged wagons" and "featherblades" — like the Sanskrit "celestial cars" of the Hindu Mahabharata and Ramayana (1) — may have, described instruments of flight, escaped recognition before we had recourse to aviation. Now that we use airplanes routinely, we can, if we will, find strong indications that not only air travel, but also the Van Allen belts, the earth's magnetic field, black holes, and QSOs (2) were known to the makers of the myths. We have yet to learn what prodigious forces were used by some builders of cyclopean monuments and pyramids, and how they moved boulders weighing tons and shaped them with jewel-like precision in places as widely separated as Egypt, Peru, Britain, and Cambodia.

Archaeoastronomers are fairly sure that many if not all of the henges of Britain — Stonehenge being one among hundreds and certainly the best known — were built and used to study the movements of celestial bodies; alignments of dolmens were apparently used to calculate eclipses among other things, something which requires refined long-term observation and precise calculation. Some of these structures are thought to have harbored universities for other studies as well. Both the old and new worlds contain remains of a variety of devices: mounds, stone circles, medicine wheels, petroglyphs, and buildings, which served to align stars and planets. Scandinavia and Britain abound in mysterious stone circles, miniatures of the better known henges, formed of stelae placed in round or oval formation. My friends and I used to play in such a "stone ship" on a hillock on an island in the Baltic. We found after weeks of digging that the stones, which stood only about two feet high, were buried so deep that we never succeeded in rocking any of them. For the sod to have accumulated nearly to their tops they must have been of considerable age. (Other stone ships are probably later Viking burial sites; it was the practice to lay a dead chieftain aboard his vessel, set it alight and send it burning out to sea, a custom superseded by burial with goods, ship and all.) Older stone circles are so placed that they may well have provided sighting markers for solstices, equinoxes, sun dogs (those mysterious reflections on both sides of a rising or setting sun), and possibly more sophisticated observations as well, such as the heliacal rising of certain stars.

Many things which seem absurd or inconsistent in myths are explainable once we reverse our point of view: instead of looking down on their authors as ignoramuses and up at the universe from the material level, we can regard the cosmos as an expression of life and lives, as a vital, composite organism containing unimaginable reaches of consciousnesses and infinite grades of substances. Today increasing numbers of scientists are entering the realm of philosophy and conceding that the human race is an intrinsic part of a universal system of life. A recent textbook on astronomy contains the following:

Astronomy teaches that we are creatures of the universe, children of the stars, offspring of the interstellar clouds. We are products of cosmic evolution. We are also part of the process of cosmic evolution. Perhaps we are the universe's way of becoming aware of itself. You and I and the other living creatures in the cosmos — when we look

into space, we see the source of ourselves. And to those wide-open spaces we add hope, fear, imagination, and love. (3)

The Norse myths regard sun, moon, and planets as the dwellings which "beneficent powers" have formed for their habitation. Some of these mansions, disposed on a series of "shelves" — different grades of substances — are given such names as Bredablick (Broadview), Himmelsberg (Mountains of Heaven), Lidskjalf (Shelf of Compassion), (4) Sokvaback (Deep River), and other suggestive epithets. Obviously it is not possible to describe in human terms the supernal spheres of the gods, but we may assume that the stellar and planetary spheres we see in the sky are the visible bodies of their deities, that is, of conscious energies each one with its distinct individuality. The myths that deal with these "gods" and "goddesses" and with their shelves and the halls they have built for themselves thereon give the impression of a family: a group of related individuals having pronounced characters and dispositions. They act on one another, react to one another, and generally behave as one might expect members of a family to conduct themselves.

Although the mythographers revered these "beneficent powers" as the mighty movers of the spheres, there is no hint in the earliest traditions of worship in the modern sense of the word; there is a recognition of their "worthship" as universal powers who have graduated from former "giant" worlds and who precede us on the evolutionary path, blazing the trail of human destiny for future aeons. Nor are the deities confined to the visible solar and planetary worlds which represent them. Their scope is far vaster, something we know today on physical grounds: space probes have shown that a planet is surrounded by an envelope of magnetic plasma so immense that the visible globe has been compared to a baseball in the nose of a blimp. The mighty solar wind also pours forth torrents of plasma, which mingles with the planetary magnetospheres, flattening them on the daylight side (facing the sun) and propelling them far into space on the nightside.

Despite differences in expression, modern science and ancient myths describe the solar system in very similar ways: myths as a hierarchic being wherein streams of vital energies — the Edda's rivers of lives — flow from mansion to mansion, linking the divine energies (consciousnesses) in a webwork of life and motion; physical science as a huge organization wherein gravitational effects produce tides and in unexplained ways affect growth cycles on earth. On a much larger scale galaxies in clusters and superclusters of galaxies are found to interact, being gravitationally bound. Myths seem to be true to nature in describing the solar system as a vast composite wherein seen and unseen worlds correspond to every permutation of god-giant — energy-matter — interactions, paralleling interactions of psychological and other intangible influences, such as we are familiar with in the human sphere.

In line with this view, astrophysical science has for some time been debating the relative probability of a "closed" versus an "open" universe. The answer depends on how much matter exists in space, unseen and apparently undetectable by presently available means. Whatever the outcome of this debate, for our purposes it is enough that

invisible, inaudible, intangible, by physical means seemingly undetectable, matter has been accorded scientific respectability. This approaches mythic science which has always implied the existence of nonphysical substances. Not that myths need either confirmation or denial, their message can stand on its own merits.

If the vast preponderance of matter is unseen, it becomes simple logic to regard the globes in the sky as parts of larger systems of worlds that we do not see but that may be analogous to and perhaps interact with corresponding unseen parts of our own nature. In theosophic tradition the visible spheres of our solar system are considered the grossest components of their respective planetary beings. They are their bodies; we may surmise or sense, but cannot see, their souls. To carry the idea one step further, they interact with one another much as human beings interact without physical contact. Certainly we share our thoughts and feelings, at times inspire and become inspired by one another; so too may the invisible components of the solar system help to build and influence other invisible, and visible, components. This would agree well with the idea that rivers of lives, comprising all kinds of characteristics (and matching substances), flow through the immense solar body along magnetic paths of attraction, each life an entity in its own right as well as a minute portion of the whole. Some of these lives embody in mineral forms — those possessing the ponderous, earthy character we find it hard to imagine as "life"; others have progressed to the vegetable stage with its great variety of possibilities; others to animal status and still greater diversity; and we represent the human stage. All through the system interconnectedness is demonstrable as we take our places in the biological food chain, where we transform and transmute the matter of the globe; more importantly, we process properties of consciousness of vastly different kinds. All the beings that traverse the stages of existence up to the limit we have reached, inhabit their appropriate spheres of life within the greater being we all help compose. It is then not so strange to suppose that we, one of the rivers of lives, have a home for every aspect of our nature in some domain of the solar universe. This seems to be what the myths imply in their cryptic way.

The intriguing descriptions given in Grimnismal of the twelve mansions of the gods, each on its "shelf" (plane), are extremely suggestive of the pattern given in The Secret Doctrine and later elaborated by G. de Purucker in Fountain-Source of Occultism. There it is plainly intended to connect each deity and its corresponding planet with an invisible portion of our own planet's inner being, showing a relationship of each to each linking all the parts of every individual component of the solar system. Intricate correspondences connect every character of the celestial scenario with every one of the others, and these explain the complex interrelationships of the Norse deities as nothing else could; the same applies to the Greek and other pantheons. When myths give assurance of a continuum wherein worlds, exist outside our perception, both "above" and "below" the familiar range of frequencies which characterizes matter, and still form part of our universe; when they indicate that our familiar proportions continue indefinitely above and beneath our "line of sight" and that apparently empty space is a fullness of lives unperceived by us; we have no means of either proving or disproving this information until we become able to apprehend and experience the "shelves" and "mansions" of which they speak. Interpretation is therefore largely an individual matter. A myth that

refers to Freya does not always specify whether the visible planet Venus is intended, or the unseen characteristic power which sponsors and has particular concern for our humanity; or, it may be the Venus-inspired portion of our planet that is intended. In any case, we cannot set limits on the versatility of nature; the limitations are in us.

One interesting possibility that presents itself as we contemplate the astrophysical universe concerns the extraordinary prevalence in space of binary stars and galaxies. They far outnumber the single ones and in many cases are paired in such a way that while one component is building its physical sphere the other is etherealizing — radiating away its substance. In certain instances the former is "cannibalizing" the latter. If we consider the theosophic pattern of solar and planetary deities embodying, accreting substance to themselves, and forming their habitations, while other gods of the same system are in process of dying, it appears that where spheres are progressing toward more substantial imbodiment and others of the same system are relinquishing theirs, such a pair of twin globes when traversing the "shelf" of our perception may quite possibly be seen as a binary system.

Unless we claim to possess complete knowledge — which no intelligent person would presume to do — we must concede that there may well be conditions of life unknown to us. Myths imply, though they cannot describe, a universe filled with evolving consciousnesses using life forms, most of which are unknown to our senses. To the mythmakers all nature was one living whole, wherein greater and lesser systems lived and interacted, each unit being primarily a consciousness which activated and animated a suitable body. It was apparently taken for granted that worlds of other kinds of matter interpenetrated and sometimes interacted with our own though most often beyond our awareness. Their way of describing such familiar phenomena as electromagnetism gives us a clue to the manner in which myths may contain factual information. It would be interesting to speculate on how we would explain our own knowledge to survivors of a major catastrophe and how much recognizable science would remain after a few tellings. Imagine, for instance, explaining the way electricity works — something most easily illustrated by an electric storm — and how this information would be transmogrified after a few generations: inevitably it would give rise to a new Indra, Jove, or Thor hurling thunderbolts across the sky, and soon a new Olympus or Asgard of mighty and capricious deities would once more occupy the heavens.

SKALDS AND TEACHERS

In that distant dawn when humankind first became aware of itself as thinking, knowing, selective, the oldest traditions agree that this awakening occurred because higher intelligences, more experienced souls of mankind of the past, mingled their essence with the early humans. This act of their compassion gave us the undying vision of reality which is our link with the divine ground of life.

The myths, if they hold any meaning for us at all, are a guide to that inner light, kindled when our kind was still ignorant of good and evil, when choice did not yet exist — a light which remains unquenched within our deepest consciousness. They tell us of worlds and humans undergoing the experience of life in order to consummate our perfectibility,

and of the holy purpose for which we exist. Their tales are sometimes obscure, often moving, sometimes funny. They hold our attention even when we do not understand them, hinting, beckoning our dormant insight, urging us to rouse our intuitive intelligence and find the kernel of truth they conceal.

The bards who chanted the mythic sagas were past masters at suggesting majestic avenues of thought without specifically stating any doctrine that could be coagulated into set and brittle opinions. The beauty of their tales lies in the flights of wondering they prod the mind to take and in the ever-broadening vistas that are glimpsed beyond each larger understanding. Perhaps no mythology so fully turns the keys to nature's arcana as do these relics of the Norsemen's forebears. Some of the purest versions of the universal wisdom may well be those contained in the Eddas for, being somewhat less known than the Greek and Roman myths, they have been less adulterated. The myths of the Mediterranean area have been so garbled and lampooned since the closing of the Mystery schools that the public mind of later centuries has seen in their gods little more than reflections of human foibles. Exoteric and unexplained to begin with, their meanings have through Europe's Dark Ages been further misunderstood and misinterpreted. As a result people have come to regard all myths as childish fancies of those who worship whatever they fail to understand. If we had greater insight into the noble truths these tales were originally intended to convey we might enrich our own spiritual climate. The mythic heritage of the remote northern lands seems to have given a safer refuge than most to the wisdom of the ages.

Nobody knows how long the Norse stories were passed on by word of mouth before they were recorded. It may be a very long time indeed since the last civilization flourished which possessed knowledge of the spirit of man, the universe's origin and destiny, and the course of evolution. The mythmakers were doubtless the wisest among humankind; the Norse bards, like those of ancient India and other lands, couched their knowledge in rhythmic verse that could be easily memorized and so kept current through millennia, even if only as a diversion. One who learned and chanted the Norse songs was a skald, a word still used in Sweden to mean "poet." However, the connotation given it in the Eddas is that of one possessing wisdom, spiritual knowing, and it is closely bound to the idea of the mead, the sustenance of the gods. The skaldemjod (poetic mead) denotes the Mysteries, the wisdom sought by Odin, chief of the creative gods, in his quest through spheres of matter — the "giant world."

Secreted in mythology are spiritual truth, logical philosophy, and also scientific facts. Indeed, the latest discoveries in science often prove to be indispensable to an understanding of the science in the myths. We may never know how the unknown peoples of distant antiquity came by this knowledge unless we recognize that truth is innate in the intelligence-level of life represented on earth by the human race. The ancient legends relate that the gods created humans out of their own substance, "in their own image" as the Bible has it, and that for ages divine teachers walked the earth with us, training the newborn intelligences to understand and work with nature's ways. In the course of time, as the human race pursued knowledge and gained experience of good and evil, through the exercise of free will, the innocence of those days was lost. In

the headlong progress toward more material interests, humanity drifted away from its divine preceptors. Thereafter, our race must earn its liberation: our human consciousness must learn to know truth from error and deliberately free itself from the lures of matter in order to assume its rightful place among the gods.

It is from that very early time, when gods and humans mingled, that many of the mythic tales take their rise. If they are often obscure to us it is not surprising, for they have doubtless passed through many phases of human, fallible remembrance; and our understanding, like our skepticism, follows from our inward attitude. With our present knowledge and the open-mindedness which is gradually prevailing over the dogmatic opinions of the past, once we recognize in any myth a reflection of a truth which has been independently discovered by science or the new scientific philosophies and religious nonsectarian thought, it becomes easier to see the same natural truth in other systems.

Edda means "great-grandmother" and, by extension of meaning, "matrix," suggesting "world mother." The word is apparently derived from veda, the Hindu scriptures or sacred vidya (knowledge, from vid, to know, to perceive) from which stem the German wissen, the Swedish veta, and the old English wit — all words which mean "to know." The skalds held an honored position for they possessed knowledge and, even in Viking times, the drott (druid) was still revered as one who possessed the godly wisdom. (Later the word became used to designate a brave and noble chieftain, a warrior-king, more suited to the warlike race the Vikings had by then become.) This wisdom, or Edda, was imparted by the skalds who traveled from community to community of the farmers who dwelt along the many bays and inlets of the Scandinavian lands. Such a bay is called a vik and a dweller on their shores became known as a viking.

In all justice it should be mentioned that the Vikings who are popularly reputed to have terrorized Europe and some of whom evidently visited America long before Columbus made his famous journey, though a rough and simple people, had strong notions of honor and morality. Many of them are held to have lived by a disciplinary code few moderns would care to maintain. Among the marauding pirates on the high seas, merchantmen ran a risky gauntlet with their goods and it was the Vikings whom they enlisted for protection. These Norsemen with their reputation for strength and valor provided armed escort and became the insurance agents of the continent. (The bodyguards of all the emperors of Byzantium from the ninth to the twelfth century were Vikings.) No doubt there were some among them who succumbed to the temptation of running their own "protection racket," but this should not be held against all the Norsemen who on the whole were a civilizing influence for centuries. They instituted law and order — the famed Danelagh — wherever they settled, and Iceland was, a thousand years ago, the original home of democratic parliamentary rule and had the earliest known judicial system of trial by a jury of equals. But this is by the way.

As time went on it is doubtful whether the wisdom concealed in the songs and sagas was completely understood even by the skalds; they may also have overlaid the substance with some embellishments to suit their audience, or omitted less popular

tales from their repertoire. Human fallibility in the oral transmission must also be allowed for, as we have no way of knowing how far back in the misty past these relics of wisdom were first formulated. We do know that Saemund the Wise (1057-1133 A.D.), after having studied in France, opened a school at Oddi in Iceland, where he is believed to have written down the Elder or Poetic Edda. The Younger Edda is attributed to Snorri Sturlusson (1178-1241), who attended the school at Oddi as a pupil of Saemund's grandson during which time he must have become acquainted with the lays. Most of them, including several that are no longer extant in the poetic form, he recast into prose. Many scholars find his retelling easier to understand than the rather obscure poems of the Elder Edda.

In their introduction to the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, the Poetry of the Old Northern Tongue (1883), G. Vigfusson and F. York Powell point out that much of the material mentioned in the prose commentaries on early poetic myths is either not found in the verses that have survived or is very sketchy and incomplete. They conclude from this that the prose versions, whether by Snorri Sturlusson or some commentator, must have been taken from more explicit but no longer extant originals. Indeed the two scholars refer to parts of the *Voluspa* cited in one prose version as "a confused, pell-mell jumble of broken, distorted verses, as if the lines of the poem had been shaken up together in a bottle" (p. xcvi); and they make the probably valid assumption that after the first formulation of wisdom into myth by any great seer or seers, the "Era of Production is closed, the Age of Commentators, Copiers, Glossators begins, and we are happy if we can get the book as it then stands before the Age of Neglect and Decay has come on and the work has partly perished" (p. xcvi).

About 1890, the Swedish scholar Fredrik Sander published his *Rigveda-Edda*, wherein he traces the Germanic tradition to the ancient Aryan. His study convinced him that Norse mythology came from India and preserves Hindu myths more faithfully than do the classic Greek and Roman, which are much disfigured. Max Muller considered the Edda tradition to be older than the Vedas; others, including Sven Grundtvig, regard the Eddas as originating in the early Iron Age; still others postulate an early Christian origin. Whatever their age may be, the content of the myths agrees with the oldest records in many parts of the world, which forces the conclusion either that they all stem from a single source, a prehistoric formulation of science, philosophy, and mysticism once common to all mankind or, alternatively, that each one arose independently and coincidentally — a notion too preposterous to be seriously entertained. In any case, the evidence points to a single body of lore having inspired the traditions whose relics are to be found everywhere on the face of our globe.

The present study is limited almost entirely to a portion of the *Saemundar Edda* for two reasons: first, because of the overwhelming vastness of the subject matter covered even in the relatively few lays included here coupled with the conviction that, reduced and incomplete though they may be, what has been selected is at least unadulterated. While these verses probably contain less than the once known truth we may feel reasonably sure that they have not been elaborated to contain more, i.e., very little if any spurious matter added by later authors. The other reason for our selection is the

recognition in this material of truths that are currently found more fully explored in modern theosophical literature. Many of these truths, moreover, after having been overlooked for centuries in the popular religions, are now being discovered almost daily by the new scientific research, which agrees with the theosophic teachings in many and surprising ways.

Ours is a far more liberal age than any in history. When Christianity spread over Europe, the zealots of the new religion systematically destroyed the temples and shrines of earlier gods and massacred those who persisted in the pagan rituals. The heathens of the northern lands, whose custom of unlimited hospitality and absolute tolerance in religious matters left them wide open to exploitation, found themselves converted or were destroyed before they could take steps to prevent such unexpected and high-handed annexation. They fell under the control of Roman popes who instituted the use of the Latin language and orthodox gospels in the place of native tongues and scriptures. The Norse religion soon became a hybrid of partially understood Christianity grafted on a, by then, degenerate pagan root. Only distant Iceland, whose population and priesthood were relatively inaccessible and impossible for the church to supervise, escaped the methodical destruction of its shrines and traditions. Even the Christian priests there ignored the new rules — of celibacy for instance — and continued in the ways of their forebears, using the tongue of their fathers and passing on the ancient lore to their children. It was there that Saemund the Wise lived and wrote down the poetic Elder Edda, preserving the phrasing whose rhythmic meter evokes intuition in the hearer. Snorri later elaborated on the laconic verses and related the tales that deal more particularly with human races and their development. The myths have given rise to numberless folktales and fairy tales which have been adapted to various media for expression, from nursery rhymes to grand opera, by such diverse transmitters as Mother Goose and Wagner, and they include collections made by students of folklore such as the brothers Grimm in the nineteenth century.

Of the numerous promulgations of the universal wisdom in gospels, stories, teachings, and evangels, each new light that is kindled continues to burn only so long as truth remains of paramount importance to its adherents. Sooner or later attrition sets in: human institutions, founded to preserve the message, take precedence over it and obscure it; thereafter attention is focused on the mask — method and ritual — while reality is overlooked. Misinterpretations, misunderstandings, and superstitions rapidly prevail as inspiration is lost and the sacred knowledge once more forgotten. The mythic deities, from having been majestic laws of universal nature, become personified as gods and heroes whose actions appear unpredictable for lack of the wisdom once contained in the now empty rites — all that remains of a once companionable association of humans with the divine powers governing the universe.

Yet myths live on. This is the eternal mystery: the indestructible core of truth, garbed in a hundred guises, which has inspired mankind through all ages. In every land have lived some few who, by courageously venturing into the spheres where spirit dwells inviolate, have brought back with them a draught from the imperishable fount of truth. These descendants of the early mythmakers are the skalds, the poets and seers who keep

unbroken the lines of communication between humanity and the gods. They bring the eternal wisdom down through the centuries while the rest of us continue to delight in the "god-spells" that rouse within the depths of us a vague remembrance of a sacred trust. The voices of the bards can never die, for they sing the pattern of eternity. Their appeal is to the undying part of us, even while the mortal self may scoff as Loki does when, uninvited and unprepared, he enters the banquet hall of the gods. (5)

Chapter 2

Contents

FOOTNOTES:

1. Swedish: vingvagn, fjaderblad; Sanskrit: vimana. (return to text)
2. Quasi-stellar objects, popularly called quasars. (return to text)
3. Michael Zeilik, *Astronomy: The Evolving Universe*, 1979 ed., p. 501. (return to text)
4. Lida suffer or hlid side, rank, or alignment. By implication this "shelf" may suggest the gods' being aligned by our side or, more likely, "suffering" or "feeling with" — as in the Latin compassion and the Greek sympathy from *pathein*, to suffer, endure and, by extension of meaning, to bear the burden of. (return to text)
5. Cf. *Loki's Flyting*, p. 214. (return to text)
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The Masks of Odin — Elsa-Brita Titchenell

Chapter 2

The Tree of Life — Yggdrasil

Every mythology features a Tree of Life. In the biblical account the "jealous" deities (elohim) — usually translated "the Lord God" — when the humans had eaten of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, feared "lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever." They therefore set "a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life." (1) In the Bantu myths a rather awesome Tree of Life pursues the goddess of fertility and with her begets all the kingdoms of nature; (2) in India, the *Asvattha* (3) tree is rooted in the highest heaven and descends through the spaces bearing all existing worlds on its branches. The concept of a tree branching into worlds is a universal one. Interestingly enough we still continue a tradition of adorning a tree with multicolored globes representing the many varieties of worlds pendent from the branches of the world tree although the meaning has long been lost.

In the *Edda*, the Tree of Life is named *Yggdrasil*, apparently for several reasons. This is another of the ingenious puns the bards of the Norsemen used to convey their

message. Ygg has been variously translated in conjunction with other words as "eternal," "awesome" or "terrible," and also "old" or rather, "ageless." Odin (4) is called Yggjung — "old-young," equivalent to the biblical "Ancient of Days" — a concept the mind can grasp only in the wake of intuition. Yggdrasil is Odin's steed or, with equal logic, his gallows, the implication being of a divine sacrifice, a crucifixion of the silent guardian whose body is a world. In this thinking any Tree of Life, large or small, constitutes a cross whereon its ruling deity remains transfixed for the duration of its material presence. While Yggdrasil may refer to a whole universe with all its worlds, each human being is an Yggdrasil in its own measure, a miniature of the cosmic ash tree. Each is rooted in the divine ground of All-being and bears its Odin — omnipresent spirit which is the root and reason of all living things.

Any Tree of Life — human or cosmic — draws its nourishment from three roots that reach into three regions: one rises in Asgard, home of the Aesir, where it is watered by the spring of Urd, commonly translated as the past. However, the real meaning of the name is Origin, primal cause, the connotation being that of antecedent causes from which flow all subsequent effects. Urd is one of the three "maidens who know much" the Norns, or Fates, whose farseeing gaze scans past, present, and future, as they spin the threads of destiny for worlds and men. "One was named Origin, the second Becoming; these two fashioned the third, named Debt. Fortune's lots, life and death, the fates of heroes, all comes from them." (5) Urd, the past, personifies all that has gone before and is the cause of both present and future. Verdande is the present, but it is not a static condition; on the contrary it means Becoming — the dynamic, everchanging, mathematical point between past and future; a point of vital importance for it is the eternal moment of choice for man, when conscious willing decision is made, directed by desire, either for progress or retrogression on the evolutionary path. It is noteworthy that these two Norns create the third, Skuld, meaning Debt: something owed, out of balance, to be brought into equilibrium in the future — the inevitable result of all the past and of the present.

While the Norns are the Norse equivalent of the Greek Moirai or Fates who spin the thread of destiny we recognize in them also what in the Stanzas of Dzyan (6) are called Lipikas — a Sanskrit term meaning "scribes" or "recorders." Like the Norns these are impersonal, implacable processes that automatically retain every event and set the stage for the balancing action of karma, the natural "law of consequences" or of cause and effect, which operates infallibly in all fields of action and determines the conditions met by every entity as a result of its past choices. In the unself-conscious kingdoms this is a purely automatic adjustment; in the human kingdom, every motive, noble or base, brings appropriate opportunities and obstacles that modify the future. Moreover, as the human awareness is capable of self-determined choice, it is also increasingly conscious of its responsibility for events to come. Each being is the result of all that it has made itself to be, and each will become what is in preparation through its present thoughts and deeds. The record of the everchanging complex of forces remains in its inmost identity the higher self in man, the individual's own Norn which the Edda calls his hamingja. In the Christian tradition it is our guardian angel.

Yggdrasil's second root springs from Mimer's well. This, the well of absolute matter, belongs to the "wise giant Mimer," source of all experience. It is said that Odin drinks each day from the waters of this well, but to do so he had to forfeit one of his eyes, which is hidden at the bottom of the well. In many popular tales where Odin is disguised as an old man in a blue fur coat, he wears a slouch hat to conceal the fact that he is lacking one eye. However, this is not the same as saying that he has only one eye. Can we be so sure that he had only two to begin with? The sacred writings of many peoples refer to a distant past when humanity possessed a "third eye" — organ of the intuition, — which, according to theosophy, retreated inside the skull millions of years ago where it remains in vestigial form as the pineal gland, awaiting a time when it will once again be more functional than it is today. Such an interpretation gives us information not only on the meaning of the tale but on the picture language used in these myths. As immersion in the world of matter provides the experience which brings wisdom, consciousness (Odin) sacrifices part of its vision to obtain daily a draught from Mimer's well, while Mimer (matter) obtains a partial share of divine insight. Mimer is the progenitor of all giants, the timeless root of Ymer-Orgalmer, the frost giant from which worlds are formed.

Long ago, it is said, Mimer was killed by Njord (time) and his body was thrown into a swamp (the "waters" of space). Odin retrieved his severed head and "confers with it daily." This suggests that the god, consciousness, uses the "head" or superior portion of its matter-associate, the vehicle or body, to obtain the distillate of experience. At the same time the giant achieves a measure of consciousness by association with the energetic, divine side of nature. Duality appears to be universal: no world is so low, no consciousness so elevated as to be beyond this perpetual interchange, as the divine impulsion daily organizes and dwells in worlds of action, "raising runes of wisdom" by experience. Consciousness and matter are thus relative to each other on all levels, so that what is consciousness on one stratum of cosmic life is matter to the stage above it. The two sides of existence are inseparable. Both comprise every level of life as giants grow into gods and gods are graduates of former giant worlds, evolving toward still greater godhood.

Mimer's tree is Mimameid, the Tree of Knowledge, which is not to be confused with the Tree of Life, though the two are in certain ways interchangeable, for knowledge and wisdom are the fruits of life and living; conversely the application of wisdom to living brings immortality in ever loftier ranges of the Tree of Life.

Yggdrasil's third root reaches into Niflheim (cloudhome), where the clouds — nebulae — are born. This, like the other two realms, refers not to a place but to a condition. The name is highly suggestive as nebulae are stages in the development of cosmic bodies. The root is watered by Hvergalmer, source of all the "rivers of lives" — classes of beings. (7) These are what we call the kingdoms of nature which in their great variety of forms make up every globe. Niflheim, where lies the source of all these life types, contains the seething caldron of matter — primordial, undifferentiated substance out of which the matters of all ranges of substantiality and materiality are derived. It is the mulaprakriti (root-nature) of Hindu cosmogony, whose divine complement is

parabrahman (beyond-brahman).

The intricate life system of Yggdrasil contains both facts of natural history and cosmological information which may be gleaned from the texts. For instance, the first root, springing from Asgard, the realm of the Aesir, watered by the well of the past, maps the "fates of heroes" from cause to effect for all hierarchies of existence, and the gods are no more exempt from this inexorable law than any other form of life. Yet every moment changes the course of destiny as each being acts freely within the limits of its own self-created condition.

The second root, watered by Mimer's well, draws its nourishment from the experience in matter earned by the divine eye of spirit, as Odin daily confers with Mimer's head.

The third root is watered by the many rivers of lives: all the different expressions needed to fill the requirements of all kinds of consciousnesses.

During the first half of its life, Yggdrasil, the mighty Ash Tree, is named Mjottvidr (measure increasing); while in its process of growth the tree's energies are flowing from its spiritual roots into the worlds that are becoming. Its substances flourish on all levels, enriched by the nurturing wells that feed its three roots of spirit, matter, and form. After reaching full maturity, the tree becomes Mjotvidr (measure exhausting); its juices then flow back into the root system, the life forces leave the matter realms, as the autumn of its life brings the fruit and seeds for succeeding lives to come. At length dormancy prevails during the ensuing frost giant — or rest cycle.

This metaphor of a tree, used in so many myths and scriptures to depict a cosmos, is remarkably exact. We know how on the earth with every spring the flow of forces infuses their growing power into each limb and leaf, giving beauty and perfection to blossoms, which in the course of time ripen into fruit which bears the seeds of future trees; and how, when the year draws to its close, the sap returns into the root system, nourishes it and provides firmer foundation for the next year's growth. We see an analogy to this in every human life as well: a baby's flesh is soft and delicate but increases in bulk and weight until middle life; thereafter the process reverses itself, culminating in the transparent fragility of the very old. So in the imbodiment of worlds do divine powers imbue latent, unformed matter with character, structure, and shape, increasing substance and solidity. The layered cosmos expands from within, branching through all grades of matter until the limit is reached for that phase of its evolution, whereupon the life forces retreat back into the spiritual realms as the divine root receives into itself the essence or aroma of the experience. So it is that consciousnesses embody through multilevel worlds, earning the gods' mead of experience.

Yggdrasil nourishes all beings with a life-giving honeydew. The worlds pendent from its branches on all its shelves of existence receive from the divine roots what is needful for growth: predisposition from the well of Urd, material substance from the well of Mimer, and appropriate means of expression from Hvergalmer's rivers of lives. At death, when

spirit withdraws as does the nutrient sap into the roots, the seeds of future imbediments remain as an imperishable record while the empty shell of matter is recycled for future use, much as the leaves falling from a tree in winter become mulch to enrich the soil.

Yggdrasil is not immortal. Its lifetime is coeval with the hierarchy the tree is used to represent. Destructive forces are always at work and lead to its eventual decline and death: its leaves are eaten by four stags, its bark is nibbled by two goats, its roots are undermined by the serpent Nidhogg (gnawer from beneath). When it has lived its span, the mighty Ash is overthrown. Thus is taught the temporal nature of existence and the impermanence of matter.

Throughout the Ash Tree's life a squirrel makes its home in the tree and runs up and down the trunk maintaining communication between the eagle, or sacred cock, high in its crown, and the serpent at its base. The little rodent suggests life or consciousness, which spans the height and depth of existence. It is also pictured as a drill which can bore through the densest matter. In Havamal, which relates how Odin sought the bardic mead concealed in the depths of a mountain, he enlisted the aid of the squirrel (or drill) to penetrate the rock and, in the guise of a serpent, entered through the bore hole. Once inside, he persuaded the daughter of the giant Suttung, who had the mead hidden in his underground domain, to give him drink of it, and thus he gained wisdom. This is an oft-recurring theme: the divine seeking the mead in matter, gaining and learning from it before returning to supernal worlds.

Chapter 3

Contents

FOOTNOTES:

1. Genesis 3:22, 24. (return to text)
 2. Indaba, My Children, pp. 3-13. (return to text)
 3. Bhagavad-Gita, ch. xv. (return to text)
 4. Also called Woden or Wotan. (return to text)
 5. Voluspa, 20. (return to text)
 6. These stanzas form part of the ancient records on which The Secret Doctrine is a commentary. (return to text)
 7. Grimnismal, 26. (return to text)
- Theosophical University Press Online Edition

Chapter 3

Gods and Giants

As we study mythologies in the light of the theosophic ideas we recognize that their gods are personified natural forces which are not static or perfect but represent evolving intelligences of many grades. Some are so far ahead of our condition that they surpass our loftiest imaginings, having in the past undergone the phase of rudimentary self-consciousness wherein we find ourselves at present and gained a spiritual stature we have yet to reach. Others may even be less evolved than the human kingdom. These would be on the way "down" toward matter, having not yet attained our stage of material development.

The Eddas' gods and giants are the two sides of existence, the duality from which worlds are formed. Gods are conscious energies, intelligences of many grades. They embody in stars, planets, humans — in every form of life. This would include seemingly lifeless organizations of matter — rocks, storm clouds, ocean waves — that we do not generally think of as living but which, being organizations of atoms, possess the dynamism of the atoms that compose them, as well as their own unique characteristic structure and motion. The energies that supply this dynamism in the universe are the individually evolving consciousnesses the myths call gods.

The giants, their counterparts are inertia: cold, unmoving, unformed. They become matter only when vitalized and set in motion by the gods and they cease to exist when the gods depart. The time periods during which the organizations, organisms, are endowed with life are the giants named in the Eddas; this is to say they are the life terms of the gods as well as their bodies.

In many stories we find one or more gods traveling to the giant world, visiting some giant "to see how his hall is furnished." There is often a confrontation between a god and a giant who compete in the classic guessing game wherein the protagonists take turns posing riddles which the other must solve. The loser forfeits his life. The meaning of this contest is transparently an exchange of information for the benefit of the hearer or reader and symbolizes in a masterly manner the way in which a divine energy informs the substantial side of its nature wherein it embodies; in return it receives experience of existence and broadening understanding. The ensuing "death" of the giant (which always loses the encounter) represents a change of state, growth, as the rudimentary material nature dies from its earlier condition by entering a more advanced stage of evolution.

Existence is apparently unending; entities are advanced or immature only in relation to other entities, never in any absolute sense either in time or in kind. Like the aions (aeons) of the Gnostics, the Norse giants are both worlds and time periods, as said; ages during which gods are embodied in and interact with appropriate forms. Often a giant is called the "parent" of an individual, showing the properties of his age, as one might say a person is "a child of the renaissance" or "a product of his time." A shorter cycle within a greater may be referred to as a daughter of the giant, and several

daughters would represent a series of cycles within a longer one.

When the gods form worlds and embody in them they are said to be preparing the tables for their feast, for it is at the stellar, planetary, and other material "tables" that divine intelligences partake of the "mead" of experience whereby they are nourished.

In contrast to the giants, which act as vehicles or carriers of divine energies during the lifetimes of the gods, are the aions of non-life during which the gods are absent from existence, restored to their supernal spheres, leaving matter in a state of entropy. Such ages are the frost giants. They represent periods of inertia when no energies are present. During this total lack of motion there is no life or existence in the space so vacated; no atoms move, no forms are organized because no divine energy is present to give life to any beings. In Eastern philosophies such utter stillness is called pralaya (dissolution), when consciousnesses are in their appropriate nirvanas and matter is wholly dissolved. The only possible description of such a condition would be what science refers to as absolute zero (zero degrees Kelvin): total stillness, complete immobility, the absence of any kind of existence. To us it is of course a purely hypothetical state, unthinkable to living beings, but modern science approaches the idea of the frost giant very closely in recognizing that matter is the product of energies in motion — that without motion there would be no matter.

The Edda's Orgalmir (primeval sound), (1) like Brahma, the "expander" of Hindu cosmogony, is the first breakthrough of vibrant motion which initiates the formation of a cosmos; the final giant Bargalmir (sound of fruition), which is "ground on the mill" and "saved" for reuse, parallels Siva, the destroyer/regenerator. It would be difficult to devise a more effective description of the big bang and black holes of astrophysical science than these mythic names. They suggest the systole and diastole of some great cosmic heart, the former pouring forth into manifestation the energies that organize a cosmos out of chaos, the latter reabsorbing the life essences into the unknown heart of Being, leaving bodily spheres to dissolve, ground on the mills of the gods into the frozen homogeneity of the frost giant.

In any kind of existence, whether it be the life of a galaxy, a human being, or an atom, there is constant interplay between energy and inertia, consciousness and substance, spirit and matter, gods and giants. The pairs of opposites are forever linked, mutually indispensable. There could be no giant without its corresponding god, for it takes energy to organize the structure of atoms; on the other hand, gods need vehicles in order to acquire the experience whereby consciousness is nourished. Without material worlds of some sort, consciousness has no way of growing or of expressing itself. Hence gods and giants are forever mutually dependent on and relative to each other. So the mead of the gods is brewed in the giant Ager's brewhall (space) and served at the tables of solar and planetary systems. This is the Norse version of the Hindu thought that the universe exists for the soul's experience and emancipation.

In the course of ages the gods of the myths came to be regarded as humanoid personages; the Greek deities seem to have suffered most from this indignity, though

the Eddas' too have been degraded with cheap ridicule in popular stories and commentaries. Their overlapping dynamic force fields and the gravitational effects they cause were depicted in popular stories as marital, extramarital, and incestuous relationships which have been judged as the misconduct of highly improbable deities by generations of laymen and scholars alike. The Edda itself gives an amusingly exaggerated example of this attitude in "Loki's Flyting."

ODIN

Chief among the Aesir is of course Odin. As Allfather he is the divine root of every being in all the worlds, the essence of divinity present in all life forms, in the smallest particle as well as in the cosmos itself. When Odin visits the giant worlds, he rides an eight-legged steed named Sleipnir (glider), fathered by Loki, and he uses numerous names and epithets signifying in each case his specific mission. He possesses a magic ring which dispenses eight more like itself every ninth night. This evidently refers to proliferating cycles wherein each curl, comprising a number of smaller curls, represents recurrent motion in both time and space: the wheels within wheels of biblical symbology. This spiral design can be found among plants and animals throughout nature, from the atomic worlds to the great sweeping movements of stars and galaxies in space.

The primary and most comprehensive lay of the Elder Edda, Voluspa, is addressed to Odin, the divine pilgrim, who traverses the worlds, searching the depths of matter for experience, runes of truth. For Odin is individual as well as universal. On the planetary level he is the guiding spirit of the planet Mercury; he is at once the inner god of every being on earth and the divine messenger, Hermod, who is also his son and corresponds to the Greek Hermes.

Odin's consort is Frigga, the wise mother of the gods, a model of benevolence and custodian of the secret wisdom. In Norse myths she corresponds to the Egyptian Isis and also in other systems to the universal immaculate mother from whom all the energetic causes of life (gods) emerge, or descend. Frigga is referred to as the one who "knows every being's fate, though she herself says naught" (Lokasenna, p. 217). Her power is equivalent to that of Odin and, though her influence is all-pervasive, it is never forcibly intrusive. We observe too that Frigga is not recorded as occupying a mansion (cf. Grimnismal) though, as Saga, she shares one of Odin's. We may therefore infer that while Frigga is the unmanifest, passive aspect of Odin, the wisdom of her eternal past in the form of Saga (cf. p. 87n), represents her on the stage of life.

As Odin occurs on many levels — as a creative power in all the worlds, the Logos of classic Greek philosophy, and also as the informer of human spirit — he is omnipresent and is to be found at all stages of existence, sometimes disguised, often under different names, but always recognizable. This reinforces the idea that the divine essence is present in all forms of life as well as being the only self-existent ideal in nonlife when the cosmos is dissolved into nothingness. It is therefore not surprising to find Odin referred to as Allfather and to discover him under one mask or another in every tale and poem. The most prominent example is in Voluspa where Odin is addressed as "all ye holy kindred" — referring to all life forms in a universe. In Havamal he is "The High One," in

Vafrudnismal he is Gagnrad (gainful counsel), in Grimnismal he is Grimner (hooded or disguised), in Vagtamskvadet he is Vagtam (way-wont: accustomed to roads). In Valhalla he greets his heroes as Ropt (maligned, misunderstood) and Nikar (ladler of misfortune) for reasons which will be explained (p. 79).

THOR

Another universally recognized deity is Thor, who corresponds to Jove or Jupiter of the Romans and in certain respects to the Greek Zeus. The source of all vitality and power, he too has many names suggestive of the different phenomena to which electromagnetic force applies. Thor is not only the Thunderer controlling the weather (paralleled by Jupiter the jovial and Jupiter Pluvius), he is also the regent of the planet Jupiter. When Thor goes by the name Vior he represents vitality, the life force that animates every being. As Lorrider he is the electricity we know on earth and he visits us from the surrounding sky in lightning and thunder.

In the vastness of space Thor is Trudgalmer (sound of Thor), the sustaining energy (Fohat of Oriental philosophy) that organizes cosmos out of chaos and sets the galactic pinwheels churning. Trud or Thor is the impelling force which keeps atoms in motion and, like the Hindu Vishnu, maintains all things in action during their lifetimes. The hammer of Thor is Mjolnir (miller), the pulverizing force that destroys as well as creates. It is the electric circuit which always returns to the hand that sent it forth. Symbolized by the svastika, either three- or four-armed, it represents whirling motion, the ever moving power which never ceases while anything lives in time and space.

Trudgalmer has two sons: Mode (force) and Magne (strength), which suggest the two poles of electricity or magnetism on the cosmic level. Everything connected with Thor repeats the duality of bipolar power. His sons, centrifugal and centripetal action, manifest as radiation and gravitation in all forms of life. In the human arena we know these forces as hate and love, repulsion and attraction. Thor's iron belt forms the circuit for electrical current; his two steel gloves imply the duality of positive and negative polarity. His chariot wheels send sparks of lightning through the skies; for this reason, when traveling abroad he is unable to use the rainbow bridge of the gods, Bifrost, (2) as his lightnings would set the bridge on fire; he must therefore ford the waters (of space) that separate the worlds from one another. This apparently poses no problem to the god, so it is perplexing to find one lay devoted entirely to a rather monotonous exchange of braggadocio between Thor and the ferryman Harbard whom Thor is trying to persuade to convey him across a river. It is evidently a ploy to demonstrate the need of a conductor to convey electric power. (The lay is not included here.) On the planet earth Thor's action is served by his two adopted children, Tjalfe (speed) and Roskva (work), familiar servants of our power-hungry civilization.

Thor's beautiful wife is named Sif. She has long golden hair which is the pride of all the gods. It represents the vitality of growth as well as the harvest which results from it and, analogically, the evolutionary power and urge to progress that maintains the course of existence for all beings.

SOLAR AND OTHER DEITIES

The solar deity of our world is Balder. He dies and is reborn daily, yearly, and represents the lifetime of the sun. This is a way of describing the ever new aspects presented with each cycle, major or minor, as the sun-god "dies" and is "reborn" with every rotation and revolution of the planet earth. The soul of the sun is named Alfrödur, the "radiant elf-wheel," while the visible orb is nicknamed "Dvalin's toy." As the physical sun supports our life on earth, so its vital essence sustains our spiritual life.

When the sun-god is killed by his blind brother Höder (ignorance and darkness) — a moving tale related in Vegtamskvædet — Balder's devoted wife Nanna dies of a broken heart. She is succeeded by her half sister Idun who inherits her task of keeping the gods supplied with the apples of immortality. From the context it may be gathered that Idun represents our earth, while Nanna stands for the body of the moon which died a long time ago. In the theosophic pattern also the moon is the predecessor of our present living planet.

The planet Mars is represented in the Edda by the god Týr — a word which means "animal," that is, an animate being, an energy, hence a god. Týr is a heroic figure among his brother deities for having sacrificed his right hand to help bind Fenrir, the wolf who, when set free, is destined to devour the sun.

The god of our planet earth, Frey, is the brother of Freya, the Norse Venus-Aphrodite. They are the children of Njord who is represented by the planet Saturn and who also (like the Greek Chronos) stands for Time. Freya is the patron and protectress of the human race which she wears on her breast in the form of a gem — the Brisingamen: the spiritual intelligence in humankind (brising fire, specifically the fire of enlightened mind; men jewel). Frey's wife is Gerð, daughter of the giant Gymer.

LOKI

Among the gods a unique place is held by Loki. Having attained godhood, though of giant stock, he represents a most mysterious and sacred quality in human nature. On one hand he is the divine intelligence aroused in early humanity (the gem of Freya with which he is associated), and also the free will whereby mankind may choose its course for good or ill; on the other, he is the trickster, the renegade, who brings misfortune to the gods and is constantly being taken to task for his mischievous behavior, whereupon he is also the agent who remedies the situation he has caused. All in all, he typifies the human mind, clever, foolish, immature. When regarded in its most redeeming character, Loki is named Lopt (lofty) and applies to the elevating, aspiring traits in human intelligence.

There are many more gods in the pantheon, two of which require special mention: Forsete, justice, whose function in the Norse universe corresponds closely to that of karma in Oriental philosophies. Another is Brage, the personification of poetic inspiration, the wisdom of the skalds and divine illumination in the soul — of the universe and of man.

It is evident from the tales that Vaner are gods superior to the Aesir in a universe of many layers of perception, apperception, insight, and comprehension, where the greater inspires the less which are contained within it, in unending successions of hierarchic lives. The two classes of gods, Vaner and Aesir, (3) apparently correspond to the Hindu asuras and suras (not-gods and gods, the former having a double meaning: either beyond gods or beneath gods). The Vaner are almost always referred to as "the wise Vaner," and seem to play no direct part in the spheres of life. The Aesir, on the other hand, inspire living celestial bodies, the planets in space. Dwellers in Asgard (court of the Aesir), they visit the giant worlds, usually in disguise, or send emissaries to represent them. A clear example of this is the avatara Skirner — a "ray" of the god Frey — who is sent to woo the giant maiden Gerd on the god's behalf. Pure divinity can have no direct contact with matter but must be "disguised" or, to use a common electrical term, "stepped down" through a transformer or what the Norse myths term an *alf* (elf), meaning a "channel," a soul. The "disguises" of the gods are souls in every case appropriate to and characteristic of the mission in which they are engaged at the time.

In any mythology some of the most mysterious and difficult passages to understand are those dealing with the war of the gods. In the biblical Revelation it is Michael and the angels who battle the celestial dragon with his cohorts; in the Rig Veda the battle is between suras and asuras, and in the Edda the same cosmic forces struggle in opposition as the Vaner and Aesir. Because Western thought has been long accustomed to viewing deity as a single divine personage, the only level of life above man in the cosmos, the Aesir are popularly believed to represent a more ancient and the Vaner a more recent class of deities respectively. There are, however, strong indications that these two types of powers belong to different levels of existence, one superior to the other; they may also parallel the Hindu kumaras (Sanskrit virgins) and agnisvattas (those who have tasted of fire), respectively gods who remain unmanifest and those who have imbodyed in material worlds. This is supported by the verse (25) in Voluspa which tells of the Aesir being ousted from their celestial stronghold, leaving the Vaner "victorious" in the divine realms. The fray, which triggers the cosmic force of Thor and a new creation, appears to be the result of the burning of Gullveig (thirst for gold) which, like the enigmatic Phoenix, arises more beautiful after each cleansing by fire, "hoisted on the spears" of the gods. Like the alchemists' transmutation of base metal into gold, this mythic theme finds ready response in the human soul. We recognize its application to the hunger for enlightenment in man, which in the gods results in the creation of a universe; it is the urge that impels them to manifest. Paradoxically, the thirst for gold has also the opposite applicability in our human sphere where it may become greed for possessions.

At the council of the gods Odin put an end to the deliberations: should all the gods atone or solely the Aesir? The Aesir, "defeated," leave the field to the Vana-gods who remain in their heavens while the Aesir, ousted, undertake to enliven and enlighten worlds. This seems to identify the Aesir with the agnisvattas because they energize worlds in the cosmos. It is their presence in living beings that arouses the nostalgia of the soul for its spiritual home. For the gods it is a sublime sacrifice instigated by Odin, Allfather, the divine presence in the heart urging to growth of wisdom.

Once again the gods take counsel: Who had mingled the air with evil and given Od's maid to the giant race? This may be paraphrased: "Who had given to a race of humanity the power of free will to choose good or evil, and the intelligence (the Freya principle, Odin's daughter and manhood's bride — the higher human soul) with which to learn and grow through these decisions?"

Who indeed? No answer is explicitly given but, bearing in mind the divine "renegade," it is evident that an aspect of Gullveig is Loki — the lower nature evolved to self-awareness and thence to divine stature from a former material condition. His impish tricks are characteristic of human nature, undisciplined and imperfect, yet potentially godlike. Loki nearly always accompanies the Aesir on their travels through giant worlds and functions as intermediary there. He represents the bridge between god and dwarf (the spiritual soul and the animal nature) in man and evinces a marked duality, torn between noble and base impulses. When Loki stole Freya's Brisinga-jewel, human intelligence was diverted from its proper goal and misused for base purposes.

A pact made between the Vaner and Aesir resulted in an exchange of hostages. (4) The titans Mimer and Honer were sent by the Aesir to the Vaner, who in return sent the gods Njord and his son Frey down to the Aesir. The Vaner soon found that Honer (intelligence on the cosmic scale) was useless unless Mimer (the protean basis of matter) was at hand to advise him (mind with no material field of action), so they cut off Mimer's head and sent it to Odin, who consults it daily and learns from it the secrets of existence.

To us the multilevel universe of mythic tales is an unaccustomed way of looking at things but it is implicit in most of the world's ancient cosmologies. Mimer alone has nine names on nine levels of life with nine skies and worlds. Other systems may use seven or twelve. Our western culture has limited the universe to three stories, with God upstairs, man in the middle, and the devil in the basement. This allows of no purpose for any form of life other than the human. All creation is beneath our own exalted state and evolving toward it and there everything apparently comes to a dead end. As for evolving consciousness and understanding, there is no provision for improvement or growth beyond the human stage, which gives us very little to look forward to and makes the concepts infinity and eternity irrelevant. In contrast, traditional lore postulates endless vistas of time and space, with life forms ranging through countless combinations of spirituality and materiality, where our world is a slim cross section on its own level. In such a universe one cannot automatically equate good with spirit and evil with matter; there is always a sliding scale of relativity where "good" is rightness, harmony in its own context, "evil" disharmony. The perplexing biblical reference to "spiritual wickedness in high places" can be explained as denoting imperfection in a spiritual condition or as evil relative to a superior state. Throughout the myths gods, and giants, energy and inertia, consciousness and substance, are inextricably linked, always relative, and not to be judged by our limited standards of good and ill. Yet they are constantly changing, growing from the less to the greater as the restricted expands its limitations, the self-centered becomes increasingly universal.

In Brahmanical literature gods and giants are also found under the guise of lokas and talas, among others. These represent the many worlds of manifestation, including the material world we inhabit. A loka is the upward-tending consciousness on any plane, the tala its corresponding downward-tending matter the terms "up" and "down" being of course symbolic. This interrelatedness of gods and giants in eternal opposition is well depicted in the Grimnismal which attempts to describe the "shelves" of substance that build the "halls" or "mansions" of their respective dwellers, the gods.

The explanation of the war in heaven must be left to each one's intuition. One discerns a progression of divine intelligences inspiring material worlds, veritable hells to these benign influences, so that lesser beings may receive some measure of their enlightenment. This undercurrent of the participation of the gods in inferior realms for the sake of their denizens is strongly felt in all the god stories of the Norsemen (or their predecessors in time) and may well be the real reason these tales appeal to us and continue to be honored and retold.

Chapter 4

Contents

FOOTNOTES:

1. Or (Iceland) or ur (Swedish) is a prepositional prefix for which there exists no adequate English equivalent. It means "out of" and connotes an emanation from some primeval root or beginningless beginning. (return to text)

2. Also called Bafrast, Bilrast. (return to text)

3. Singular: van and ass (Swedish as); r preceded by a vowel is a plural ending (vaner, asar or aesir). As also means the highest roofbeam of a house. May be anglicized as Vans and Ases. (return to text)

4. From the Ynglingasaga of the Younger Edda. (return to text)

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The Masks of Odin — Elsa-Brita Titchenell

Chapter 4

Cosmic Creation

Before the appearance of any system of worlds, naught exists but darkness and silence — Ginnungagap (yawning void). The gods are withdrawn in their supernal spheres; space and time are mere abstractions, for matter is nonexistent in the absence of any organizing vitality. It is the chaos of Greek cosmogony before order, kosmos, comes into being. In the Stanzas of Dzyan (1) it is said: "Time was not, for it lay asleep in the infinite bosom of duration." The Edda calls this the Fimbulvetr (mighty winter) — the

long cold night of Nonbeing.

As the hour approaches for the birth of a cosmos, the heat from Muspellsheim (home of fire) melts the ice massed in Niflheim (cloud-home), creating fertile vapor in the Void. This is Ymer, the frost giant, from which the gods will create worlds: unmanifest worlds and "victory worlds" wherein the rivers of lives will imbody. Ymer is sustained by the four streams of milk flowing in the four directions from the cow Audhumla, symbol of fertility, the still unmanifest seed of life. "Slain" by the gods, Ymer becomes Orgalmer (primal loud noise), the keynote whose overtones vibrate throughout the sleeping shelves of space. Like the Tibetan Fohat which sets the atoms spinning, this graphically describes a first vibration organizing motion in inert protosubstance, creating vortices whose amplitudes and velocities determine the wavelengths and frequencies that make the various ranges of matter. As the Edda has it: "This was the first of aeons when Ymer built. There was no soil, no sea, no waves; earth was not, nor heaven. Gaping abyss alone: no growth. Until Bur's sons raised the tables; they who had power to create Midgard. The sun shone from the south on the stones of the court; then grew green grass in fertile soil." (2)

To paraphrase: Before time began, no elements existed for there were "no waves" — no motion, hence no forms and no time. This graphic description could hardly be improved on. Matter and the whole phenomenal universe are, as we now know, effects of the methodical motion of electrical charges. Organized as atoms with their multitudes of particles they unite to form the many grades of matter that compose suns and planets. In the absence of the organizing forces, the gods, none of these things exist. Space is itself an abstraction, unimaginable, nonexistent, yet the sole existence. It is Ginnungagap, the "chasm of Ginn," inexpressible, unspeakable Nonbeing, beyond contemplation and not to be imagined, wherein Ymer, the frost giant, permits of "no growth" until the creative forces "slay" him and from his body fashion the worlds: "raise the tables" whereat they will feast on the mead of life.

The cow Audhumla licks salt from the ice blocks massed in Ginnungagap and uncovers the head of Buri (Space as abstraction, not space having dimensions). Buri corresponds to the "parentless" — the "self-born" of Hindu cosmogony. Audhumla, the primordial seed of life, may be compared with the Hindu vac, the first vibration or sound, also represented as a cow. We find the same idea in the biblical myth, John 1:1: "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God." The Word (Greek logos) means reason and also contains the concept of sound, vibration. In each case the first thrill of activity has this expression as a first ideation in divine mind, or as a fundamental or keynote whereon is built up a series of overtones, each of which becomes the keynote of a new overtone series. If you have ever listened to a gong's reverberations slowly fading out of hearing, you will have heard the major chord built up on the one deep note. It is conceivably an accurate symbol to describe a big bang whose energetic impulses multiply as harmonics to the limits of its progression. By such a proliferation of vibrations the consciousnesses called gods might organize forms to serve them as vehicles, and imbody and dwell in them, be they suns, humans, or subatomic lives.

From the abstract Buri emanates Bur (space as extension) and from this evolves a third, triune logos, composed of Odin, Vile (will), and Ve (sacredness — awe in its original sense). These are the noumena or prototypes of the elements which in our sphere we call air, fire, and water: the essence of spirit (breath), vitality (heat), and fluid (mind) — subtle originants of familiar states of matter. There is a suggestive connection between what myths call the "waters of space" — basis of all existence and the common ground of universes — and hydrogen (from the Greek hydor: water), when we remember that hydrogen is the simplest, lightest, and most abundant of the elements, and the one which enters into the composition of all known matter. The second arm of the trinity may be sought in the second element, helium, named for helios, the sun, where it was first discovered. A connection may also be found between fire and the element oxygen which chemically combines with other elements in combustion. One aspect of the divine fire is Mundilfore, the "lever" or "axis" which turns the "wheels" of galaxies, suns, planets, or atoms. It is the power which initiates rotatory and translatory motion, creating vortices, dynamic entities in the waters of space.

It is striking how the more or less obscure hints found in myths are recognizable in modern science, even in such sophisticated fields as theories on star formation and cosmology. The latter show how physical processes take place, the former indicate the causes that bring them about. In chemistry we speak of three conditions of matter — solid, liquid, and gaseous; the myths call these earth, water, and air, adding two more: fire and aether, which were included in ancient science as attributes of the gods.

In the far mythic morning of time, our earth with all its component denizens must still have been in a condition we can only describe as ethereal. The globe had yet to condense from its primordial nebula (nifl), born in Niflheim (the primordial cloudhome). We may picture how the divine will-to-be spiraled downward through transcendent, unimaginable realms of spirit, then through levels of ideation and intelligent plan, through ethereal and ever coarser though still intangible substances, forming atoms, organizing molecules, arranging organisms, until all principles and aspects of a world with its appropriate life forms had been breathed forth. From this impulsion the dust of long dead antecedent stars, spread dormant through the fields of sleeping space, received anew the kiss of life and, obeying that creative urge, formed vortices of energy which became the matter of which our worlds were fashioned.

Before our planet became physical, the less solid conditions of matter — fire and aether — were doubtless more in evidence; fire is still found as the vital heat of all living bodies. Even space itself, as much as we know of it, gives such a sign of life: a temperature of 2.7 [[degrees]] K, while hardly a heatwave, is still evidence of motion however slight, of vitality however faint. Aether is not recognized by that name today, nevertheless euphemisms such as the "interstellar medium" and "intergalactic medium" are used in astrophysics to suggest it. Since that distant past when our globe began to solidify, the ethereal element apparently receded from the range of our perception. In the future, when earth slowly etherealizes, as the theosophic records predict, we shall doubtless rediscover it along with the acceleration of radioactivity.

We have seen how Ymer, the frost giant, is transformed by the divine powers into the substances which make up a world, the primordial protosubstance becoming Orgalmer (the primal noise), keynote of a cosmos, an outpouring of energies so potent that it brings inevitably to mind the phenomenon which scientists call the big bang. The creation of earth in Grimnismal (40-41) is more poetic: "Of Ymer's flesh was the earth formed, the billowing seas of his blood, from his bones the mountains, bushes from his hair, and from his brainpan heaven. With his eyebrows the beneficent powers enclosed Midgard for the sons of men; but of his brain were surely created all dark skies." The protective eyebrows enclosing the human domain are strikingly suggestive of the arc-shaped, or toroidal, Van Allen belts which trap excessive cosmic radiation.

The creative process of progressive manifestation (called in theosophy the "descending arc" — the Edda's Mjotvidr), marks the fueling or feeding of the Tree of Life, while the subsequent evolution of spirit and decline of matter (theosophy's "ascending arc" and the Edda's Mjotudr), brings the exhaustion of the food that nourishes Yggdrasil. Odin is called Ofner (opener) at the beginning of a phase of life, when he is inseparable from Orgalmer, the keynote whose reverberations multiply into a cosmos. This systolic beat of the cosmic heart should be followed in due time by a diastole when, the expansion consummated, the gods withdraw once more into the heart of Being, and indeed this is confirmed: at the end of life Odin is Svafner (closer), linked with Bargalmer (the noise of fruition). This matter-giant is "ground on the mill" — homogenized to formlessness, annihilated as matter with remarkable similarity to what science now calls a black hole. He is also said to be "placed on a boatkeel and saved" — an allegory reminiscent of the Noachian flood, which also ensures the renewal of life forms after a dissolution. This may quite possibly be how the funeral custom originated of placing a dead chieftain on his pyre ship and letting the burning vessel drift out to sea.

The rivers of Hvergalmer or diverse classes or kingdoms of lives pursue their courses of imbedment through the shelves and mansions of the world systems. They represent the great variety of organisms used by the many kinds of elf-souls, the human of course included. There are the dwarfs and the light elves, and also the dark elves who have not yet "struggled from the hall's stone foundation up to the ramparts" (Voluspa 14).

During the lifetime of a cosmic being Allfather Odin is closely parallel with Trudgalmer (noise of Thor), sustainer of all life. We have seen how Trud (on the cosmic scale), Thor (in the solar system), Lorrider (on earth), represent energy in all ranges of the electromagnetic spectrum and how all their appurtenances have the connotation of power in various applications. Thor's hammer, Mjolnir, both creates matter and mills it to extinction; being the agent both of creation and destruction it consecrates marriages and also slays giants, thus officiating at the rites of procreation as well as bringing death by withdrawing consciousness from the spheres of life.

Chapter 5

Contents

FOOTNOTES:

1. The Secret Doctrine, I, 27. (return to text)
2. Voluspa, 3, 4. (return to text)
Theosophical University Press Online Edition

The Masks of Odin — Elsa-Brita Titchenell
Chapter 5
Terrestrial Creation

The creation of our planet is depicted in several ways. The terrestrial deity is Frey, the valiant. He is the son of Njord and brother of Freya, and he owns a magic sword which is said to be shorter than the customary weapon but invincible when its wielder is courageous. It must be earned by each of Odin's warriors who would gain Valhalla.

The soul of the earth is Idun, guardian of the apples of immortality which she serves the gods at certain specific times, nor will she yield to any entreaties between meals. Idun is the daughter of the giant Ivalde — "oldest of his younger brood" of children. Nanna, the soul of the moon, one of his "older brood," died of a broken heart on the death of her husband Balder, the sun-god. (Cf. Vagtsamsvadet, p. 258.) This may be a way of suggesting that our living planet sees a different sun, another aspect of the solar being, than did its predecessor. The sons of Ivalde are the elements which compose our planet; they are life forces which once formed the dwelling of Nanna but after her death began to form that of Idun. According to the theosophic teachings, each planet, including our own, as well as the sun, comprises several unseen globes along with the one we know; they also regard our earth as the fifth in a series of seven imbediments of the planetary deity the moon having been the fourth; our planetary system is therefore one step more advanced than the moon's former composite world.

Many traditions regard the moon as parent of the earth and say that its substances and vital essences are still being transferred to its successor. Some support is lent to the myths by the fact that the visible moon is slowly diminishing, particularly the side facing the earth. One figure of speech pictures the moon as a mother circling the cradle of her child, the earth. The popular nursery rhyme, Jack and Jill, originated in the Edda where their names are Hjuke and Bil, and they go to the moon to fetch of its substance and bring it back to earth. When they are there, we can see their shapes silhouetted against the lunar disk, much as we see the man in the moon. American Indian traditions refer to the earth as "mother earth" and to the moon as "grandmother moon," which carries out the same theme of succession.

In one tale, the Edda relates the building of the earth as a contest between two factions: one consisted of two of Ivalde's sons, the dwarfs Sindre and Brock (the vegetable and mineral kingdoms); the other of Dvalin (the unawakened human-animal soul) assisted by Loki (mind). The contest was to determine who could produce the most appropriate

gifts for the gods.

Brock and Sindre create for Odin the self-renewing ring, Draupnir, from which eight like itself drop off every ninth night, ensuring the cyclic renewal and perpetuation of life forms. They made for the earth god Frey a golden boar. This symbol for the earth is found also in the Hindu Puranas, where Brahma in the shape of a boar lifted the earth from the waters of space and supports it on his tusks. For Thor the dwarfs fashioned the hammer Mjolnir, the pulverizer. This is the "thunderbolt" in popular versions which, as we have seen, represents electricity and magnetism, hate and love, destruction and creation and, in the form of the svastika, eternal motion. It has the property of always returning to the hand that sent it forth, completing a circuit; in addition to its physical meanings this is one way of expressing the law of justice ruling universal nature on all its "shelves." We readily recognize in it the Oriental doctrine of karma which rules on every level of life, restoring harmony whenever it has been disturbed and, on the grand cosmic scale, causing the cyclic reappearance of worlds. Thor's hammer is somewhat short of shaft, however, for during its forging, Loki disguised himself as a bee and inflicted a vicious sting on the dwarf who was wielding the bellows. The dwarf faltered only an instant but it was sufficient to flaw the gift and accord the victory to Loki and Dvalin. Still, the gifts of the dwarfs are the best that can be produced by the vegetable and mineral kingdoms for the divine (Odin), vital (Thor), planetary spirit (Frey). It is to be noted, however, that these gifts, produced as they are by the minerals and vegetables, are limited to physical properties that concern their creators: Odin's ring clearly denotes the cyclic progression of events with perpetually recurring parallels, whereof the changing seasons are characteristic; Frey's boar with shining golden bristles draws his chariot through the heavens; while the creative and destructive hammer of Thor represents the life force and the powers we associate with the elements — thunder and lightning, seismic stresses and motions, and the interplay of gravitation and magnetic fields.

In competition with these, Dvalin with the aid of Loki creates for Odin the magic spear which never falls its mark when wielded by the pure in heart. This is the evolutionary will, often symbolized by a spear, sometimes by a sword. It is the inborn urge in every living being to grow and progress toward a more advanced condition. There is in this a mystic implication of sacrifice as Odin, transfixed on the Tree of Life, is also pierced by a spear. The spear thrust has been inflicted on other crucified saviors as well.

For Thor, Dvalin and Loki restore the golden hair of Sif, his wife (the harvest), which had been stolen by Loki — human misuse of earth's bounty? — possibly having reference to more than the physical grains of earth. The gift of reseeded and the infinite potential of evolutionary growth on every level of matter and consciousness brings great promise for the world about to be formed. Frey receives as his gift the ship Skidbladnir, which contains all seeds of every kind of life, yet can be "folded together like a kerchief" when its own life is ended.

While the physical, astral, vital, and all other requisites for the new planet are being assembled and re-formed in this manner, the spiritual principles, Lif and Lifthrasir (life

and survivor, the latter meaning "hard to kill" or indestructible), are "concealed in the memory hoard of the sun." These are the quasi-immortal part of the planet, the deathless spirit-soul of the human kingdom, the solar essence of humanity which endures throughout the lifetime of the sun. Allegorically we learn in this tale that though the elemental kingdoms produce good and useful gifts for the embodying deities, human ingenuity is of a superior order and wins the contest.

The name given to our physical planet, Midgard, means "middle court." This placement of our globe in a central position corresponds strikingly with the theosophic description of our terrestrial home as composed of a series of globes, the central one of them being the sphere we inhabit. The number of its ethereal companions varies in different mythologies; because the highest of them are so spiritual, so far beyond human comprehension as to be unimaginable, they are omitted altogether in some mythic cosmogonies, or else only vaguely suggested. The Edda's twelve enumerated in Grimnismal suggest a pattern where six increasingly material globes culminate in our own, followed by six increasingly spiritual spheres culminating in the divine apex of the terrestrial system. Our globe is the Edda's giant Trym and rests on the most material of the shelves that accommodate and provide the substances for the twelve mansions of the deities.

Like other mythological histories, the Edda has its floods, both universal and terrestrial. We have seen how Bargalmer, the end-result of a cosmic cycle of activity is "saved on a boat keel" to become a new system of worlds at the beginning of the next period of manifestation. Similar patterns emerge on a smaller scale within the life span of the earth. Here giants succeed one another and, within each gigantic period, a series of briefer but still immense giantesses, their daughters, follow one another, reflecting analogically the greater planetary ages of life.

There are always similarities between the first of one series and the first of a subordinate series, between the second of one and the second of another; sometimes they are given the same name or one that is very similar, which may lead to confusion but which also serves to reveal a design. As an example, there are clear analogies to be drawn between the giants Ymer, Gymer, Hymer, and Rymer, which represent different phases of a series of cosmic events.

As concerns our planet, we know it is subject to gradual changes all the time, in addition to which there occur occasional cataclysms. One reason for this is the depredations of the inhabitants who over a long period violate the laws that govern the ecology; when human destructiveness becomes intolerable, nature rebels, bringing violent change and restoring the balance of forces. This is part of the normal processes of the living earth's restorative system and of its healthy recovery and recuperation.

The greatest upheavals, however, which cause radical alterations in the disposition of continents and seas, are governed by the rhythmic pulse of the planet's own life currents, and they take place at intervals whose length far surpasses any secular histories. During the four and a half billion years of earth's present lifetime to date, only

four such major catastrophes are recorded in the theosophic traditions. Lesser events are of course more frequent.

Mythologies unanimously relate stories of floods and the repopulating of the globe after its being all but denuded of human life. Some Amerindian traditions tell of a series of "suns" succeeding one another. Each sun endures while the governing elements, air, fire, and water, are in equilibrium; gradually however, one or another gains ascendancy causing an increase of stress until a critical point is reached, when violent relaxation restores the balance, radically altering the configuration of land massifs and oceans. The inhabitants of the "new world" see the sun taking a different path in the sky. According to the Nahuatl traditions as well as those of the Hopi, we are now in the fifth sun. The Zuni state with greater detail that we are in the fourth world but with one foot in the fifth. Compare this with the theosophic teachings: that we are in the fourth of seven courses round our earth's series of globes and also in the fourth of the seven globes of the series (called a chain), but in the fifth humanity on this globe.

Chapter 6

Contents

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The Masks of Odin — Elsa-Brita Titchenell

Chapter 6

Nature's Kingdoms

While gods and giants represented complementary poles of divinity and matter on a graded scale extending both spiritward and matterward beyond our perceptions, nature was to the Norse mythographers replete with living beings at all stages of evolution. Every such being represented its god (consciousness energy), expressed itself in its own appropriate way or soul, and imbodyed in a fitting shape, its giant. Our visible, tangible world was one of many — a slender cross section of a vast range of god-giant juxtapositions through which the ripple of life flowed unendingly with scope for infinite kinds of evolutionary change and growth.

The link which both separates and unites the god and its corresponding giant is its *alf* (elf), which, as we know, means river or channel. The elf expresses its godlike qualities through the substantial form to the degree it can. This makes each being a triad: first, the divine consciousness or eternal Odin, the Allfather, immortal root of every being; this animates the giant or body which dies and is ground on the mill, dissolved when the divine life has departed; linking the two is an elf — the actively evolving soul which channels the divine influence to the material world and is itself evolving toward its *hamingja*, its guardian angel or individual god-self. The elf-soul partakes of both kinds of influence: inspired by its divine nature it becomes progressively more harmonious as it unites little by little with this ennobling source of its being, while its material tendencies, weighted down with the heavy drag of matter, its giant, remain mortal. This is most clearly shown in the lay of Volund, where the elf-soul, humanity, is held captive by an

evil age, yet overcomes by virtue of spiritual will and determination as well as ingenuity.

Through the long, slow course of evolution the elves gain increasingly conscious union with their divine mentors and little by little become immortal; but until they achieve this state, these proteges of the gods spend each blissful rest between earth lives among the deities in the titan Ager's banquet hall (space), but oblivious of their surroundings. There are numerous classes of elves at various stages of awareness: light-elves are those who between lives sleep among the gods at their heavenly banquet, while dark-elves are drawn toward inferior worlds.

Souls that have not yet reached the human, self-conscious stage in their evolution are named "dwarfs." These elemental souls embody in animals and plants, in the minerals of the globe's interior, and in the forces of wind and weather. Popular stories describe them as little people. This is apparently the result of translating the Icelandic *midr*, the Swedish *mindre*, as "smaller." This is quite legitimate and has given rise to the notion that dwarfs are beings smaller in size than humans. However, an equally valid interpretation and one which makes more sense is that they are less than human — less evolved, less complete in their development. Judging by their names, they evidently refer to various animals, plants, and other creatures of the less-than-human kingdoms, so that more than likely the diminutive refers to their stage of evolution rather than to physical size.

Among the elemental dwarfs (those belonging to kingdoms of life less evolved even than the minerals) are trolls which are said to be inimical to humans, and *tomtar* which serve and help man in many ways. In popular stories the troll is depicted as a hideous monster, the *tomte* as an appealing little sprite wearing a grey suit and a red Phrygian cap. Every farm of old had its *tomte* which protected the livestock and the crops, kept the horses from slipping on the ice in winter, and performed numerous other services throughout the year. All it demanded in return was a plate of hot rice porridge by the barn door on Christmas Eve. The trolls on the other hand were the allies of sorcerers and not averse to playing pranks of their own on the unsuspecting. It is noteworthy that in all such folklore there was no real exchange between humans and dwarfs on an emotional or mental level. Whether useful or harmful, dwarfs are not intentionally either benevolent or malevolent but simply unthinking nature forces, acting automatically and without amity or malice, so that man's regard for them was a curiously impersonal one. You would not become fond of a *tomte* though you might well be grateful for his actions.

The classic fairy with gossamer wings, as well as gnomes and pixies and other "little people" in appropriate attire, although their appearance is the creation of human fancy, cannot be denied existence altogether. Various ancient legends which tell of these and other "unensouled" denizens of Cloud Cuckoo Land, are echoing a very real knowledge which has become warped and misunderstood in the course of ages: that beneath the minerals on the evolutionary scale are entities and forces which express themselves in the properties of material elements or states of matter. They are beings we would be hard put to define, for we have no conception of the type of "soul" that embodies in minerals, much less in creatures beneath them on the ladder of evolutionary

progression. Classical and medieval stories depict their denizens of the elements as salamanders (of fire), undines (water), sylphs (air), and gnomes (of the earth); the Edda classes them among the dwarfs and ascribes their parentage to the titans or giants of the appropriate elements. As the Greek Oceanus (the "waters" of space) fathered the undines, so in the Norse myths did Ager with his wife Ran, goddess of the sea, bring to birth the nine waves. What we today call laws of nature whose attributes we constantly rely on — all the chemical and physical, automatic and semiautomatic functions of the natural world — are expressions of elemental forces. Without them we could neither contact the matter we live in, nor could we depend on its behavior. They are the shapers of clouds, the surface tension that defines a dewdrop, they cause flame to rise and water to fall. However, lacking defined sizes and shapes, these beings are generally not recognized as life forms, though they may assume whatever forms are presented by popular imagination. Men, fairy folk or leprechauns have occasionally been seen by perfectly rational people, their appearance and the attire they wear are due to mental images created by folktales and custom which may be so strong, especially in certain localities, that a sensitive nature, combining hearsay with its own impressions, may perceive them in that way. The image-making faculty is a very real force.

The dwarfs are said to follow in Dvalin's train because the lower kingdoms receive the impulse to growth from Dvalin (the entranced — the human soul which has not yet become awake to its potential). Pictured as Ask and Embla (ash and alder), miniatures of the world tree, Yggdrasil, the human race was still in a vegetating condition, sans thought, sans mind, and growing only as the plants do without consciousness of self, until "the gods looked back and saw their plight." The planet was then still in process of being fashioned by the children of Ivalde, the giant period whose lifetime was our moon.

The dwarfs in Dvalin's train which are named in Voluspa include such descriptive appellations as Discovery, Doubt, Will, Passion, Failure, Speed, Antlered, and many more. Some names are obscure, others are clearly characteristics of certain plants and animals, "up to Lofar, the handed."

Humanity, whose plight roused the compassion of the gods, became endowed by them with the deities' own qualities, making the human being an *asmegir* (godmaker), a potential god, in a threefold combination: a dwarf, kin of Dvalin, is his animal nature; in his human self he is an elf, a channel or soul, which links his dwarf nature with the gods; and the spiritual soul is his *hamingja*, kin of the Norns, his guardian and mentor which never leaves him, unless man himself by persistent unremitting evil severs his link with divinity, forcing the *hamingja* to abandon her charge.

A more comprehensive classification comes to light as we note that man comprises the gifts of the three creative Aesir, being compounded of their nature: "From one such train [of evolving kingdoms of lives] drew forth in the hall three Aesir, powerful, compassionate. They found on the earth the ash and the alder, of little power, indeterminate. Odin gave them spirit, Honer discernment, Lodur gave them blood and divine light" (Voluspa 17, 18). This makes the human a composite being. In Viktor Rydberg's penetrating analysis, the lowest elements were already combined in the ash

and the alder before the advent of the creative gods, whose "gifts" completed man as an *asmegir*, a godmaker — an *ase* in the making — who shares in the divine attributes that endow the universe with form, powers, and organization. On every level a human being is an intrinsic part of the agencies that vitalize the universe. The same idea is found in Genesis: divine essences of universal life breathe into man their own breath and create a human image of themselves, which possesses in latency all that the universal life contains.

The mortal frame may be described as threefold: first, the body, composed of the elements of the earth; second is the formative model which causes any organism to retain its shape throughout life; third is the vegetative growth force in all creatures, the physical vitality or magnetic field. These three ingredients were already present in the ash and alder. To these physical portions the gods add their own properties: *Lodur* contributes *la* and *laeti*, literally blood and distinctiveness: blood in the sense of bloodline, hereditary genetic traits, while distinctiveness is evidently what in Sanskrit literature is termed *svabhava*, self-becoming: the peculiar combination and proportion of qualities that give each entity its uniqueness. These two related gifts constitute the divine light or image furnished by *Lodur* which, together with the gift of *Honer*, *odr*, mind or latent intelligence, compose the human elf nature. This, when kindled by a divine power, becomes an *asmegir*, a god-to-be. (Cf. *The Lay of Rig*, chapter 18) The highest gift is that of *Odin*, who endows the humans with his own spiritual essence.

Several unsuccessful attempts had previously been made to people the earth with viable human forms. The *Edda* describes the mud giant *Mockerkalfe* who had to be destroyed and superseded. The story is told in the *Younger Edda* and relates *Thor*'s battle with the giant *Rungner*:

Rungner was regaled in *Asgard* with ale served in the goblets *Thor* was wont to drink from, and he drained them all, but he became very drunk and began to boast how he meant to carry off *Valhalla* to *Gianthome*, flood *Asgard* and slay all the deities save *Freya* and *Sif*, whom he would take with him. As he ranted on, *Freya* continued to ply him with drink. At length, the gods, weary of his boasting, spoke *Thor*'s name, which instantly brought the Thunderer into the hall with his hammer held high. *Thor* demanded to know by whose leave *Rungner* was being entertained in *Asgard* and served by *Freya* as befits only the gods. The giant claimed to be there at *Odin*'s invitation, which *Thor* swore he should soon regret having accepted. One word led to another. At last, *Thor* and *Rungner* arranged to meet in combat on the border between *Asgard* and *Gianthome*, and *Rungner* hastened home to arm himself for the fray.

The whole giant world was alarmed at the forthcoming battle, for they feared evil consequences no matter who should be victorious. So they created a giant of mud nine cubits tall which they named *Mockerkalfe*. However, they could find no heart large enough to animate the effigy so they gave it the heart of a mare. "But," says the tale in *Snorri's Edda*, "*Rungner*'s heart is, of course, of stone and it has three corners." His head is likewise of stone and he bears a stone shield and a stone axe.

Accompanied by Mockerkalfe (also named Leirbrimer — muddy water), Rungner awaited the coming of Thor but, seeing the Ase approaching, the mud giant was in such a panic that "he lost his water." Thor's companion, Tjalfe, ran swiftly to Rungner and told him: "You are foolish, holding your shield before you. Thor has seen you and will attack from beneath." So Rungner stood on his shield, wielding his axe with both hands. With flashes of flame and loud thunders, Thor came toward him. At the very same instant Thor hurled his hammer and Rungner his axe, so the weapons clashed in midair and the axe broke in pieces; one half scattered over the earth, becoming lodestones; the other half hit Thor in the head so that he fell forward on the ground. But Thor's hammer smashed Rungner's skull and, as the giant went down, his foot fell across Thor's throat.

Tjalfe meanwhile had easily bested the mud giant and now he tried to lift Rungner's foot from Thor's throat but he could not move it. All the Aesir came to help, but they too failed to raise the foot. At this point Thor's three-year-old son, Magne, arrived. His mother was the giantess Jarnsaxa (iron shears). Magne lightly tossed the giant's foot aside, apologizing for being late to the rescue, but Thor, proud of his son, "did not hold the delay against him." However, a piece of the stone axe still remained imbedded in Thor's head. The vala Groa (growth) attempted to remove it with magic chants; but as soon as Thor felt it becoming dislodged he set about rewarding her by telling her about his rescue of the former giant Orvandel (Orion) whom he had carried across the icicle waves in a basket. One toe, which stuck out of the basket, became frozen, so Thor broke it off and tossed it to the sky, where it can be seen shining to this day. We call it Sirius. Groa was so enchanted with the tale, however, that she forgot all her charms and the stone axe remains to this day imbedded in Thor's skull.

Like many tales from the Younger Edda, this one contains inklings of thought we may interpret in part, although the tale has probably undergone changes fitting it to Viking humor and character. The three-year-old hero and the iron age which bore him certainly have meaning, as well as the allusion to Sirius. In rough outline the mud giant has parallels in many traditions, such as the Adam of dust in Genesis 2:7. Mankind undoubtedly took millions of years to evolve a form which could survive as a thinking, responsible type of being. Nor did the awakening of mental capacity happen overnight, for this too must have been a very gradual development. The theosophic tradition allots to the awakening of mind several million years. According to the Stanzas of Dzyan the Sons of Mind (manasaputras), which aroused the thinking faculty in the human race, were unable to embody in the earliest forms of humans, or even as late as in the early third humanity. These were, they said, "no fit vehicles for us." The curious little "mudheads" found in the Mexican countryside may also represent that phase of our development. Only gradually, as the vehicles became ready, were the third "root race" humans capable of receiving the stimulus of mind from those who had graduated from the human phase of evolution in a previous world cycle. The presently human race will, if successful in completing its evolution as sapient souls, in turn be due to enlighten and inspire those who are now "the dwarfs in Dvalin's train" — in some far-off future aeon on a new and reborn earth, successor to the globe we help comprise today.

Contents
Theosophical University Press Online Edition

The Masks of Odin — Elsa-Brita Titchenell
Chapter 7
Rig, Loki, and the Mind

One of the most inspiring events related in every mythology and scripture, though in various ways, is what the Edda calls the coming of Rig. Rig is a ray or personification of Heimdal, the solar essence, which descended to unite with the still unfinished humanity, rousing into activity the mind of the unthinking, semiconscious humans-to-be who were in due time to become as we now are.

In the Lay of Rig (chapter 18) the first attempt to produce a humanity gave rise to a race of "thralls," a brutish, primitive type of human. These were born to the "great-grandparents" in a miserable hovel whose door was closed against the entrance of the god. A second effort was more promising: here the door of the cottage was ajar, and the god left with the "grandparents," who dwelt there, his scions who were to become worthy, self-respecting folk and who gave rise to a similar race. At the third attempt, the "parents," who dwelt in a mansion, welcomed the god with the door wide open. This time the divine seeding brought to birth a noble race whose descendants became regal in their own right.

It is a remarkable tale and the symbology is singularly transparent. Each race of semidivine humans refers, if the theosophic keys apply, to immense periods of time. These "races" have of course quite another scope than what we call races today: ethnic groups which inhabit the earth together. These, as we know, vary but little, mainly in coloration. All are one humanity. By contrast, the "dwarf" kingdoms display striking differences among themselves: for instance, gold and granite, both minerals, bear only slight resemblance to each other; deodars and dandelions both belong to the vegetable world, while moths and mammoths share the animal realm. Human beings alone are uniformly equipped with nearly identical forms and senses. Our differences are more pronounced in areas of ideas and feelings, talents and opinions.

The time which elapsed since the first attempt was made by the gods to awaken our intelligence until the whole human river had achieved it is not given but we may surmise that it was to be reckoned in millions of years. Myths inevitably telescope their information into the smallest possible compass. The biblical Genesis, for instance, relates the saga of man's awakening mind by saying that "the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose. . . . There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown." (Gen. 6:24). Another version of the event is also given, when the serpent of Eden urges Eve to partake of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil. He too is the awakener: Lucifer, the bright and

most beautiful angel, the light-bringer who defies the elohim (gods). In the Greek myths it is Prometheus and in the Norse it is Loki. Both are titans, giants, grown to godhood through evolution. Having themselves surpassed the human stage they bring humanity divine fire from the realm of the gods. The name Loki is related to liechan or liuhan (enlighten), to the Latin luc-, lux, to the Old English leoht (light), and the Greek leukos (white). The bright star Sirius is named Lokabrenna (the burning of Loki).

The awakening of the capacity to reason, the power of self-knowledge and judgment, was the most crucial event in humanity's evolution. It brought our human river of life to the point where deliberate choices could be made, where reasoning supplants instinct, and where the knowledge of good and evil will be a deciding factor in the further development of the species. The unthinking kingdoms are guided by the built-in monitoring of instinct, which permits only limited freedom, but once the mind becomes active, aware of itself as a separate being, there comes into play a corresponding responsibility and the doer is accountable for everything he does, thinks, feels, and for his responses to the stimuli of the surrounding universe. Thereafter the godmaker cannot turn back. Each moment brings a choice, and every choice produces an endless stream of consequences, each stemming from its predecessor. Through many wrong choices Loki has become the mischief-maker, the instigator of wrongs in many tales, for he represents too often the lower, ratiocinative brain without inspiritment — inspiration. He is, however, the constant companion of the gods and serves as go-between in their dealings with the giants. Perhaps his mischievous nature has been somewhat overemphasized for its naughty appeal to the Viking temperament. It is well to bear in mind too that, while he is often the cause of trouble in Asgard, he is also the agent for solving the problems that arise from his own doings.

So acts the mind of man: it causes us no end of difficulties when acting on its own but, when we accept the guidance of Brage, the wise bard who represents poetic inspiration, it resolves them in the end.

Chapter 8

Contents

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The Masks of Odin — Elsa-Brita Titchenell

Chapter 8

Human Death and Rebirth

Survival after death of the body was clearly taken for granted by the Norse seers, and the adventures of consciousness continue after death without interruption. When a human body dies, the occupant embarks on a journey through the realm of Hel, queen of the dead: she is depicted as half blue, i.e., half dead yet half alive, and she is the daughter of Loki — mind. This interesting point is made in many mythologies, which imply that death came into being following the awakening of intelligence, so that the use of this faculty and of the free will which accompanies it is universally connected with the

introduction of death and the opportunity it affords the soul to evaluate and profit by the experiences undergone in life, as well as providing rest and recuperation.

When a human being dies, before embarking on the 'journey through Hel's domain, the soul is equipped with footgear strictly in accord with its character: a good and kindly person is provided with sturdy shoes whereas the gross and earthbound one is scantily shod or barefoot amid the rocks and brambles it must traverse to reach the well of Urd where its future will be decided. Urd, as we have seen, is Origin — causes created in the past. She waters the soul's individual tree of life as well as the cosmic Yggdrasil: the past determines all one's future condition, in death as well as future lives.

At the spring of Urd the soul is judged by Odin, its inmost Self, "father of the gods" as well as its own "father in heaven." But, although Odin pronounces he does so according to the prompting of Urd — the soul's past determines the judgment of its inner god and its placement in the many-layered realm of Hel. Following the judgment, the soul seeks its proper habitat and finds the place that is its own by reason of affinity among the endlessly varied regions of the dead. One may enjoy sunlit meadows decked with flowers if this is in accord with its natural inclinations; another, being of evil disposition, may be confined in a venom-soaked cage beneath the nether gates that lead to inferior worlds. The Edda does not specify the duration of these after-life states, but if we may reason from logic as well as from Greek, Tibetan, and other mythical sources, it is safe to assume that each individual remains in this dream world of his own making until its attraction is exhausted. Another description of the after-death condition is given in Loki's Flyting, where the elves are present at the banquet of the gods, but sleepily unaware of their surroundings.

In due course, the Ase-maker is ready to resume its journey through life on earth. Again it visits the well of Urd, who now has the task of selecting a mother for its new birth. Once more we see the past determining the future in an inescapable sequence of cause and effect. We have seen how Bargalmer, the end result of a cosmos or any world, was ground up and saved for reuse in a subsequent manifestation as Orgalmer. The same law may be applied analogically to human life, which is a universe on a smaller scale. Just as seeds planted in the spring will, after many days and nights, bring forth their fruitage where they were sown, so seeds of thought and action must bear their harvest of good or ill in the field where they originated, even after many deaths and births.

The only true hell in the Edda is Niflhel, the sphere of absolute matter where the material for new worlds is formed out of the dregs of the old, after being ground on the mill, homogenized, reduced to formlessness. It is the caldron of Sinmara which, like the caldron of the Welsh Ceridwen, contains mother-matter. It would seem that only a soul so utterly depraved that it has no mead to contribute to its inner god can know the dread fate of total extinction; having allied its entire being with the giant-side of nature it has lost all trace of spirituality and its hamingja can no longer nurture and inspire its return to the divine spheres that are its home. Such a soul, having passed irretrievably through and beneath the house of Hel with its many halls, both sumptuous and dismal, having no increment whatever of enduring spirit, descends to the Niflhel of absolute extinction.

All others visit the well of Urd for her selection of the coming lot in life: the most appropriate and useful conditions for the soul's further growth. The circumstances thus chosen may not always be to our liking, for we have not the wisdom of our divine hamingja to see the precise needs of the soul. It may well be that to one a happy life will bring expanded sympathies and greater awareness, but it is very often suffering which more effectively arouses the knowledge of others' need and the wisdom to supply it aright, mellowing the soul and enabling it to blend with the universal in divine compassion. The right and fitting selection from the well of the past will nevertheless be made.

The Edda, like other traditional classics, takes for granted the reembodiment of consciousnesses at all levels and the absolute justice of natural law. There is a Christian gloss added at the conclusion of the second lay of Helge Hundingsbane:

It was the belief in former days that people were reborn after death; but this is now called an old wives' tale. Helge and Sigrun are said to have been born again; he was then named Helge Haddingskate and she Kara Halfdansdotter, as told in the Lays of the Crow; and she was a Valkyrie.

It is worth observing that it is in the oldest relics of any mythology that we find the largest portion of universal theosophy and the grandest concepts. It seems the intervening millennia have done little but distort the pure versions of prehistory; to reach the pristine ideas we often have to fumble through curtains of ignorant and inhibiting prejudice that have been interposed throughout centuries and that effectively conceal the jewels of thought they contain.

Chapter 9

Contents

Theosophical University Press Online Edition

The Masks of Odin — Elsa-Brita Titchenell

Chapter 9

Initiation

Each human being expresses to a degree the divine consciousness which animates all life forms — Odin-Allfather, source of all the gods — and we sense our spiritual link with a greater life, our individual hamingja. Mentally we are intrinsically part of the intelligence that informs and infills the solar system, personified as the Freya principle; emotionally too we draw on the impelling energies of Idun and the ambient world. Our outermost carapace, the physical body, is fashioned from the material which is available in the sphere where we imbody, though it is modeled on patterns we have ourselves shaped in our long past by numberless choices and decisions.

While all the kingdoms of nature comprise the same ingredients, the degree to which they manifest the various qualities depends on the stage to which they have developed

them. We who make up the human river of lives, while we possess all the faculties we have brought into play in our passage through the dwarf kingdoms, also exhibit the peculiarly human characteristics of self-consciousness and intellectual fire and, in our inspired moments, we have an inkling of the spiritual awareness that will be ours in future aeons. So, being human, intelligent to a degree, we are able to pursue our evolution toward godhood with knowledge and intent and so accelerate our growth as to earn the greater destiny that awaits us on the next rung of the ladder of conscious life.

In the mythic scriptures, in fairy tales, legends, and folk traditions, surely no tales are more inspiring than those that tell of the heroes who precede us on the pilgrimage we are making through spheres of life, noble souls who have attained a grander perspective, a greater truth, a more enlightened vision than we possess. In all ages and races there have lived outstanding individuals — Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Avatars, "One-harriers" (Odin's warriors) — who have "taken the kingdom of heaven by violence," who instead of drifting with the stream in slow meandering growth have gained the goal of human evolution, where "the dewdrop slips into the shining sea," to use Sir Edwin Arnold's inspired phrase.

All mythologies contain some tales of the struggle of a hero, his trials, and either failure or success in overcoming obstacles — the echoes of his own past — to reunite with his divine self. In the West the best known story of initiation is that given in the Christian gospels, which contain many of the recognized symbols attaching to such an event. Another popular mystery tale is the Bhagavad-Gita, wherein the human soul receives the counsel of its divine Self in overcoming the familiar and often fond propensities of the human ego which must be vanquished. The Edda too contains similar tales, one of the most revealing being the beautiful allegory of Svipdag. (1)

Such legends are object lessons for those who desire earnestly to lighten the burden of suffering that afflicts the human race. Those who undertake the rigorous training of self-directed, accelerated evolution must of necessity by so much aid the progress of the whole and by example and encouragement incite a chain reaction of spiritual growth. Therefore those who desire most ardently to help their fellows escape the endless round of error and suffering to which mankind is subject, embark on a path of self-training of their whole nature so that they may aid and encourage the evolution of all.

Those who successfully complete this course, of all human enterprises the most demanding, when known, are universally revered as saviors and redeemers for they are the "perfect" who have nothing more to learn in the schoolroom of earth, yet return to help and teach those who lag behind them on the evolutionary ladder. The sagas which relate the trials of the initiate are the most popular and best known of all stories and legends, even in exoteric literature, though seldom recognized as such. In these adventure stories the hero must first become totally fearless for himself; he must wrest from the "dragon" of wisdom the secrets of "birdsong": this means he must know at first hand the structure and functions of the universe; he must be willing to sacrifice all personal ambition, even his own soul's success, to an all-encompassing concern for the

welfare of the whole. One who succeeds in attaining such selfless universality becomes a coworker with the gods, a beneficent force powerfully impelling the evolvement of the world in which he is a component.

The fabled home of the Edda's elect, where the heroes go after being killed in battle, is Valhalla (val choice or death + hall hall). Popularized chiefly by the Wagner operas, Valhalla is one of the best known but least understood of the Norse allegories. It has become superciliously regarded as a humorous parody of heaven where rough-and-tumble Vikings go to carouse. Brought to this realm of the warrior god Odin by Valkyries, they are regaled with pork and mead each night, and each morning return to the fray only to be slain all over again. Valhalla is protected by many barriers: it is surrounded by a moat, Tund, wherein a werewolf, Tjodvitner, fishes for men. Its gate is secured by magic, and on the door of the hall a wolf hangs transfixed, surmounted by a blood-dripping eagle. In addition it is guarded by Odin's two wolfhounds. To understand the significance of all this we must define the terms used.

Each of the barriers to the Hall of the Elect is symbolic of some weakness that must be conquered. The warrior who would cross the river of time (Tund) and the river of doubt (Ifing) must maintain unwavering purpose and self-direction if he is not to be swept away by the turbulent currents of temporal existence. He must evade the bestial cravings of his animal nature (the lures of Tjodvitner) if he is to gain the other shore. Many scriptures use the allegory of a river. Buddhism, for example, speaks of four stages of progress, beginning with those who have entered the stream, and ending with those who have successfully reached the other shore. All nature is said to rejoice when an aspirant gains his goal.

Next, the candidate seeking Valhalla must overcome the hounds Gere (greed) and Freke (gluttony): he must avoid desire, even the desire for the wisdom he is seeking, if he is to obtain it. To find the secret of the magic gate, he must have strength of aspiration, purity of motive, and inflexible resolve. The wolf and the eagle must be vanquished and transfixed over the entrance to the hall to guard against their intrusion. This means conquering the bestial nature (the wolf), and pride (the eagle) — self-seeking in any guise which, like Proteus of the Greeks, arises in ever new forms to challenge those who approach the realm of the gods. All weapons of offense and of defense must be relinquished and transformed into the constructive materials that form the sacred fane. The walls of Valhalla are built of the warriors' spears, the roof is of their shields. Within the hall even protective armor is discarded: "the benches are strewn with byrnies" (Grimnismal 9).

The surrender of weapons is a hallmark of the Mystery tradition. The candidate for universality cannot, by the very nature of his quest, regard himself as separate from the whole; he can therefore have no use for divisive means of any kind, in thought, word, or deed. First to go are weapons of offense, as harmlessness is cultivated. Thereafter all means of defense are dropped and finally all personal protection of whatever kind. The One-harrier has stepped beyond the notion of separateness. His work lies not in the immediate but in the eternal. He is no longer bounded by a self but extends unlimited;

the hero soul has discarded all personal concern, placing complete reliance on the divine law he unconditionally serves.

If these myths had originated among the Vikings who, according to one of their codes, even slept on their shields with sword in hand, this would seem out of character. Rather does it corroborate the theory that the Norse myths far antedate these warriors and stem from the same archaic source as other early traditions. For there is clearly much more than meets the eye in the Edda's poetic enchantment even when it is concealed within its sometimes bawdy anecdotes.

The plain of battle where the warriors each day contend is called Vigridsslatten, which may be translated as "the plain of consecration." It is reminiscent of the dharmaksetra — the field of dharma (duty, righteousness) — of the Bhagavad-Gita where the struggle between the forces of light and darkness in human nature takes place. In that classic many of his antagonists are the hero's friends and close relatives whom he must oppose, meaning character traits and habits of which he has become fond and which therefore are difficult to overcome. In both allegories the battlefield is man himself, where are ranged in opposing ranks all the human qualities, which themselves are the reflection of the properties of greater nature. The daily contest profoundly affects the evolutionary course of all beings. From time to time a One-harrier crosses over from the world of men to join the ranks of the gods; such rare forerunners who gain access to "the shining abode" unite their forces with nature's divine intent. The Valkyries, our own inspiring deepest selves, are ever searching the field of consecration for worthy recruits who choose to aid the gods in their unending labors toward the consummation of the cycle when mankind as a whole shall enter into its divine heritage and responsibility.

"The Hall of the Chosen glows golden in Gladhome," according to Grimnismal (8). Here Odin daily crowns the heroes after the battle. Here too, the One-harriers are regaled with ale or mead and are fed the three boars of air, water, and fire, that symbolize different aspects of the earth, for they are the essence of their experience during human life on this planet. The boars that nourish the One-harriers also represent creative powers, the energetic aspect of three of nature's elements. Verse 18 in Grimnismal, if we substitute these for the corresponding three boars, would read: "Spirit lets mind be steeped in will and desire." Thus the higher self or spirit of man permits the human ego to be tested in the fires of the soul to prove its integrity. If successful, the man brings to birth his inner god, the mortal earns its immortality, uniting with the indwelling divinity.

Odin, Allfather, is the essence of universal creative consciousness on all levels of existence. The name is a form of Odr, universal intelligence (equivalent to the Greek nous and the Sanskrit mahat), whereof the spiritual soul of man is a child. Odraerir, mystic dispenser of Odr, is one of the holy vessels which contain the "blood of Kvasir" — divine wisdom (Greek theos-sophia). Kvasir was a "hostage" or avatara sent by the "wise Varier" to the Aesir. This is an enlightening hint indicating the descent of divine inspiration from sublime cosmic powers to the god world beneath, which is still far superior to our own. We may infer from this the continuous evolutionary pattern wherein Odin, Allfather to our world and divine root of every living being in our sphere, has risen

from a formerly lesser condition and is now progressing toward superior stages, aided by the inspiration of still loftier divinities.

While in a general sense Allfather is implicit in all manifestation, Odin also has his own domain as a planetary spirit: his is the shelf named Gladhome, where is located Valhalla, the Hall of the Elect. Though Val means choice it also means death when it applies to Odin's warriors, the "One-harriers." Related to the Greek koiranos, "commander," the One-harrier is one who harries, commands, or controls, one — himself. Each has moreover elected to die as a personal ego and gained transcendency of consciousness into the nonpersonal, universal, realm of the gods. To put it another way, he has overcome the lesser human self and united with the cosmic purpose of life. This is a continuous process — of growth, hence of change, each change being a "death," a transformation from one state into another, usually from a less to a more perfect condition. The "crowners of the elect" (Valkyries) who bring the heroes to Odin's sacred hall are closely related to the hamingja or guardian angel, the spiritual soul, every human being's protector and tutor.

When Allfather welcomes his heroes to Valhalla, he is named Ropt, "the maligned," and in the Lay of Odin's Corpse, he is Nikar, the "ladler" of misfortune. These mysterious hints become clearer when we recognize that Odin is the initiator who, as well as instructing and inspiring, must subject the human ego to the contending fires of its own complex soul and cannot, may not sway the outcome of the trial. Hence it is only the successful initiate who knows the true nature of Odin, the hierophant, and recognizes the bringer of trials as Ropt.

Valhalla presents yet another aspect which links it with Eastern scriptures of remote antiquity: Odin in Grimnismal tells his pupil that there are "five hundred doors and forty more" to Valhalla; and that eight hundred warriors issue from each when Odin emerges to war with the wolf. Further we are told that there are five hundred and forty halls in bulging Bilskirner (the shining abode), the largest being "my son's" — the solar deity's. Multiplying 540 x 800 we get 432,000 warriors and the same number of halls. In both Babylonian and Indian chronologies this figure occurs in numerous ways. Multiples of it define specific astronomical cycles while, divided by various numbers, it applies to terrestrial events of greater frequency, even down to the pulsebeat of the human heart, generally reckoned as 72 beats per minute. It is itself the length in human years assigned to the Iron Age, in Sanskrit the kali yuga, when the forces of darkness are most challenging. Curious that this should be the number assigned to Odin's champions. It certainly hints vigorously at some common source from which these widely separated traditions have descended and at some hidden meaning which makes this figure recur in them.

It is significant that of all the Norse tales, the battles of the Elect should have gained the greatest popularity: even though we may be unaware of the hidden meaning, this theme has an appeal that will not be denied. On the plain of battle, or of consecration, we all daily meet formidable enemies: weaknesses of character and habits we have adopted, familiar foibles to which we have become attached — what the Gita calls our friends,

relatives, and teachers.

For the human race evolution can be defined as developing awareness, an increasing comprehension of life. This is not mere knowledge of facts and relationships, nor is it just a growing understanding of ourselves and others; it entails a very direct realization and personal discovery of the spiritual unity of beings. With it comes a self-identification with all, well expressed in the words, "I am not my brother's keeper, I am my brother." The self is nonself. In the transition from a restricted inwardness of ego to all-inclusive self-transcendence, the human soul comes naturally to identify with all that is. The battle undertaken by Ygg's heroes, which gains them access to Valhalla, is the constant exercise of will, firm control of every thought and impulse, complete selflessness at all times, in all situations. The injunction, "to live to benefit mankind is the first step," (2) is tacitly confirmed in the epics of the Norsemen as is evident in the Song of Svipdag, where the hero, united with his hamingja — the Freya of his dreams — returns to perform "the tasks of the years and the ages." The ally of the gods seeks not merely to do good when opportunity occurs but to exist throughout with the paramount purpose of beneficence, constantly cited as characteristic of the deities, "the beneficent powers." The One-harriers have in fact died to their personal desires and been "virgin born," to borrow a metaphor from other myths, into universal concern, enabling them to take their natural places in what the theosophic writings call the Hierarchy of Compassion. Odin's heroes do not rest on their laurels but continue to play a vital part in the eternal struggle of life as allies of the gods.

Traditional scriptures hint that, ever since divinities descended among men and taught the early races, there have lived an unbroken succession of spiritual teachers, intermediary between the gods and humans, whose mission is to inspire and aid the human race in its evolution toward perfection. Such adepts in the art of living are the One-harriers. A divine ray may embody among mankind from time to time as one of these superior men and women who have chosen the lonely road toward merging their human self with the divine essence at the core of being. Even among the highest gods messengers, "hostages," descend among their younger brother deities as avataric rays. Skirner (3) represents such a "hostage" to the human sphere.

Many are the tales linked with this motif, tales that relate how the evolving soul seeks its spiritual self, the Sleeping Beauty, or the Beauty on the Glass Mountain, accessible only to the valiant, pure, and totally selfless hero. He alone can draw from its scabbard, or from the anvil, or the rock, or the tree, the mystic sword of spiritual will placed there by a god. With this magic weapon he conquers the dragon, or serpent (of egoism), and gains inner knowledge, whereupon he understands the language of birds and all nature's voices. He must overcome all weaknesses, all temptations, surmount all fears, to be able, mounted on the steed of his obedient animal nature, to leap the flaming river that separates the world of men from that of the gods. There he gains reunion with his divine hamingja. The godmaker is become a god.

Incidentally, tales wherein the knight slays a firebreathing dragon, rescuing a fair damsel and saving the kingdom, may not all be mere allegory with no basis in physical

reality. They are too universally prevalent to be lightly dismissed. While it is certain that they symbolize the hero's overcoming his baser nature and gaining his inmost heart's desire, it is also possible these symbolic tales may be superposed on a historical framework, which seems to be a common practice of myths. We may speculate on the possibility that the earliest human races of our round of life shared the earth with some at least of the giant saurians, whether winged, aquatic, or earthbound, before the latter became extinct. Who knows what lonely relics of once abundant species survived long enough to interact with early humanities? Any encounters with them which may have taken place would certainly have given rise to legends which would persist long after the events themselves were forgotten. If sea serpents qualify as mythic "dragons," we need not look very far back to find their traces; to this day we hear rumors of such "monsters" being spotted in Loch Ness and elsewhere. The mythic Scandinavian dragons are said to have emitted an overpoweringly nauseating odor which defeated many a would-be dragon slayer. Indeed it is daunting to think of facing some gargantuan crocodile with halitosis. But this is by the way.

The universal appeal of myths may stem from a slumbering yearning we all have, to perform valiant deeds of derring-do. Leading what may seem commonplace lives, we have a deep-rooted desire to achieve the conquest implied in the sagas, the inner victory of All-self over myself. The goal of human evolution must be attained eventually with or without our purposeful effort. We can drift along in a slow, unmotivated round of endlessly recurring mistakes and continue to suffer from the inevitable results of our unwisdom. We may also actively oppose nature's beneficent direction and with intense self-centeredness shrink our sphere of interest to a mathematical point and ultimate extinction. A third alternative is that chosen by the heroes who elect to pursue the purposes of the gods. Whichever course is embarked upon will inevitably lead to the moment when a choice must be made: either conscious existence as gods or dissolution in the waters of space as inert frost giant material, becoming ground on the mill of extinction. Skirner, in wooing the giant maiden Gerd on behalf of the god Frey, implies this as he threatens her with Rimgrimner, the icecold (frost giant aspect of) Mimer, ultimate matter-base of all universes. This would mean utter severance from the energetic, divine power of the gods. Gerd is apparently a race of humankind who is given the opportunity to decide between immortality and annihilation.

To everyone there come moments when the whispered urgings of divinity are sensed within the silence of the soul. Those who answer the call to serve the gods and help alleviate humanity's future suffering are on the path to becoming One-harriers, heroes who muster the scattered forces of the soul under the single command of universal purpose, and who maintain this tenor through lifetimes of effort. It is simply an acceleration of the godmaker's natural evolution that these heroic souls undertake and by the destruction of personal egoism ally their powers with the long-range work of the gods in our world. It is this message we may find in myths: the initiation of a new kind of living. For initiation means "beginning." It is entering on a new sphere of duty, a more exalted and, to us, godlike arena of life. The "One-harrier" is crowned a warrior of the gods and undertakes to share with them "the tasks of the years and the ages."

Chapter 10

Contents

FOOTNOTES:

1. Cf. Verywise's Exchange, p. 231 et seq. (return to text)

2. The Voice of the Silence, p. 33. (return to text)

3. Cf. Skirnismal, p. 248. (return to text)

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The Masks of Odin — Elsa-Brita Titchenell

Chapter 10

Voluspa

(The Sibyl's Prophecy)

TEXT

TRANSLATOR'S NOTES

Among the lays and stories of the Edda the place of honor unquestionably belongs to Voluspa. It is the most comprehensive as well as the most enigmatic portion of the Norse scripture. In it are outlined the majestic pageant of worlds in formation, the attributes of the cosmic Tree of Life, its decay and death, and its subsequent renewal and rebirth. To follow the progression of events related by the sibyl we must often resort to other lays and sagor (1) which are more explicit, for in Voluspa we see the work of eternities compressed into the wink of an eye, the vastness of a universe in a grain of sand.

The vala or volva, the sibyl who speaks the poem, represents the indelible record of time, as from a beginningless past events move toward an endless future with universes succeeding one another in surging waves of life. The vala personifies the record of the past: her memory, reaching back through the "foretime," recalls nine former world trees, long since dissolved and now reliving.

Voluspa is the sibyl's response to Odin's search for wisdom. The cosmic record is being consulted by Allfather — conscious, divine intelligence which periodically manifests as a universe, impelled by the urge to gain experience. He is the root of all the lives that compose it, immanent in every portion of its worlds, yet supernal. When the vala addresses Odin as "all ye holy kindred," this not only shows the intimate relationship which links all beings, but also identifies them with the questing god. Odin's cited wish to learn of "the origin, life, and end of worlds" is a device to elicit this information on behalf of all the "greater and lesser sons of Heimdal" (1) (2) — all existing forms of life within this solar system, Heimdal's domain — and, incidentally, of the audience.

To those who picture deity as a perfect, omniscient, omnipresent, and unchanging person, it may seem strange to find a god requesting information on anything, especially in worlds beneath his own divine sphere. But in the myths divinities are not static, congealed in divine perfection, but growing, learning intelligences of many degrees. The Voluspa uses a poetic ploy to suggest that consciousness enters worlds of matter in order to learn, grow, and evolve greater understanding, while inspiring by association the matter through which it operates.

The vala "remembers giants born in the foretime" — worlds now dead, whose energizing consciousnesses have long since left them, whereupon their uninspired material reverted to entropy and chaos. She remembers "nine trees of life before this world tree grew from the ground" (2). Elsewhere there is mention of Heimdal's being "born of nine maidens"; also that Odin's vigil when he is mounted on the Tree of Life lasted for "nine whole nights" (Havamal 137). This all combines to suggest that our earth system is the tenth in a series, following the frost giant Ymer when there was "no soil, no sea, no waves" (3).

Each world tree is an expression of the divine consciousnesses which organize appropriate forms to live in and gain the "mead" of experience. When in due course they withdraw, whatever cannot advance or profit by the association with the gods, that is to say, whatever is unmitigatedly material, becomes the frost giant.

The wise sibyl who tamed wolves, analogous to the cosmic vala, appears to represent the hidden wisdom or occult insight. (It is worth noting that the word "occult" means anything hidden or obscured, just as a star is occulted when it is hidden from our sight by the moon, or any other body. The merest a, b, c, is occult until it is understood.) The vala, Heid, is that hidden knowledge which exerts a fascination on the selfish, hence it is "ever sought by evil peoples," although it may be harmlessly acquired by one who is wise and "tames wolves," who is in control of the animal nature and who by self-discipline and service gains access to nature's arcana. The distinction between the two sibyls is clearly made in the poem: "She sees much; I see more" (45). One pertains to human concerns on earth, the other represents an overview of cosmic records.

The skalds distinguished three different kinds of magic: sejd or prophecy is the faculty of foreseeing events to come as they follow naturally on those of the past. In most countries there were until quite recently many "wise women" who continued to practice this art, most commonly in trivial matters. Such fortune-tellers are still to be found; many of them trade on public gullibility and prophesy more or less spurious "fortunes" for a fee. A second type of magic is the galder — a formula of enchantment purporting to bend the future to one's desire. Such spells, when in any degree successful, are often sorcery, whether performed in good faith and ignorance or, more dangerously, with the impact of knowledge and with will and determination behind them. Inevitably their repercussions complete their circuit and adversely affect the originator as well as associates who may be innocently and ignorantly involved.

A third form of magic is "reading the runes" — perusing nature's book of symbols and gaining progressive wisdom. This is the study of Odin himself, as he hangs in the Tree of Life (Havamal 137-8): "I searched the depths, found runes of wisdom, raised them with song, and fell once more thence" — from the tree.

The vala tells of the end of the golden age of innocence and of the death of the sun-god Balder through the agency of his blind brother Hoder — ignorance and darkness — instigated by Loki, the mischievous elf of human intelligence. As in many other tales of the fall from innocence of the early humans, the agent which brought about our knowledge of good and evil and the power to choose between them, has borne the blame for all subsequent ills in the world. The biblical Lucifer, the light-bringer, from "bright and morning star" has been transformed into a devil; the Greek Prometheus who gave mankind the fire of mind was chained to a rock for the duration of the world and will be rescued only when Herakles, the human soul, shall have attained perfection at the end of its labors. Similarly, Loki was bound beneath the nether gates of the underworld to suffer torment until the cycle's completion. In each case the sacrifice brought us humans the inner light needed to illumine our path to godhood, which will be gained through conscious effort and self-conscious regeneration in ultimate reunion with our divine source.

The Voluspa gives a vivid description of Ragnarok. This has been translated as the "age of fire and smoke," probably because rok in Swedish means smoke, and students of mythology have regarded this as characteristic of the Norsemen's supposedly doleful temperament, given to doom and gloom. But there is a better interpretation of the word: ragna, plural of the Icelandic regin (god, ruler) + rok (ground, cause, or origin) is the time when the ruling gods return to their root, their ground, at the end of the world. The horrors depicted as accompanying the departure of the gods are indeed chilling, punctuated by the howling of the hound of Hel; however, this is not the end. After the toppling of the world tree, the poem continues to describe the birth of a new world and ends on a note of serene contentment at the dawn of a new and golden age. Many are unaware of this and, having some acquaintance with Wagner's "Ring of the Nibelungen" tacitly ignore the implications of a cosmic rebirth. Yet, the pattern conforms far more closely to the tenor of other profound systems of thought than does the idea of an ultimate end. Such irreversible finality is not found in myths; instead we learn of nature's ceaseless flow into being and back to the unknown source, inevitably followed by a new manifestation — a pattern that better mirrors all we know of nature, and evokes a far grander vision of the eternal pulse of life beating through boundless infinitude and endless duration.

Voluspa

1. Hear me, all ye holy kindred, (3)
Greater and lesser sons of Heimdal!
You wish me to tell the ancient tales,
O Father of seers, the oldest I know.

2. I remember giants born in the foretime,

They who long ago nurtured me;
Nine worlds I remember, nine trees of life,
Before this world tree grew from the ground.

3. This was the first of aeons, when Ymer built.
There was no soil, no sea, no waves;
Earth was not, nor heaven;
Gaping abyss alone: no growth.

4. Until Bur's sons raised the tables;
They who had power to fashion Midgard.
Sun shone from the south on the stones of the court;
Then grew green grass in fertile soil.

5. The sun bore south together with moon.
On her right hand was the heaven's door.
Sun knew not what hall she had;
Stars knew not their places yet.
Moon knew not his power.

6. The mighty drew to their judgment seats,
All holy gods to hold council;
They named night and moon phases, separated morn from noon,
Dusk and evening, to tell the years.

7. The Aesir met on the Ida sward,
Timbered lofty courts and altars;
They founded forges, smithied gold,
Fashioned tongs and tempered tools.

8. Goldtable they joyfully played in the court;
Lacked not abundance of gold;
Until there came from the giants' home
Three very immoderate giant maids.

9. The mighty drew to their Judgment seats,
All holy gods to hold council:
Who should fashion a host of dwarfs
From Brimer's blood and the limbs of the dead?

10. There was Force-sucker, master of dwarfs
As Durin knows;
There were fashioned many humanoid dwarfs from the earth
As Durin said.

11. Wax and Wane, North and South,

East and West, All-thief, Coma,
Bifur, Bafur, (4)
Bombur, Nore.

12. An, Anar, Ai, Mead-witness,
Path, Magus, Windelf, Thrain,
Yearning, Longing, Wisdom, Color,
Corpse and New Advice.

13. Slice and Wedge, Discovery, Nale,
Hope and Will, Rooster, Sviur,
Speedy, Antlered,
Fame, and Lone.

14. It is time the dwarfs of Dvalin's kin
Be named, up to Lofar, the handed:
They who have struggled from the hall's
Stone foundation up to the ramparts.

15. Clarifier, Cyclor, Shaver, Channel,
Sanctuary-of-youth and Oakshield-bearer,
Fugitive, Frost, and
Finder and Illusion.

16. While ages endure
The long, long reach
Of Lofar's forebears
Shall be remembered.

17. From one such train drew forth in the hall
Three Aesir, powerful, compassionate.
They found on the earth the ash and the alder,
Of little power, indeterminate.

18. Odin gave them spirit,
Honer discernment,
Lodur gave them blood
And divine light.

19. An ash stands, I know, by name Yggdrasil;
That tall tree is watered by white icicles daily;
Thence comes the dew that drops in the dells;
It stands ever green above Urd's well.

20. Thence come maidens who know much,
Three from that hall beneath the tree:

One was named Origin, the second Becoming.
These two fashioned the third, named Debt.

21. They established law,
They selected lives
For the children of ages,
And the fates of men.

22. She remembers the first slaying in the world,
When Gullveig (5) was hoist on a spear;
Thrice was she burned and thrice reborn,
Again and again — yet still she lives.

23. Heid was her name.
To whatever house she came
She prophesied well and was versed in spells.
She was much sought by evil peoples.

24. The mighty drew to their judgment seats,
All holy gods to hold council;
Should the Aesir alone atone the wrong,
Or all the gods make reparation?

25. Odin hurled his spear among the throng.
This became the first war in the world.
The ramparts were rent in the Aesir's stronghold;
Victorious Vaner strode the field.

26. The mighty drew to their judgment seats,
All holy gods to hold council:
Who had mingled the air with evil
Or given Od's maid to the giant race?

27. Thor struck out in mighty wrath;
He stays not quiet when such he learns;
Oaths were broken, words and promises,
Mighty pacts were broken then.

28. She knows where Heimdal's horn is hid
Under the sacred sun-drench'd tree;
She sees ladled a stream mixed with icicle torrent
From Allfather's forfeit. Know you as yet, or what? (6)

29. She sat outside alone when the Old One came;
The fearsome Ase looked her in the eye:
"What ask you of me? Why do you tempt me?"

I know all, Odin. I know where you hid your eye —

30. "In the redoubtable Mimer's well.
Mimer quaffs mead each morning
From Allfather's forfeit."
Know you as yet, or what?

31. The Father of Hosts gave her rings
And gems to gain
Wisdom and lore from her.
Far and wide she scanned the worlds.

32. She saw Valkyries ready to ride: Debt bore armor.
So also did War, Battle, and Spearwound.
Thus are the Hero's maidens named,
Valkyries mounted to ride over earth.

33. I saw the fate determined for Balder,
The gentle god, Odin's child.
High above the field there grew,
Slender and fair, the mistletoe bough.

34. The sprig that I saw was to become
A threatening sorrow-dart shot by Hoder.
Balder's brother, born before his time,
But one night of age, Odin's son rode to battle.

35. He laved not his hands nor combed he his hair
Ere he bore Balder's foe on the funeral pyre.
Frigga bewept in her watery palace Valhalla's woe.
Know you as yet, or what?

36. She saw the one bound beneath the court,
Where the caldron is kept.
The wretch resembles Loki.
Unhappy Sigyn remains by her spouse.
Know you as yet, or what?

37. A torrent of daggers and swords
Runs from the East
Through vales of venom.
Her name is Scabbard.

38. On low northern fields stood a golden hall
Belonging to Sindre's race.
Another one stood on the Unfreezing Ocean,

The giant Brimer's brewhall.

39. A hall she sees standing far from the sun
On the shores of death, with its door to the north.
Venomous drops fall in through the weave,
For that hall is woven of serpents.

40. Therein wading the streams she saw
Oathbreakers, murderers, adulterers.
There Nidhogg (7) sucks cadavers,
Wolves tear men.
Know you as yet, or what?

41. Eastward in the Ironwood the Old One sat
Fostering Fenrer's offspring.
Of them all shall come a certain something
That in troll's guise shall take the moon.

42. It feeds on the life of those who die,
And blood-red it colors the dwelling of powers.
The sun shall be dark the summers thereafter,
All winds be odious.
Know you as yet, or what?

43. There in the field, playing the harp,
Carefree Egter sits, watching the sword maids;
There crowed for him in the human world
Fjalar, the fair red rooster of spring.

44. For the Aesir crowed the goldcomb-adorned,
Who wakens the warriors in Hostfather's hall;
But another crows beneath the earth:
A soot-red cock in the halls of Hel.

45. Garm howls at the Gnipa-hollow of Hel.
What is fast loosens, and Freke runs free.
She grasps much; I see more:
To Ragnarok, the Victory-gods' hard death struggle.

46. Brothers shall battle and slay one another.
Blood ties of sisters' sons shall be sundered.
Harsh is the world. Fornication is rife,
Luring to faithlessness spouses of others.

47. Axe time, sword time, shields shall be cloven;
Wind time, wolf time, ere the world wanes.

Din on the fields, trolls in full flight;
No man shall then spare another.

48. Mimer's sons arise. The dying world tree flares
At the sound of the shrill trump of doom.
Loud blows Heimdal, the horn held high.
Odin confers with Mimer's head.

49. With a roaring in the ancient tree
The giant is loosened.
The ash, Yggdrasil,
Quakes where it stands.

50. Garm howls at the Gnipa-hollow of Hel.
What was fast loosens, and Freke runs free.

51. Rymer steers westward; the tree is o'erturned;
In titanic rage
Iormungandr (8) writhes,
Whipping the waves to froth.

52. The eagle shrieks loudly;
Bleknabb (9) tears corpses.
Nagelfar (10) casts off.

53. Comes a keel from the east. From over the waters
Come Muspell's folk with Loki at the helm.
Monsters fare with Freke.
Such is the train of Byleist's (11) brother.

54. How is it with Aesir? How is it with elves?
The giant world roars; the Aesir hold council.
Dwarfs groan before their stone portals,
Masters of mountains.
Know you as yet, or what?

55. Fire fares from south with flaring flames.
The embattled gods' sun is skewered on the sword.
Mountains burst open. Hags hurry hence.
Men tread Hel's road; the heavens are sundered.

56. Then comes Lin's (12) second life sorrow,
As Odin emerges to war with the wolf.
The bane of Bele (13) flashes forth against Fire:
There shall Frigga's hero fall.

57. Victory-father's son, Vidar the mighty,
Comes forth to battle the beast of death.
He plunges his sword from mouth to heart
Of the Son of Completion. The Sire is avenged.

58. Approaches the shining scion of Earth:
Odin's son meets with the wolf.
In raging wrath he slays Midgard's woe.
Then do all men turn homeward.

59. Nine steps only away from the monster
Staggers the son of Earth.
The sun grows dim; earth sinks in the waters;
The sparkling stars fall from the firmament.
Fire entwines the Life-supporter; (14)
Heat rises high to the heavens.

60. Garm howls at the Gnipa-hollow of Hel.
What was fast loosens, and Freke runs free.

.....

61. She sees rising another earth from the sea,
Once more turning green.
Torrents tumble, eagle soars
From the mountains, seeking fish.

62. The Aesir met on the Ida sward
To judge of the mighty Soil-mulcher; (15)
There to recall their former feats
And the runes of Fimbultyr. (16)

63. There are found in the grass
The wondrous golden tablets;
Them in days of yore
The races had owned.

64. Harvests shall grow on unsown fields,
All ills be redressed, and Balder shall come.
With him Hoder shall build on Ropt's sacred soil
As gentle gods of the Chosen.
Know you as yet, or what?

65. Then Honer may freely seek his destiny,
Shake the divining rods, read the omens;
And the two brothers shall build their dwelling

In wide Windhome.
Know you as yet, or what?

66. She sees a hall more fair than the sun,
Gilded, glowing on Gimle. (17)
There shall the virtuous hosts abide
And Joy in serenity during long ages.

67. Then comes the dragon of darkness flying,
Might from beneath,
From the mountains of night.
He soars o'er the fields in a featherguise.

Chapter 11

Contents

FOOTNOTES:

1. Plural of saga, an oral tradition, transmitted by word of mouth, like the Sanskrit smṛti and śruti, teachings "remembered" and "heard" respectively. (return to text)
2. Numbers alone refer to verses in the lay named in the chapter title. (return to text)
3. Genera, generations of related beings. (return to text)
4. Names in italics are not translated; some may be "nonsense syllables," others may refer to fauna or flora not recognized or perhaps extinct. (return to text)
5. "Thirst for Gold." Cf. p. 42 (return to text)
6. This cryptic recurring phrase is translated verbatim. (return to text)
7. The serpent undermining Yggdrasil's roots. (return to text)
8. The world serpent: the equator, ecliptic, or Milky Way. (return to text)
9. "Palebeak": the eagle Rasvalg. (return to text)
10. "Nailfarer," ship of death, built of dead men's nails. (return to text)
11. "Wildfire": the adverse side of Loki. (return to text)
12. Frigga, Odin's spouse. (return to text)
13. The sword of Frey. (return to text)

14. Yggdrasil, the Tree of Life. (return to text)

15. Yggdrasil. (return to text)

16. The "god of secret wisdom." (return to text)

17. A superior shelf of existence, home of the new earth and sun. (return to text)
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The Masks of Odin — Elsa-Brita Titchenell
Chapter 11
Gylfaginning

(The Apotheosis of Gylfe)

From the Younger Edda

TEXT

TRANSLATOR'S NOTES

The title of this tale, Gylfaginning, is usually given as "The Mocking of Gylfe" for the verb *ginna* means to mock or to fool in Icelandic. This may, however, be another instance of semantic misunderstanding, like that which makes dwarfs into little people instead of unevolved souls. In Icelandic there is a noun *ginn* which has a very lofty meaning indeed. It is the word for the inexpressible divine principle, or essence, beyond the Aesir, beyond the Vaner, beyond all possible manifestation, however exalted. It corresponds most nearly to the Sanskrit *tat* which means simply "THAT" — an abstraction too sacred to be belittled by being named. It is the ONE — All-being — the self-existent void which is all-fullness, not to be comprehended by finite mind, and it is the concept expressed by the word *Ginnungagap* — "chasm of *ginn*."

The story then becomes self-consistent and may be interpreted. The Asgard of the tale has evidently been depicted as an earthly locality harboring advanced, though human, beings, yet it retains an air of remoteness and is situated in a hall so large that the roof can barely be seen. The juggler at the entrance to the hall may be supposed to represent a stage of proficiency in magic — an element which never falls to make an impression but which is given small importance here: the performer exhibits his marvels outside the precincts. He shows the visiting king into the sanctuary where three hierophants are enthroned. Their names, or lack of names, in themselves pose an interesting enigma, suggesting that while there are differences in standing, there is no differentiation made in rank.

No sooner has the neophyte entered than the door closes behind him — a revealing detail and true to life. Thereupon he is treated to the long poem *Havamal* which, as we

shall see, is directed to three stages of spiritual growth.

Having obtained from the triad of divine kings all the wisdom he could receive from them, King Gylfe "returned to his country and told these tidings he had heard and seen," thus fulfilling the destiny of a true spiritual student-teacher.

Gylfaginning

King Gylfe was a wise and knowledgeable man. He wondered how the Asa-people were so knowing that all went according to their wishes. He considered that this was caused either by the people's own nature or was brought about by the gods to whom they sacrificed. He determined to find this out and prepared to travel to Asgard in all secrecy, disguised as an old man. But the Asa-people were wiser. They saw his journey before he came and caused him to be beset by illusions. When he arrived at the court he saw a hall so high that he could barely see the top of it. Its roof was covered with golden shields as other roofs might be with shingles.

At the entrance to the hall he saw a man juggling seven small swords at once. Gylfe was asked his name and gave it as Ganglare (wandering learner), said he had come by watery ways (by sea) and wished to find lodging here. He then asked whose hall it was. The juggler replied it belonged to the king, "and I shall take you to see him," he said, "so that you yourself can ask his name."

The man walked into the hall; Gylfe followed. At once the door closed behind him. He saw many rooms and many people, some at games, some at drink, others with weapons at swordplay.

He saw three high seats, one above the other, with three figures seated, one on each. He asked what names these chieftains had and his conductor replied that he who sat in the lowest high seat was a king named The High One; the one above him was named As High, and the uppermost was named Third.

The High One asked the stranger his errand; and at his disposal were food and drink as for all in the High One's hall.

Gylfe said he first wanted to know if there was any wise man to be found. The High One replied that he would not leave the place whole were he not the wiser, and initiated the interrogation:

Step forward as you question.

Seated shall be the respondent.

[Here follows the poem Havamal, whereby the postulant is taught the ancient wisdom. The conclusion of Gylfaginning follows Havamal. See next chapter.]

Chapter 12

Contents
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The Masks of Odin — Elsa-Brita Titchenell
Chapter 12
Havamal
(The High One's Words)

TEXT

TRANSLATOR'S NOTES

The Song of the High One is something of an enigma. It has three quite distinct and very different styles, each with its internally consistent character. Scholars have been understandably perplexed by the incongruous juxtaposition of the parts of this lengthy poem.

The first and longest portion appears to be a book of elementary etiquette, a sort of rustic Emily Post. It lays down rules of propriety for social intercourse and for maintaining friendships; explains the duties of a host and of a guest at the festive board; outlines some simple home remedies for common ailments, prescribes appropriate drinking habits for maintaining a sane and reasonable outlook (and avoiding a hangover) and gives other pieces of mundane advice and practical wisdom worded to suit a semibarbaric people learning to adapt to community life.

The second division, formally introduced in verse III, is directed to the dwarf Loddafner. Here the emphasis is on right and honorable action, on consideration for others and kindly conduct. Loddafner is clearly one step ahead of the populace who need directives for preserving the barest amenities, but he is still a dwarf because as a soul he has not yet developed his humanity to any marked extent. This section would have applicability to most of us and Loddafner may at this stage be regarded as Everyman. Gradually, by following the precepts of the god, the dwarf nature can evolve into full humanity. A soul that has awakened to some degree and is striving to improve its condition, Loddafner in the end is addressed as a pupil or disciple in the third and final section which is in a wholly different vein. Its symbolism defies analysis while it orients the inward eye to vistas of inexpressible grandeur. The brief, laconic verses hint at concepts so luminous and insights so vast they may well be the substance pondered by the elect in pursuit of divine wisdom.

Clearly the Song of the High One is intended for three very different audiences: the early part is for the public — a coarse-grained people, responsive only to the simplest advice applying to their daily pursuits; next, the plain ethics of any exoteric school or church, common practices for decent living. The third is the mystical evocation of the reaching soul in a disciple who has dedicated his life to serving the divine purpose; it is directed to those individuals who are capable of emulating the god's commitment and who lend their strength and determination to the divine labor of "raising the runes" (138)

by Odin, the inner god of all.

The same three natural divisions may be discerned in any system of thought or religion. There are always large numbers who are uninspired and self-centered, content to make the most of their circumstances and enjoy life. They generally adhere to conventional norms, demanding and presenting an appearance of respectability. There is a second, fairly numerous group who enjoy speculating on the unseen causes of observed phenomena and who may dabble in a variety of superstitious practices. Among them are many who yearn for greater knowledge and recognize that the universe holds mysteries to be discovered, but they often lack the needed insight and perseverance which is achieved by self-discipline.

The third group has little popular appeal. It is composed of those who have penetrated the sanctuary of their soul and at first hand verified some measure of truth. These are the elect, the few who work for spiritual nature, indifferent to praise or blame, and without regard for their own ends, knowing that these are bound up with the larger, universal destiny. There is for them no pandering to personal satisfaction though, paradoxically, their altruism forms the backbone and stamina of the human evolutionary impulse for all mankind, the advancement of which must bring the greatest satisfaction of all.

It has always been necessary for teachers of wisdom to make a distinction among their followers: those who are irrevocably committed to the noble work of the gods receive a greater share of knowledge and, with it, a far more onerous responsibility. Jesus told his disciples this: "To you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God: but to them that are without, all these things are done in parables" (Mark 4:11). Gautama, the Buddha, also had an esoteric school where worthy Arhats were given advanced instruction and training; so did Pythagoras and numerous other guides and spiritual preceptors through the ages.

The Song of the High One shows the different audiences to whom it is directed both by the manner of address and, even more, by its substance. The portion wherein the teacher is speaking to a general public ends with a parable which tells of Odin's former quest for wisdom. Verses 104-110 relate in somewhat obscure language how with the aid of the squirrel Rate (which can also mean a drill), Odin bored a hole in the giant's mountain and entered in the guise of a serpent. He persuaded the giant's daughter to give him a draught from the well of wisdom secreted there by the giant. Through the story are twined numerous symbols, each with several meanings — a typical example of the method used in myths to relate truths. Rate, the drill or rodent, like the squirrel in the Tree of Life, represents consciousness which gives access to the depths of the matter-world where Odin earns wisdom, as well as to the heights of its crown. Gunnlod, the giant's daughter — unable to ascend to heights of divinity, was left behind in tears, though the "precious mead of Odraerir" — vessel of inspiration — was carried upward one step on the ladder of existence, raised to our own "earth's ancient shrine." The question is asked by the frost giants, whether the god had emerged victorious or been overcome by the giant Suttung (earth's previous imbodiment). Odin was able to give

assurance that he had indeed returned unscathed to the realm of the gods.

Gunnlod, "the good woman," personifies an age when, amid the mountainous materialism of her father — the greater cycle — at least a portion of it welcomed the deity and was able to supply a draught of wisdom. It is suggestive too that "Odraerir now has come up here to earth's ancient shrine" in view of the theosophic teaching that our planet (which furnishes the sacred mead) has itself progressed upward by one stage since its former imbodiment on an inferior, more material, shelf, and that what was then the astral model of the moon is our present, solidly physical, satellite. This implies of course that mankind has progressed upward by one stage. The "ancient shrine" refers to a still earlier phase, on the "downward arc" toward matter.

Among the early divine teachers of humankind are many who have left no trace of their passage; it would seem that Odin was one of this progression, for in *The Secret Doctrine* H. P. Blavatsky states that

the day when much, if not all, of that which is given here from the archaic records, will be found correct, is not far distant. Then the modern symbologists will acquire the certitude that even Odin, . . . is one of these thirty-five Buddhas; one of the earliest, indeed, for the continent to which he and his race belonged, is also one of the earliest.
— II, 423

Whether the final portion of Havamal has been preserved since so great an antiquity or was reconstructed and dispensed in its present form by later teachers is impossible for us now to determine. We may recognize in these verses the very essence of esoteric cosmogony and feel a profound reverence and gratitude as we contemplate the divine sacrifice of the cosmic spirit inherent in the Tree of Life. This divine imbodiment takes place throughout any world's existence as conscious energy impels the world to be and energetic consciousness absorbs its draught from the well of wisdom guarded by the giant Mimer, the matter of which the worlds are formed.

Verses 137-42 give a remarkably concise expression to some fundamental tenets of the ancient wisdom, and explain the periodicity of manifested life and the karmic action which on every level of existence leads from each event, word, and deed, to the next. The seventeenth galder (spell) relates also that these instructions are given under a seal of secrecy, while the final verse shows clearly why this must be so: it is not possible to grasp the meaning of the teachings unless the nature is sufficiently matured in understanding. They are "useful to children of men, but useless to sons of giants" (163): only the spiritual intelligence is capable of receiving the inner message; the temporal, uninspired, giant-nature is not, for it lacks the insight to discern it. For this reason very little is known of the Mystery schools of the ancient world — or for that matter of the modern — beyond the bare fact of their existence from very remote times. The knowledge they imparted could not be divulged to any unqualified person due not to actual prohibition but, more effectively, to the need for a developed faculty of understanding; this comprehension (the word literally means embracing) within one's own sphere of sympathy and love must be naturally active before the deeper teachings

could be received. It follows that to betray the Mysteries in any significant degree must be as impossible as to explain higher mathematics to a beetle. Nevertheless, a breach of faith is a serious defect in the offender and adds to the adverse karma of the race. Still, as much as may be understood is "brought back" by the enlightened sage and shared with those who are able to profit by what he has to give. King Gylfe as Ganglare performed this task, relating the things he had learned, which subsequently were passed on from one to another (conclusion of Gylfaginning, p. 130).

It will be noted that, like other mystical poems, Havamal in part assumes the form of a love song, reminiscent of the Rubaiyat or the Song of Solomon, perhaps because this form is the nearest expression man can devise for the poignant ecstasy of union with the divine self, the inner god, as there exists nothing comparable in material experience. The full and intimate expansion of human consciousness belongs naturally only to those whose entire nature is subject to, and mirrors the god within, that is, to the One-harriers of Odin, named thus because of being in total control of "one" their own personal ego. Havamal

1. Scrutinize an entrance before passing through;
Uncertain it is where foes may be seated.
2. Hail, generous ones! A guest has arrived. Show him a seat.
He has haste who must prove himself at the fire.
3. Warmth is needed by one who comes in from the cold;
Food and drink needs the man who comes in from the mountains.
4. Water needs he who comes to his host, a towel and greeting;
A kindly reception for one who seeks words and a friendly hearing.
5. Wit needs the wanderer in foreign lands. At home all is easy.
Boast not your deeds among those who are wise.
6. Display not your cleverness; have a care; the wise man is silent
On another's ground, and arouses no anger. Better friend has no man than good sense.
7. The wary guest at the feast keeps silent when there is whispering;
He heeds with his ears, seeks with his eyes; so the wise man observes.
8. Happy the man who gains honor and esteem;
But uncertain the gain borne in another's breast.
9. Happy is he who has himself honor and wisdom in living;
Others' advice is often bad counsel.
10. No better burden can a man bear than good sense and manners;
Better than gold it serves, a strong support in need.

11. No better burden can a man bear than good sense and manners;
And no worse provender is borne than an excess of ale.

12. Ale is not so good as they say for the race of men;
The more a man drinks the less he knows how to keep his wits about him.

13. In raving delirium is one who noises in his cups; it steals his senses;
By that bird's feathers was I fettered in Gunnlod's court.

14. Drunk was I, senseless drunk, in the hall of peaceful Fjalar;
Best is that ale feast when each goes home retaining sense and reason.

15. Agreeable and cheerful shall be a son of man, and valiant in battle;
Gay and friendly a man shall be as he awaits his bane.

16. A coward thinks he may live forever if he avoids the fight;
Yet old age will not spare him, though he be spared by spears.

17. A fool at a feast sits staring and mumbling to himself;
But if he takes a drink his mind stands stark revealed.

18. He who is well traveled
Expresses each thought well.

19. Keep not the tankard long, (1) drink moderately, speak sense or hold your peace;
None will hold you uncivil if you retire early to bed.

20. A greedy man without manners will make himself ill;
A boor's stomach becomes the butt of jokes in clever company.

21. Cattle know when to leave the pasture and go home;
But a fool knows not the measure of his stomach.

22. The wretch of mean disposition derides everything;
He knows not, as he should, that he lacks not faults himself.

23. A fool lies awake nights worrying over many things;
Feeble is he when morning breaks, and matters are still as before.

24. The fool believes all who smile at him are his friends;
He knows not how they speak about him.

25. The fool believes all who smile at him are his friends;
He finds out only in court, when few will speak for him.

26. A fool thinks himself all-wise in a sheltered corner;
He knows not what to say when tested by strong men.

27. A fool among the elders should hold his peace;
No one knows how little he understands if he keeps silent.

28. He seems wise who makes questions and answers;
But no fault on earth can be hidden.

29. He who speaks much says ill-chosen words;
A tongue unreined speaks its own undoing.

30. Mock not another who comes among your kin;
Many feel wise on their own mountain.

31. He thinks himself smart when leaving, the guest who has mocked another;
Who pokes fun at table sees not the anger around him.

32. Often friends will bicker and tease at the board;
This may rouse contention of guest against guest.

33. One should eat each meal at due time and not go hungry as guest;
Else he may sit choking, with no question to ask.

34. It's a long detour to a faithless friend, though he live by the road;
But to a good friend, however distant, there are many shortcuts.

35. A guest shall leave betimes and not stay too long;
Pleasure palls if he lingers too long at another's board.

36. Better your own home where each is his own master;
Two goats and a thatch are better than begging abroad.

37. Better your own home where each is his own master;
The heart bleeds in one who must beg for his food at each meal.

38. Weapons should never be left more than a step away on the field;
Uncertain it is how soon a man may have need of his spear.

39. I saw none so lavish that he declined what was offered;
Nor any so generous that wage was unwanted when earned.

40. He who has money does not suffer need;
But saving is a virtue that can be carried to a fault.

41. With weapons and garments friends please one another;

Gifts to and fro help a friendship endure.

42. To a friend be a friend and give gift for gift;
Jest should be taken with jest, wile with wile.

43. To a friend be a friend, both to him and his friend;
But to enemy's friend, be not bound by friendship.

44. If you know a friend, believe in him and desire his goodwill,
Go share his tastes, and gifts exchange; go often seek him out.

45. If you know one who evil thinks but you desire his goodwill,
Speak him fair though you falsely feel; repay lies with cunning.

46. This also applies to one you distrust, whose mind is uncertain;
Meet him with smiles, choose your words well; repay gifts in kind.

47. When I was young I traveled alone and wandered away from the road;
I thought myself rich when I met with a man, for a man is good company.

48. Noble, courageous men live best; they seldom harbor sorrow.
A foolish man fears many things and begrudges every gift.

49. I gave of my clothes to two wooden men in a field;
They felt in fine fettle, robed in rags; naked, a man suffers shame.

50. The fir tree withers on a dry knoll without shelter of bark or needles;
So too does a man whom no one loves; why should he live for long?

51. Hotter than fire may be the love of a peaceful man for his faithless friend
For five days; but on the sixth his friendship dies.

52. Not much it takes to give a man, oft praise is bought with little;
With half a bread, a draught from the stein, I won a faithful comrade.

53. Small piles of sand and tiny streams, small are the minds of men;
All are not equally strong in wisdom; each age is of two kinds.

54. Wise in moderation should each one be — not otherwise;
Life smiles the fairest on him who well knows what he knows.

55. Wise in moderation should each one be — not otherwise;
For a wise man's heart loses gladness if he thinks himself all-wise.

56. Wise in moderation should each one be — not otherwise;
His fate beforehand no one knows; the soul is thus carefree.

57. Fire is lit by fire till it dies, and flame is lit by flame;
Man knows man by his speech, the speechless by his silence.

58. Early to rise is one who seeks another's life or possessions;
The sleeping wolf rarely gets a bone or a sleeping man victory.

59. Early to rise is one who has few laborers and himself goes to work;
Much is neglected by one who sleeps late; the prompt is half rich.

60. Of kindling and roofbark a man knows the measure;
Likewise of firewood how much suffices for a whole or half a season.

61. Clean and fed shall he ride to the Ting, (2) even though poorly clad;
None need feel shame over patches on shoes nor over inferior mount.

62. Question and answer were made with forethought by one who would be called wise;
Take one only into your confidence; what three know the world knows.

63. He studies and stares when he wanders the wave, an ern on the ancient sea;
So too does the man who comes into a crowd where few will speak for him.

64. A wise man keeps within proper bounds his right and authority;
In concourse of warriors he will find none the most valiant.

65. For every word he speaks
A man will pay in kind.

66. To many a place I came too soon, to others much too late;
The ale was drunk, or not yet brewed; ill guest comes ill-timed.

67. In some places I would have been invited if I needed no food;
If two hams hung at my friend's where I had just eaten.

68. Among children of men, fire is the best and the shining sun,
If man may have the gift of health, and live without vice.

69. No man is unhappy in all things though his health be poor: one is blessed with sons,
Another with friends, a third with full barns, a fourth with good deeds.

70. Better to live and live happy; a good man can get a cow;
I saw the fire die out in a rich man's house; death stood at the door.

71. A lame man can ride; a handless herd cattle, a deaf may be a fine warrior;
Better blind than burn on the pyre; no one needs a corpse.

72. A son is better even though born late when his father's life is ended;
Memorials are seldom raised unless by kin.

73. The two are companions-in-arms, but the tongue is the bane of the head;
Beneath each fur I expect a fist.

74. One night may you trust to your provender but short are ship's biscuits, and quickly
changes an autumn night;
The weather shifts much in the course of five days, much more in a month.

75. He knows not who little knows that many are fools to others;
One may be rich, another poor. No blame attaches to this.

76. Cattle die; kinsmen die; you likewise must die;
But the voice of honor never dies for him who has earned a good name.

77. Cattle die; kinsmen die; you must likewise die;
One thing I know that never dies: a dead man's reputation.

78. Full sheepfolds I saw at the rich man's sons; they now bear the beggar's staff;
Riches are like the wink of an eye, the most fickle of friends.

79. When a fool gains goods or a woman's favor, his pride grows but not his sense;
He walks in a fool's blindness.

80. This then is known: when you ask for runes known but to the ruling powers;
About those that were scribed by the bard of secret wisdom he had better be silent.

81. Day may be praised by night, a woman on her pyre, sword's edge when tested;
Maiden when wed, ice when the crossing is over, ale when it has been drunk.

82. Trees should be felled when the wind blows, sail when the breeze is fair;
In darkness daily with maiden, for many eyes see by day;
You need speed from a ship, protection from a shield, blows from a blade, kiss from a
maid.

83. By fire drink ale, on ice score with skates, buy a horse when it's lean, and a blade
when it's rusty.
The horse you fatten and the hound you train.

84. Trust not a maid's words, nor a wife's,
For on a whirling wheel were born their hearts and fickleness fixed in their breast.

85. Trust not breaking bow, flaring flame, gaping wolf, carping crow,
Bellowing boar, rootless willow, waxing wave, bubbling caldron.

86. Airborn arrow, breaking wave, night-old ice, coiled snake,
Bride's words in bed, broken sword or playful bear, nor the children of a king;

87. Sick calf, stubborn thrall, sibyl's fair words, newly killed whale, (3)
Such may no man trust to appearances.

88. Depend not on a new-sown field, nor too soon on a son;
Nor on a brother's bane, even on a wide road;

89. Nor on a house half burnt, a horse swift as the wind (he would be useless with a
broken leg);
No man is so confident he trusts in these.

90. So is the love of women, fickle ones, like riding on slippery ice with uncleated horse,
A lively two-year-old, ill trained, or rudderless sailing in violent storm, or like a lame
man's reindeer chase on bare slippery rock.

91. Openly I declare, for I know both, how treacherous is man's mind toward women;
When we speak most fair we think most false; this traps even the cunning.

92. You shall speak fair and offer gifts if you desire maid's love;
Devote praise to the fair one's beauty, a young wooer shall get his wish.

93. For his love shall no man blame another!
Often a wise man, not a fool, is beguiled by a pretty face.

94. Nor shall one man censure another for what befalls many a man;
A sage is often made a fool by overwhelming desire.

95. Mind only knows what lies near the heart, it alone sees the depth of the soul;
No worse ill assails the wise than to live without inner peace.

96. This I learned, crouched in the reeds, waiting for my love,
My body and my soul seemed wise to me. Yet I have her not.

97. Billing's maid (4) was found by me, white as the sun, asleep;
All princely seemed naught to me beside life with her beauty.

98. "Toward evening, Odin, shall you come, if you would win the maid;
It would be unfitting if we alone knew not of this."

99. Back I ran and deemed myself lucky, went to learn the wise one's wish;
I had hoped to have her tenderness and joy.

100. When I returned all the gallant warrior band was awake;
With blazing torches and high borne lights, the road was perilous to me.

101. I returned in the morning, the watchers were asleep;
I found a dog bound by the holy woman's bed.

102. Many a sweet maid, if you seek, is unfaithful;
This I learned when the clever maiden I had hoped to lure with wile made a mockery of
me; I gained not the lovely wife.

103. A man glad in his home, gay among guests, shall always take a wise stand;
Of good memory and easy speech, if he would be wise and speak sagely;
An idiot has naught to say, this is the sign of a fool.

104. I sought the old giant, now am I returned; little did I there gain by silence;
Many words won me success in Suttung's halls.

105. Gunnlod on the golden throne gave me a draught of the precious mead;
Ill did I repay her for her pains.

106. Rat's mouth made room for me, gnawed through the rock;
Over and under me ran giants' roads. Great was my peril.

107. A well-earned draught I enjoyed; the wise lack little;
Odraerir now has come up here to earth's ancient shrine.

108. I doubt I had even yet escaped from the giants' dwelling
Had I not Gunnlod, the good woman, held in my arms.

109. The following day, frost giants went to hear Odin's counsel in the High Hall;
They asked after Bolverk,
Whether he had begged his freedom, or been vanquished by Suttung.
Odin, I mind, gave oath on a ring that he had overcome.

110. How may his troth be trusted?
Suttung bereft of his mead, Gunnlod in tears!

111. It is time to speak
From the speaker's chair
By the well of Urd;
I saw and kept silent,
I watched and I thought,
I listened to what was said;
I heard runes discussed,
There was no lack of knowledge
In the High Hall.

In the High Hall
I heard it said.

112. I tell you, Loddafafner, heed you the counsel:
You will gain if you keep it, benefit if you follow it.
Do not rise in the night unless something occurs
Or you must visit the outhouse!

113. I tell you, Loddafafner, obey you the counsel:
Do not sleep locked in the limbs of a sorceress;
She can contrive that you do not go to the Ting or assembly;
Food will not please you, nor human company; you will go sadly to sleep.

114. I tell you, Loddafafner, heed you the counsel:
Never lure another's wife with soft words.

115. I tell you, Loddafafner, heed you the counsel:
If you expect danger on mountain or fjord, supply yourself well with provisions.

116. I tell you, Loddafafner, obey you the counsel:
Let no evil man see your misfortunes; from a man of ill will you receive no thanks for
your trust.

117. I saw a man hurt by a treacherous woman's words;
Her poisonous tongue wounded him to death and without truth.

118. I tell you, Loddafafner, heed you the counsel:
If you know a friend you trust, go often seek him out;
Brambles and grass grow high on untrodden paths.

119. I tell you, Loddafafner, heed you the counsel:
Attract good-natured men to you with happy runes, sing songs of joy while you live.

120. I tell you, Loddafafner, heed you the counsel:
Be not quick to break the bond of love for your friend;
Sorrow will rend the heart
If you dare not tell another your whole mind.

121. I tell you, Loddafafner, heed you the counsel:
Exchange not words with a fool,

122. For from ill-minded man you will have no good return,
But a noble man may honor you with his nobility.

123. A friendship is firm when each can speak his mind to the other;
All is better than broken bonds; no friend is he who flatters.

124. I tell you, Loddfafner, heed you the counsel:
Waste not three words in quarrel with a villain:
Oft the better man cedes
While the worse deals blows.

125. I tell you, Loddfafner, heed you the counsel:
Make your own shoes and the shaft of your spear.
A shoe may be ill formed, a spear may be warped
If the maker wills you ill.

126. I tell you, Loddfafner, heed you the counsel:
When you meet anger take it as meant for you;
Give your foe no peace.

127. I tell you, Loddfafner, heed you the counsel:
Never rejoice over evil revealed, but always rejoice over good.

128. I tell you, Loddfafner, heed you the counsel:
Gaze not in the air during battle — humans may walk like boars —
Lest you lose your wits.

129. I tell you, Loddfafner, heed you the counsel:
If you wish to bind a good woman in wedlock and win her favor,
You must promise handsomely and keep your word;
None wearies of a good gift.

130. I tell you, Loddfafner, heed you the counsel:
I bid you be wary; be most careful with ale,
With other man's wife and, third,
Be on guard against thieves.

131. I tell you, Loddfafner, heed you the counsel:
Never mock a wandering man or a guest.

132. They who are seated often know not what manner of man enters;
None is so good he lacks all fault, none so wretched he lacks all virtue.

133. I tell you, Loddfafner, heed you the counsel:
Smile not at the graying storyteller;
Often is good what the old ones sing;
Wrinkled lips may speak choice words
From him whose head droops, whose skin sags, and who limps between canes.

134. I tell you, Loddfafner, heed you the counsel:
Abuse no guest nor turn any away; the poor do you well receive.

135. It takes a strong hinge to keep the door open to all;
Yet give of your alms lest one wish you ill.

136. I tell you, Loddfafner, heed you the counsel:
When you drink ale, seek the aid of earth's force,
Because earth counteracts it, as fire does disease;
Oak is a laxative, grains against sorcery,
The home against bickering, the moon against hate,
Biting helps snakebite, runes against ill designs,
Field of dirt makes flood abate.

137. I know that I hung in the windtorn tree
Nine whole nights, spear-pierced,
Consecrated to Odin, myself to my Self above me in the tree,
Whose root no one knows whence it sprang.

138. None brought me bread, none served me drink;
I searched the depths, spied runes of wisdom;
Raised them with song, and fell once more thence.

139. Nine powerful chants I learned
From the wise son of Boltorn, Bestla's father;
A draught I drank of precious mead
Ladled from Odraerir. (5)

140. I began to thrive, to grow wise,
To grow greater, and enjoy;
For me words led from words to new words;
For me deeds led from deeds to new deeds.

141. Runes shall you know and rightly read staves,
Very great staves, powerful staves,
Drawn by the mighty one who speaks,
Made by wise Vaner, carved by the highest rulers.

142. Odin among Aesir, Dvalin (6) among elves,
Dain (7) among dwarfs,
Allvitter (8) among giants.
I myself have also carved some.

143. Know you how to write?
Know you how to interpret?
Know you how to understand?

Know you how to test?
Know you how to pray?
Know you how to sacrifice?
Know you how to transmit?
Know you how to atone?

144. Better not to pray than to sacrifice in excess, gift always tends to return.
Better send naught than waste too much.
Thus wrote Tund (9) for the passage of years,
Where he arose,
Where he came again.

145. I know songs unknown to the wife of the king or to any son of man;
Aid is one, and it can help you
In sadness and sorrow and difficult trouble.

146. A second I know that should be known
By those who would be healers.

147. A third I know, if need be,
That can fetter any foe.
I can dull their blades so that sword
Or deceit cannot harm.

148. A fourth I know: if warriors place links of chain on my limbs;
I can sing a charm that will make me free.
Fetters fall from my feet and the hasp from my hands.

149. A fifth I know: if I see hurled
Arrows hard at my horde;
Though rapid their flight I arrest them in air
If I see them clearly.

150. A sixth song I sing: if a man does me harm
With the roots of wild weeds,
Or a Hel-man hates me, he brings harm to himself,
Not to me.

151. The seventh I sing: if a fearsome fire
Flames in the hall where the warriors sit;
So broad burns he not that I cannot quench him;
This charm is one I can chant.

152. The eighth I sing is for every one
The most fortunate lore he can learn:
When hatred is harbored by children of chiefs,

This I can hastily heal.

153. The ninth that I know, if need there should be
To save my boat on the billow,
The wind I can lay to rest on the wave,
And still the stormiest sea.

154. A tenth I am able, when witches do ride
High aloft in the air;
I can lead them astray, out of their forms,
Out of their minds.

155. Eleventh I can, if forth into war,
Old friends into battle I lead:
I sing below shields so that they draw with force
Whole into the fight,
Whole out of the fight,
Whole wheresoever they go.

156. Twelfth I am able, if I see a tree
With a hanged man hovering high,
I can carve and draw runes, so that he that is hanged,
Hastens to speak to me.

157. Thirteenth I know, if they wish me to sluice
With water a citizen's son,
He shall not fall, though outnumbered he be,
He shall not fall by a sword.

158. Fourteenth I can name to the warriors' horde
The names of beneficent gods;
The Aesir and elves, I can all distinguish
As an unwise man cannot.

159. Fifteenth I know what the Setter-in-motion
Sang at the doors of Dawn;
He sang power to Aesir, progress to elves,
Mind-force to the god of the gods.

160. Sixteenth I can chant, if I desire
The wise maid's joy and favor,
The white-armed woman's love I can win,
And turn her mind to me.

161. Seventeenth I sing that not soon may be parted
From me the beloved maid.

For a long, long time shall you, Loddfafner,
Be lacking these lays.
It were good that you keep them concealed,
You are fortunate to learn them,
It were useful to heed them well.

162. The eighteenth I sing as I never have sung
To a maid, or to any man's mate.
All that is best is known only to One,
She who embraced me as a sister.
This is the end of the song.

163. Now is sung the High One's song in the High One's Hall:
Useful to children of men; useless to sons of giants.
Hall Him who sang! Hall Him who knows!
Happy is he who receives it!

(Conclusion of Gylfaginning)

[King Gylfe, calling himself Ganglare, heard all these things.]

At length the High One spoke: "If you can ask still further, I know not whence you find the questions, for I never heard further forward the destinies of ages told. Enjoy therefore what you have learned."

Ganglare then heard a powerful thunder from all sides and looked out through the door; and as he looked about him he found himself on a level plain with no court or hall in sight.

So he returned to his country and told these tidings he had heard and seen. And after him, these sayings were passed on from one to another.

Chapter 13

Contents

FOOTNOTES:

1. The tankard was often a cows or rams horn, and it was passed round the table from one to another. Such a horn could not be put down until empty. (return to text)
2. Ting, or Thing, the governing assembly — parliament — in which all must participate. (return to text)
3. Walrus? (return to text)

4. Billing's maiden: the white snow-covered earth, also named Rind. (return to text)
 5. Boltorn is apparently the Trudgalmer, sustaining life force, of a previous cycle of life; Bestla is sister of Bargalmer, wife of Bur, and is the female counterpart of the karmic seeds of the previous life and of the initial impetus of the present one; Odraerir is the well of Mimer, source of the wisdom sought by the gods in manifestation. (return to text)
 6. Sleeper. (return to text)
 7. Dead. (return to text)
 8. Allknowing. (return to text)
 9. A cycle of time. (return to text)
- Theosophical University Press Online Edition

The Masks of Odin — Elsa-Brita Titchenell
Chapter 13
Vafrudnismal
(The Lay of Illusion)

TEXT

TRANSLATOR'S NOTES

This is one of several lays and stories that treat of the illusory nature of the worlds of matter wherein consciousness is deceived. Vafrudnir means "he who enwraps in riddles." It is a theme which recognizes the fallibility of our sense perceptions. Hindu scriptures also emphasize the deceptive nature of matter. In Sanskrit, illusion is called maya, a word derived from ma, which means to measure, hence it refers to anything that is limited, that can be measured, however large or small. This applies to both space and time and to all things existing in space-time. Only infinite space in eternal duration, beginningless, endless, boundless, and unimaginable, can in truth be called Reality. The seeming duality of space-time is itself illusory — inescapable phenomenon pertaining to finite existence however vast in scope and however much we try to reach beyond it in consciousness.

It is important to realize that illusion does not mean nonexistence. Illusion exists; illusory things exist; we are surrounded by illusions and in fact are very much a part of the illusory universe. So accustomed are we to taking certain fallacies for reality that we are hardly aware of them. For instance, science tells us that matter is mostly holes — minute particles moving rapidly in proportionately large volumes of seemingly empty space. Our senses disagree with this knowledge as a stubbed toe will readily confirm, yet we do not doubt the structure of matter built of atoms we have never seen. We see a beautiful sunset and watch the redgold globe of light disappear beneath the horizon, though we are aware it had already disappeared eight minutes earlier because the light